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BOMBAY BRANCH

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on 02 July, 2018

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

The Third Part.

BEING

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

Two Volumes formerly publiſh'd.

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
GILBERT Lord Biſhop of SARUM.

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LONDON:
Printed for J. CHURCHILL at the *Black-Swan* in *Pater-Noſter-Row.* MDCCXV.

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TO THE

KING

SIR,

THIS Work, which is deſigned to Finiſh the Hiſtory of Our *Reformation*, ſeems reſerved to be laid at Your MAJESTY'S Feet; who, we truſt, is deſigned by God, to Compleat the *Reformation* it ſelf.

To Rectify what may be yet amiſs, and to Supply what is defective among us; to Oblige us to Live, and to Labour, more ſuitably to our Profeſſion; to Unite us more firmly among our ſelves; to Bury, and for ever to Extinguiſh, the Fears of our Relapſing again into *Popery*; and to Eſtabliſh a Confidence and Correſpondence, with the *Proteſtant* and *Reformed Churches* Abroad.

DEDICATION.

The Eminent Moderation of the moſt *Serene Houſe* from which Your MAJESTY is deſcended, gives us Auſpicious Hopes, that as God has now raiſed Your MAJESTY, with Signal Characters of an amazing Providence, to be the Head and the Chief Strength of the *Reformation*; ſo Your MAJESTY will, by a Wiſe and Noble Conduct, form all theſe Churches into One Body; ſo that tho' they cannot agree to the ſame Opinions and *Rituals* with us in all Points, yet they may join in One Happy Confederacy, for the Support of the Whole, and of every Particular Branch of that Sacred Union.

May this be the Peculiar Glory of Your MAJESTY's Reign; and may all the Bleſſings of Heaven and Earth reſt upon your Moſt Auguſt PERSON, and upon all Your Royal Poſterity.

This is the Daily Prayer of him, who is with the Profoundeſt Reſpect,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY's

Moſt Loyal, moſt Obedient,

and moſt Devoted

Subject and Servant,

GI. SARUM.

THE PREFACE.

HAD in my Introduction to this Volume, which I publiſh'd a Year ago, ſaid all that then occurred to me in the way of Preface: But ſome Particulars coming to my Knowledge ſince that Time, give me an Occaſion to add a little to what was then copiouſly deduced.

I begin with Mr. *Le Grand*, who I underſtand is now in a conſiderable Poſt in the Court of *France*. He being lately at *Geneva*, explained himſelf to my Friends in theſe Terms, *That he was Young when he wrote againſt me; and that the Heat of Youth had carried him to ſome Expreſſions, from which he would abſtain, if he were to write now: He was glad to hear that I was upon the Reviewing the Hiſtory of the Reformation*; and named to them a Life that he had ſeen in *Spain*, of *Bartholomew Caranza*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who was King *Philip*'s Confeſſor, and went with him to *England*, and was particularly employed in Reforming (as they called it) the Univerſities. And, as he ſaid, he died when he was to be delivered out of the Priſon of the Inquiſition. He added, that he had alſo ſeen a Collection of Cardinal *Pole*'s Letters, with an Account of what paſſed in *England* after the Death of King *Edward*, which he believed I had not ſeen, and that could inform me of many Particulars; but that he himſelf had other Employments than to think of the Affairs of *England*. If I had received this Civil Meſſage from Mr. *Le Grand* before I had publiſhed my Introduction, I would have ſaid nothing at all with relation to him: But what is paſſed cannot be recalled: So I hope he will accept of this for all the Reparation I can now make him.

As for *Anthony Harmer*, ſome have doubted if he could be capable of making Three Capital Errors in one Line:

And ſince Mr. *Strype* has ſuggeſted to me that, in which I was under ſome Reſerve before, as having it from another Hand, I am now free to ſet it down. For *Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis*, he has printed, *Epiſtolam Conventus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*. If the Abbreviations may ſeem to excuſe the Reading *Epiſtolam* for *Capitulum*, and *Catholicæ* for *Cathedralis*, nothing can excuſe the adding the Word *Conventus*, which he thought wanting to make a compleat Title, having read the others as he did: So I hope I have Reaſon to have no Regard to any Thing that comes from him upon his bare Authority. The weak and ill-natured Attempts that ſome among our ſelves have of late made upon me, give me no ſort of Concern, unleſs it is to pray for thoſe who have deſpitefully uſed me.

There was alſo a great Poem lately prepared, and, I ſuppoſe, deſigned to be publiſhed, when that which our Enemies hoped was near accompliſhed, ſhould have been effected: It was written in imitation of *Hudibras*, and ſo was a Mock-Poem on the Reformation, compoſed by one *Thomas Ward*, of whom I can give no other Account, but that it is ſaid he is a Prieſt. In it, *Sanders*'s Work was made the Plot of the Fable: It was full of impious Abuſe, put in a Strain apt enough to take with thoſe who were diſpoſed to divert themſelves with a Shew of Wit and Hnmour, dreſſed up to make the Reformation appear both Odious and Ridiculous; not doubting of equal Succeſs with *Butler*'s admired Performance. It was no wonder, if upon ſuch a Deſign, my Hiſtory was treated with all the Characters of Scorn and Contempt. This was what I might juſtly expect from thoſe of that Side: But I was ſorry to find ſo much Cenſure from thoſe from whom I had no Reaſon to expect it; and which ſeemed to be the Effect only of Envy and Ill-Nature: God forgive them for it.

I muſt ſay a little more, with Relation to a Learned, and Copious Writer of our *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, who finds my Hiſtory often in his way: He treats me decently as to his Expreſſions, but deſigns all through to ſet ſuch Remarks on my Work, as if they were well grounded, muſt deſtroy the Credit that it has hitherto obtained. I will Firſt

give

give ſome Inſtances to ſhew what the Spirit, the Principles, and the Deſign of that Writer muſt be: I will name but Four out of a great many.

When he ſets forth King *Henry* the VIIIth's Proceedings againſt the Memory of *Thomas Becket*, he has theſe Words, *And though his Conduct in this Diſpute was not altogether defenſible, he was far however, from being guilty of that groſs Miſmanagement with which he is charged.* I will leave the Judgment that muſt be paſſed upon this Period, to all who are in any ſort acquainted with the Hiſtory of that Time. P. 150. II. Vol. I. Col.

When he gives the Character of King *Edward* the VIth, immediately before he tells of his Death it is in theſe Words, *His Conſcience was not always under a ſerviceable Direction,* (the Meaning of this dark Expreſſion I do not reach:) *He was tinctured with* Eraſtian *Principles, and under wrong Prepoſſeſſions as to Church Government: He ſeems to have had no Notion of Sacrilege:* —— *And which is ſomewhat remarkable, moſt of the Hardſhips were put upon Eccleſiaſticks, in the latter End of his Reign, when his Judgment was in the beſt Condition:* And without adding one Word of his Good Qualities, or to correct thoſe ſevere Reflections, he concludes with the Account of his Death. P. 332. II. Col.

He gives a very different Account of the Death of *Mary* Queen of *Scotts*, in theſe Words, *Her Fortitude and Devotion were very remarkable. She ſupported her Character with all imaginable Decency: She died like a Chriſtian, and like a Queen.* P. 601. II. Col.

And to mention no more, when he comes to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death and Character, he runs a Parallel between the Two Siſters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, in theſe Words, *The one made Martyrs, the other made Beggars: The one executed the Men, and the other the Eſtates: And therefore, reſerving the Honour of the Reformation to Queen* Elizabeth, *the Queſtion will be, Whether the Reſuming the Firſt Fruits and Tenths, putting many Vicarages in a deplorable Condition, and ſettling a Perpetuity of Poverty on the Church, was not much more prejudicial than Fire and Faggot? Whether deſtroying Biſhopricks, was not a much greater Hardſhip than the deſtroying Biſhops? Becauſe this Severity affects Succeſſion,* P. 671. II. Col.

and reaches down to future Ages : And laſtly, whether as the World goes, it is not more eaſy to recruit Biſhops, than the Revenues to ſupport them ? Theſe Words give ſuch an Indication of the Notion that the Author has of the Happineſs, or Miſery of a Church, that they want no Commentary.

II. Vol. *Hiſt. of the Refor.* P. II. Book I. P. 149.

I will add this one Remark of a Fact upon a Paſſage that I had writ concerning the Book of Ordination, publiſh'd in the 3d Year of King *Edward*, which was in theſe Words, *Another Difference between the Ordination Book ſet out at that Time, and that we now uſe, was, that the Biſhop was to lay his one Hand on the Prieſt's Head; and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, ſaying the Words that are now ſaid at the Delivery of the Bible. In the Conſecration of a Biſhop, there is nothing more than what is yet in uſe, ſave that a Staff was put into his Hand with this Bleſſing, Be to the Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd.* Upon this, his Remark is in theſe Words, *But here, as it happens, this Learned Perſon has been led into a Miſtake : For the Two Firſt Editions of the Ordinal made in King* Edward's *Reign, have none of the different Rites mentioned by this Gentleman.* I was indeed ſurprized when I read this, and went to look into the Firſt Edition of that Ordinal, which I knew was in the *Lambeth* Library; for by Archbiſhop *Sancroft*'s Order, I had the free Uſe of every Thing that lay there. There I went to examine it, and I found indeed a ſmall Variation from my Hiſtory; the Whole is in theſe Words: In the Ordination of a Prieſt, after the Impoſition of Hands, with the Words ſtill uſed, follows this Rubrick: *Then the Biſhop ſhall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one Hand, and the Chalice, or Cup, with the Bread in the other Hand, and ſay, Take thou Authority,* &c. *In the Conſecration of a Biſhop, this Rubrick is, The Elected Biſhop having upon him a Surplice, and a Cope, ſhall be preſented by Two Biſhops, being alſo in Surplices and Copes, having their Paſtoral Staves in their Hands.* And after the Form of the Conſecration, this Rubrick follows, *Then ſhall the Archbiſhop lay the Bible upon his Neck, ſaying, give heed to reading.* The next Rubrick is, *Then ſhall the Archbiſhop put into his Hand the Paſtoral Staff, ſaying, Be to the*

P. 290. II. *Col.*

Flock

Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd; on to the End of the Charge now given all together, but then divided in Two. This Book was printed by *Richard Grafton*, the King's Printer, in *March* 1549; or by the *Roman* Account, 1550. I have given this full Account of that Matter in my own Juſtification: I am ſorry that I cannot return this Learned Perſon his Compliment to my ſelf, *That he was led into a Miſtake.*

The next, and indeed the laſt Particular that out of many more I will mention, is the ſetting down the Explanation that was made upon the Order for Kneeling at the Sacrament in King *Edward*'s Time, wrong in a very material Word: For in that, the Words were, *That there was not in the Sacrament any Real, or Eſſential Preſence of Chriſt's Natural Fleſh and Blood*; but he inſtead of that puts, *Corporal Preſence*. It ſeems in this he only looked at the Rubrick, as it is now at the End of the Communion Service, upon a Conceit that it ſtands now as it was in King *Edward*'s Book; though it was at that Time changed; and we know who was the Author of that Change, and who pretended that a *Corporal Preſence* ſignified ſuch a Preſence as a Body naturally has, which the Aſſertors of Tranſubſtantiation it ſelf do not, and cannot pretend is in this Caſe: Where they ſay the Body is not preſent Corporally, but Spiritually, or as a Spirit is preſent. And he who had the Chief Hand in procuring this Alteration, had a very extraordinary Subtilty, by which he reconciled the Opinion of a Real Preſence in the Sacrament with the laſt Words of the Rubrick, *That the Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt were in Heaven, and not here; it being againſt the Truth of Chriſt's Natural Body, to be at one Time in more Places than One.* It was thus; a Body is in a Place, if there is no intermediate Body but a *Vacuum* between it and the Place: And he thought that by the Vertue of the Words of Conſecration, there was a *Cilinder* of a *Vacuum* made between the Elements and Chriſt's Body in Heaven: So that no Body being between, it was both in Heaven and in the Elements. Such a ſolemn Piece of Folly as this, can hardly be read without Indignation. But if our Author favours this Conceit,

P. 310. II. Col.

D. P. G.

yet when he ſets down that which was done in King *Edward*'s Reign, he ought not to have changed the Word, eſpecially ſuch an important one. I ſhall ſay no more of that Work, but that there appeared to me quite thro' the IId Volume, ſuch a conſtant Inclination to favour the Popiſh Doctrine, and to cenſure the Reformers, that I ſhould have had a better Opinion of the Author's Integrity, if he had profeſſed himſelf not to be of our Communion, nor of the Communion of any other Proteſtant Church.

But as I thought my ſelf bound to give this Warning to ſuch as may have heard of that Work, or that have ſeen it; ſo there is another Hiſtory lately written in *French*, and which, I hope, is ſoon to appear in our own Language, which I cannot recommend more than it deſerves. It is Mr. *L' Enfant*'s Hiſtory of the Council of *Conſtance*; in which that Excellent Perſon has with great Care, and a Sincerity liable to no Exception, given the World in the Hiſtory of that Council, ſo true a View of the State of the Church, and of Religion, in the Age before the Reformation, that I know no Book ſo proper to prepare a Man for Reading the Hiſtory of the Reformation, as the attentive Reading of that Noble Work: He was indeed well furniſhed with a Collection of Excellent Materials, gathered with great Fidelity and Induſtry by the Learned Doctor *Vander Hordt*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Helmſtadt*; and procured for him by the Noble Zeal, and Princely Bounty of that moſt Serene and Pious Prince *Rodolph Auguſt*, the late Duke of *Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle*, who ſet himſelf with great Care, and at a vaſt Charge, to procure from all Places the Copies of all Papers and Manuſcripts that could be found, to give Light to the Proceedings of that Great Aſſembly. That Collection amounted to Six Volumes in *Folio*. From theſe Authentick Vouchers, the Hiſtory of that Council is now happily compiled. And if that Learned Author can find Materials, to give us as full, and as clear a Hiſtory of the Council of *Baſil*, as he has given of that of *Conſtance*, I know no greater Service can be done the World: For by it, Popery will appear in its

True

True and Native Colours, free from thoſe palliating Diſguiſes which the Progreſs of the Reformation, and the Light which by that has been given the World, has forced upon thoſe of that Communion. We have the celebrated Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, firſt publiſhed here at *London*, written with a true Sublimity of Judgment, and an Unbyaſſed Sincerity; which has received a great Confirmation, even from Cardinal *Palavicini*'s Attempt to deſtroy its Credit; and a much greater of late from that Curious Diſcovery of *Vargas*'s Letters. But how well, and how juſtly ſoever the Hiſtory that *P. Paulo* gave the World of that Council is eſteemed, I am not afraid to compare the late Hiſtory of the Council of *Conſtance*, even to that admired Work; ſo far at leaſt as that if it will not be allowed to be quite equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the beſt of all that have Written after that Noble Pattern, which the Famous *Venetian* Fryar has given to all the Writers of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

Since I publiſhed my Introduction, I fell on many Papers concerning the Reformation in *Scotland*, which had eſcaped the Diligence of that Grave and Judicious Writer Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, of which I have given a full Account, and have uſed the beſt Endeavours I could to be furniſhed with all the other Materials that I could hear of: It is true, I never ſearched into a lately gathered Famous Library in this Place, but yet I had from ſome, on whoſe good Judgment and great Care I might well depend, who had carefully looked through it, every Thing that they found material to my Purpoſe.

No Curioſity pleaſed me more than that Noble Record of the Legate's Proceedings in the Matter of King *Henry*'s Divorce; of which I had the free Uſe, as of every Thing elſe that was in the Library of my Learned, and Dear Brother, the late Biſhop of *Ely*; in whoſe Death the Church, and all his Friends, and none more than my ſelf, have had an Invaluable Loſs. I read that Record very carefully twice or thrice over, and gave a full Abſtract of it, but did not then reflect on what has occurred to me ſince: For though upon the Credit of ſo Noble a Record,

Record, I have ſaid that the King and Queen were never together in Court, yet I find the contrary is affirmed by that King himſelf, in a Letter bearing Date the 23d of *June*, to his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, in theſe Words, *Both We and the Queen appeared in Perſon:* And he ſets forth the Aſſurances the Cardinals gave of their proceeding without Favour, or Partiality, *yet ſhe departed out of Court, though thrice called to appear, and was denounced Contumacious.* The only reconciling of this apparent Contradiction ſeems to be this, that they were indeed together in the Hall where the Court ſate; but that it was before the Cardinals ſate down, and had formed the Court: For as it is not to be imagined that in the Record ſo material a Step could have been omitted, ſo highly to the Honour of the Court; ſo it is not likely that the Queen after her Appeal, would have owned the Court, or have appeared before thoſe Judges; therefore the moſt probable Account of that particular is this, That the King intending to appear in the Court, the Queen went thither after him, and made that Speech to him in the open Hall, that I mentioned in my former Work: But all this was over, and they were both gone before the Court was opened, or that the Cardinals had taken their Places; ſo that their Appearance could be no Part of the Record of the Court.

I am now to give an Account of ſome Papers that I add as an Appendix, for they relate to the former Volumes. The Firſt of theſe was ſent me by one Mr. *Thomas Granger*, of whom I can give no other Account, but that I underſtood he was a Clergyman. He dated his Letter from *Lammerton* near *Taviſtoke* in *Devon.* the 7th of *February*, $168\frac{3}{4}$. I wrote him ſuch a Civil Anſwer, as ſo kind a Cenſure deſerved: And I promiſed that I would make my Acknowledgments more publickly to him whenſoever I reviewed that Work. Upon my ſettling at *Salisbury*, I enquired after him, but I was told he was Dead: So I loſt the Occaſion of returning my Thanks to him in a more particular Manner, which I now expreſs thus publickly.

I had

I had another Letter writ in another Strain, full of Expoſtulation, from *Anthony* (who affected to write himſelf) *à Wood.* He thought it incumbent on him to juſtify himſelf, ſince I had reflected on him: So he gave this Vent to it. I wrote ſhort Remarks on it; one of theſe I find is in the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Hand; they were ſent to Biſhop *Fell* to be communicated to him, but whether they were or not, I cannot tell. The Thing has eſcaped my Memory, but the Paper ſtill remains with me; and therefore I have thought it a Juſtice to Mr. *Wood*'s Memory, and to his Writings, to inſert it here.

The Third Paper was drawn by me at *Paris*, in the Year 1685. My Hiſtory being then tranſlated into *French* was much read; and as to the main Conduct of our Reformation, it was approved by ſome Men of Great Name. At that Time there was an Imbroilment between the Court of *Rome* and that of *Verſailles*: And the Propoſitions that paſſed in the Year 1682, ſeemed to threaten a greater Rupture to follow. Upon that, the Scheme of the *Engliſh* Reformation was a Subject of Common Diſcourſe: And that was ſo much magnified by thoſe who were called the *Converters*, that the Hope of a Reformation in *France*, was one of the Artifices that prevailed on ſome, who knew not the *Depths of Satan*, and were eaſily wrought on to make their Court by changing their Religion, in hope, that a great Reformation of Abuſes among them was then projected: But one of the Learnedeſt Men that ever I knew of that Communion, ſaid then to my ſelf, that all that was only done to fright Pope *Innocent* the XIth, who was then in the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but that whenſoever they ſhould have a Pope in the Intereſts of *France*, their Court would not only declare him Infallible in Points of Doctrine, but even in Matters of Fact: And he added, that it was an Abuſe that People put upon themſelves, to imagine that with what Pomp or Zeal ſoever the Court ſeemed to ſupport thoſe Articles paſſed in the Aſſembly of the Clergy, that this could have any other Effect but to bring the Court of *Rome* into their Intereſts. He ſaid this had been Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Practice during his whole Miniſtry. When he could not

carry Matters to his Mind at *Rome*, he ſhewed ſuch Favour to the *Janſeniſts*, as let many of them into great Dignities; but when he had brought that Court to what he deſigned, he preſently changed his Conduct towards them.

A Perſon of Diſtinction at *Paris*, finding my Hiſtory ſo much liked, wrote a Cenſure upon it. This run through many Hands, but was never printed. It fell into Mr. *Auzout*'s Hands, and from him I had it. I wrote an Anſwer to it, and got it to be tranſlated into *French*: It was favourably received by many in *Paris*. I do not find the Copy of that Cenſure among my Papers: But I have ſtill the Copy of my Remarks on it, from which the Subſtance of that Cenſure may be gathered: So I have thought fit to add this to my Appendix.

The 4th Paper is a large Collection of many Miſtakes, (deſcending even to Literal ones) in both the Volumes of my Hiſtory, and in the Records publiſhed in them, which a Learned and Worthy Perſon has read with more Exactneſs than either my Amanuenſis, or my ſelf had done. I publiſh theſe Sheets, as that unknown Perſon ſent them to me, whom I never ſaw, as far as I remember; and who will not ſuffer me to give any other Account of him, but that he Lives in one of the Univerſities. His Copy of my Work being of the 2d Edition, only ſome very few of the Errors marked that had crept into the 2d, but that were not in the 1ſt Edition, are ſtruck out. In ſeveral Particulars I do not perfectly agree with theſe Corrections; but I ſet them down as they were ſent me, without any Remarks on them; and I give my hearty Thanks in the fulleſt Manner I can, to him who was firſt at the Pains to make this Collection, and then had the Goodneſs to communicate it to me, in ſo obliging a Manner: For he gave me a much greater Power over theſe Papers than I have thought fit to aſſume.

The next Paper is a much ſhorter one. It is indeed the Abſtract of a larger Paper, but I have taken out of it only that which relates to my Hiſtory: And have not meddled with ſome Remarks made on *Harmer*'s Specimen, and many more made on the *Rights of an* Engliſh *Convocation.*

cation. Theſe did not belong to my Subject, ſo I have not copied them out. The Writer has not let me know his Name; he ſent the Sheets to me in an unſubſcribed Letter, to which I wrote an Anſwer by the Conveyance that he marked out to me, but I have heard no more of him.

The 6th and laſt Paper was ſent me by the Sincere and Diligent Mr. *Strype*, who has deſcended to ſuch a full and minute Correction, both of my Hiſtory, and of my Copies of the Records, that I confeſs it gave me great Satisfaction: Many of his Corrections may ſeem ſo inconſiderable, that it may be ſuggeſted that they were not worth the while. But my whole Concern in Writing, being to deliver the Tranſactions of a former Age, faithfully down to Poſterity, nothing could pleaſe me more than to have every Error I had fallen into diſcovered: And it was no ſmall Satisfaction to me, to find that a Writer who has been now above 30 Years examining all that paſſed in that Age, and has made great Diſcoveries of many Secrets hitherto not known; and who was ſo kind as to paſs over nothing how ſmall and inconſiderable ſoever it may appear to be, that was liable to Correction; yet did not touch upon any one Thing that is of any Moment in my whole Work. This I look on as a very Authentick Confirmation of it all, except in the Places thus cenſured by one who has ſearched into all the Tranſactions of that Time with ſo much Application and Succeſs.

This Work was compoſed above a Year ago; and after it was read and corrected by ſome proper Judges, it was put in the Preſs, and was printed off to the End of King *Edward*'s Reign, before the 1ſt of *Auguſt* laſt: Nor has any Thing been added to it ſince that Time, except ſome very few Particulars in the laſt Book relating to *Scotland.*

I cannot conclude this Preface, and ſo diſmiſs this Work out of my Hands, without ſome Reflections on what has appeared among us of late, but too evidently, in a Courſe of ſome Years. Many who profeſs great Zeal for the Legal Eſtabliſhment, yet ſeem to be ſet on

forming a New Scheme, both of Religion, and Government : And are taking the very ſame Methods, only a little diverſified, that have been purſued in Popery, to bring the World into a blind Dependance upon the Clergy, and to draw the Wealth and Strength of the Nation into their Hands.

The Opinion of the Sacrament's being an Expiatory Sacrifice ; and of the Neceſſity of Secret Confeſſion and Abſolution ; and of the Churches Authority acting in an Independence on the Civil Powers, were the Foundations of Popery, and the Seminal Principles, out of which that Maſs of Corruptions was formed. They have no Colour for them in the New Teſtament, nor in the Firſt Ages of Chriſtianity ; and are directly contrary to all the Principles on which the Reformation was carried on ; and to every Step that was made in the Whole Progreſs of that Work : And yet theſe of late have been Notions much favoured, and written for with much Zeal, not to ſay Indecency : Beſides a vaſt Number of little Superſtitious Practices, that in ſome Places have grown to a great heighth, ſo that we were inſenſibly going off from the Reformation, and framing a New Model of a Church, totally different from all our former Principles, as well as from our preſent Eſtabliſhment : To all which they have added that ſingular and extravagant Conceit, of the Invalidity of Baptiſm, unleſs miniſtred by One Epiſcopally Ordained ; though this not only cuts off all Communion with the Foreign Proteſtant Churches ; of which, perhaps, they make no great Account, but makes Doubtings to ariſe with relation to great Numbers, both among our ſelves, and in the *Roman* Communion.

This I lament ; not that I think that there is ſuch a Sacredneſs in any Human Conſtitution, that it is never to be called in queſtion, or altered : For if we had the ſame Reaſons to alter any Thing eſtabliſhed at the Reformation, that our Fathers had to alter the former Eſtabliſhment in the Times of Popery, I ſhould acknowledge we had now as good Grounds to change the preſent, as our Anceſtors had then to change the former Conſtitution. The Scriptures are the only ſure Foundation of

our Faith that is unalterable: All other Conſtitutions being always to be governed by that perfect Declaration of God's Holy Will with relation to Mankind. But it gives a juſt Indignation, to ſee the ſame Men make wide Steps to great Alterations on the one Hand, and yet make heavy Complaints where there is no juſt occaſion given, and that about Points of meer Speculation; whereas the other relate to Matters of Practice, which had been in former Ages ſo managed, that the whole Complex of the Chriſtian Religion was totally depraved by them.

We have alſo Rules and Rubricks for Worſhip that are our Standards, fixed by Law: And yet we ſee a Humour of Innovation making a great Progreſs in theſe, without the leaſt Complaint, by the ſame Perſons who are apt to make Tragical Out-cries on the ſmalleſt Tranſgreſſions on the other Hand.

Both are very culpable: But of the Two, we find the Growth of Superſtition has been ſo ſpreading, as well as ſo ſpecious, that the Extreams of that Hand may be juſtly reckoned the more Dangerous: One of the worſt Effects of Superſtition being that with which our Saviour charged the *Phariſees* of his Time, that while they were exact in *Tything* Mint, Anniſe, *and* Cummin, *they omitted the weightier Matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy, and Faith:* In oppoſition to which, he gives a ſtanding Rule applicable to all ſuch Caſes, *Theſe Things ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone.* This relates to Practices of a lower Order, but ſuch as are commanded; whereas voluntary and aſſumed ones, like the Waſhings among the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, eat out the Senſe of the great Duties of Religion; inſtead of which, ſome trifling Performances are ſet up, and are highly magnified, while the others are ſpoken of more coldly: Nor does any Thing feed a Cenſorious and Uncharitable Temper more than theſe voluntary and diſtinguiſhing Practices, which as they are the Badges of different Parties, ſo they are Engines to keep up that Wrath, Emulation, and Hatred, that has made ſuch Havock among us, of the Great and Indiſpenſible Duties of *Peace, Brotherly-Kindneſs*, and *Charity*.

Theſe

Theſe have been but too viſibly the Arts of Satan to divide and diſtract us; and have oftner than once brought us near the Brink of Ruin. God has often reſcued us, while the Continuance and Progreſs of theſe Evil Diſpoſitions have as often made us Relapſe into a broken and disjointed State. Oh that we may at laſt *ſee the Things that belong to our Peace*, and *follow after thoſe* Things that *make for Peace, and the Things wherewith we may Edify one another*. In this Prayer I will continue as long as I Live, and I hope to End my Days with it. We muſt ask it of God, and of him only: It is in vain to ask it of ſome Men, who when we *ſpeak to them of Peace, make them ready to Battel*; we muſt look for it only to him who ſaid, *Peace I leave with you, my Peace I give unto you; not as the World giveth give I unto you.* The World will only give it to thoſe of their own Knot and Party. But *the Wiſdom that is from above, is firſt Pure, then Peaceable, Gentle, and eaſy to be intreated; full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, and without Hypocriſy: And the Fruits of Righteouſneſs are ſown in Peace, of them that make Peace.*

Errata *in the Hiſtory.*

PAge 37. l. 2 fr. bott. Marg. 14, r. 15.
P. 18. l. 14. fr. bott. 11, r. 111.
P. 81. l. 1. 12, r. 112.
P. 101. l. 10. Marg. r. *Col. Numb.* 35. Ibid. l. 11. fr. bott. Marg. 35. r. 36.
P. 111. l. 11. fr. bott. *ious*, r. *pious.*
P. 158. l. 23. *dears*, r. *bears.*
P. 160. l. 31. *The*, r. *But all.* Ibid. l. 32. *did not agree*, r. *except* Ely *and St.* David's *proteſted againſt.* Ibid. l. 38. *After King*, r. *Upon the Convocation's being aſſembled on the 16th of* Feb. 1542.
P. 233. l. 5. fr. bott. *muſt*, r. *more.*
P. 238. l. 16. Marg. r. *Coll. Numb.* 31.
P. 240. Marg. 1554, r. 1555. This Error on in the Marg. to p. 250, and from thence to p. 256, 1554, r. 1556.
P. 261. l. 20. fr. bott. after *and*, r. *He.*
P. 269. l. 16. after *not*, dele *that.*

In the Collection of Records.

PAge 28. l. 13. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Rymeri.*
P. 47. l. 4. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Rymeri.*
P. 80. l. 12. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Rymeri.*
P. 84. l. 14. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 148. l. 14. Marg. Scored here, r. *in Italica.*
P. 173. l. 21. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 187. l. 1. r 4.
P. 189. l. 4. r. 5.
P. 199. l. 5. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Tiguri.*
P. 206. l. 4. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Petyti.*
P. 207. l. 6. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ibidem.*
P. 210. l 1. Marg. r. *Cotton Libr.*
P. 223. l. 19. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 246. l 9. 23, r. 35.
P. 249. l. 7. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 267. l. 14. fr. bott. *Terio*, r. *Ferio.*
P. 301. l. 10. *ſad*, r. *had.* Ibid. l. 21. *Lauſier*, r. *Lawyer.*
P. 325. l. 14. fr. bott. *Chariſſimo*, r. *Chariſſimus.* Ibid. l. 6. fr. bott. after *rebus*, r. *Succurret.*
P. 350. l. 4. after *were*, r. *not.*

AN.

THE
INTRODUCTION.

I Come, after a long Interval of Three and Thirty Years, to give all the Finiſhing to the Hiſtory of Our REFORMATION, *that I have been able to Collect, either from New Diſcoveries that have come in my own way, or the Kind Advertiſements of Friends, and the Severe Animadverſions of Criticks; of which I have endeavoured to make the beſt Uſe that I could. It has been objected to me, That I wrote in Haſte, and did not reflect enough on the Matters I wrote about. That may be very true; and I will give an Account how it happen'd to be ſo. When* Sanders's *Hiſtory was publiſhed in* France, *it had ſo ill an Effect there, that ſome of our beſt Divines were often called on, to haſten ſuch an Anſwer to it, as might ſtop the Courſe of ſo Virulent a Book. Thoſe, to whom theſe Advices were ſent, thought me a proper Perſon to be engaged in it.*

The Ancient, the Learned, and the Pious Biſhop of Worceſter, *is the only Perſon now alive, that was concerned in the Choice: And he having read all the Printed Books that he could hear of, relating to thoſe Times, had taken the Dates of every Remarkable Thing that paſſed, out of them; which he cauſed to be Copied out for me. They are about Eight Sheets of Paper. Upon this Stock I ſet out, and ſearched all the Publick Offices about the Town, with a Labour and Diligence, that was then look'd on as no contemptible Performance. I mark'd every Thing as exactly as I could. I might, in ſuch a Variety, make ſome Miſtakes; for which, Men of Candor will make juſt Allowances. But when I had gone thro' all that lay thus open to me, I knew what Treaſures were ſtill in the* Cotton-*Library.*

The preſent Biſhop of Worceſter *carried me to Sir* John Cotton, *to aſk Admittance: But a great Prelate had been beforehand with us; and had poſſeſs'd him with ſuch Prejudices againſt me, as being no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, nor to the Conſtitution of our Church, that he ſaid, (as he was prepared) That unleſs the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and a Secretary of State would Recommend me, as a Perſon fit to have Acceſs to his Library, he deſir'd to be excus'd. And tho' that Worthy Prelate ſaid, He would be anſwerable for the Uſe that I ſhould make of it; yet he could not be prevail'd on, to depart from the Anſwer that he had made us. Nor could that Reverend Perſon prevail with Archbiſhop* Sancroft, *to interpoſe. And tho' I offer'd to deliver up all the Collections I had made, to any Perſon that would undertake the Work, yet no Regard was had to that: So I ſaw it was reſolv'd on, either not to let that Work go on; or at leaſt, that I ſhould not have the Honour to be employ'd in it.*

With this we were at a full Stop, when accidentally meeting with Sir John Marſham *the Younger, I told him how I was deny'd Acceſs to the* Cotton *Library*; *but he told me he was by Marriage a Nephew to the Family, and that for many Years he had free Acceſs to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleas'd*; *So I, with a Copier, went thither under his Protection*; *and we were hard at Work from Morning to Night for Ten Days*; *but then the Owner, with his Family, coming to Town, I could go no further. In that Time, and in the Haſte we were in, I did make ſuch a Progreſs, that the good Biſhop, together with the late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Tillotſon, *and the late Biſhop of* Worceſter, Stillingfleet, *though I was ſufficiently furniſh'd with Materials for compoſing the Firſt Volume. Every Part of it, as I wrote it, paſs'd through their Hands, and under their Cenſure, and I ſubmitted to their Judgment in every particular,*

I have been told, One that was much practiſed in that Library, who is now Dead, has cenſured me for not comparing what my Copier wrote, carefully with the Originals: To this, all I can ſay is, that, as my Copier by much Practice was become pretty exact; *ſo I made him read all over to me, having the Originals in my Hands. I cannot ſay in ſuch dull, though neceſſary Work, as the Collating thoſe Things, I carried along with me all the Attention that was requiſite*; *but I did it as well as I could. And when I was lately in the* Cotton *Library, I read over ſeveral of the Originals, but found no Material Differences from the Copies I had printed. One indeed runs through all thoſe in the* Engliſh *Language, which might perhaps offend a ſevere Critick, that the Old Spelling is not every where exactly copied. I did recommend it to my Copier, and he obſerv'd it often*; *but he ſaid when he wrote quick, it was impoſſible for him to carry an antiquated Spelling along with his Pen.*

The Firſt Volume lay a Year after I wrote it, before it was put in the Preſs, and was offerd to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themſelves that Trouble. When it was brought to Secretary Coventry *for his Licence, he was pleaſed to ſay that he dipped into it out of Curioſity, but added, that he found ſuch an Entertainment in it, that he could not part with it 'till he had read it quite through. The Earl of* Nottingham, *Lord Chancellor, took Time to read and examine it, and to add many Remarks in ſeveral Parts of it, in all which I ſubmitted to his Cenſure: And ſome ſmaller Matters coming in my way, they were added*; *ſo when thoſe under whoſe Direction I made every* Step *in it, adviſed me to put it in the Preſs, I went on with it.*

It happened to come out a few Months after the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot; *and the Ferment of that working powerfully over all the Nation, the Work was favourably received*; *and as I had the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament for it, with a Deſire to finiſh what I had begun*; *ſo thoſe who were the moſt Zealous againſt Popery, preſſed me to make all poſſible haſt with the IId Volume, when they underſtood that I had made conſiderable Diſcoveries, with Relation to Queen* Mary's *Reign. By that Time Sir* John Cotton *ſeeing the good Uſe I had made of his Library, was pleaſed to acknowledge the Injuſtice of the Suggeſtions that had been made to my Prejudice, and allowed me*

free Liberty to examine every Thing in it: In which I ought to have been more exact than I was, in ſearching into the Matters ſet forth in my First Volume; *but the repeated Importunities of my Friends, for my Publiſhing the* Second Volume, *ſo far prevail'd, that I only examin'd what belonged to that Period. I took indeed ſome Papers relating to the former Reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inſerted them. I had alſo other Materials, brought me from ſeveral Hands; upon the Publick Notice that I gave of my Deſign in the Firſt Volume.*

That Primitive Biſhop, Fell, *of* Oxford, *engaged an Acquaintance of his, Mr.* Fullman, *to make Remarks on it: Which he did with a particular Acrimony of Stile; for which the Biſhop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was Material; and ſent it to him, to ſee if he did not find in it the Subſtance of all his Remarks on the Firſt, at the End of the Second Volume. It has been publiſh'd over and over again, that he complain'd, that I did not Print a full Account of his Cenſure. The Fact was thus: I ſent it to him by the Carrier; and begg'd of him, That if he had any Exception to the Abſtract I had made of his* Remarks, *he would return it back to me, as ſoon as was poſſible; for the Preſs was to be ſtopp'd till it came. I ſtay'd for it till the Second Return of the Carrier: And when no Anſwer came, I reckon'd he acquieſced in my* Abſtract; *ſo I put it in the Preſs. But before it was printed off, his Anſwer came by the Third Return of the Carrier: And I, finding that he excepted to ſome few Parts of my Paper, was at the Charge of Reprinting it exactly to his Mind; and he afterwards received the Preſent that I made him, without any Inſinuation of any Complaint.*

Thus this Work was ſent abroad into the World. Nor do I yet ſee, what more I could have done, to procure me better Information, nor what other Steps I could have made. It took quiet Poſſeſſion of the Belief of the Nation at Home, and of a great Part of Europe *abroad; being Tranſlated into Four Languages: And for ſome Years, I heard of neither Cenſure, nor Anſwer.*

When I went to Paris, *in the Year* 1685, *I found there was a Cenſure going about, written, but not printed. It came into my Hands, and I preſently wrote an Anſwer to it; which I got to be put into* French: *And all who read both Papers, ſeem'd fully ſatisfy'd with my Anſwer; which will be found at the End of this Volume. I was told, that it was writ by Mr.* Le Grand; *who had given out in many Companies, that he had great Objections, ready to be made to my* Hiſtory. *Upon that, Two Learned and Worthy Men, Mr.* Auzont, *and Mr.* Thevenot, *deſigned to bring us together, and to hear what Mr.* Le Grand *had to object. We din'd at Mr.* Thevenot's: *And after Dinner, for the Space of Three Hours, Mr.* Le Grand *propoſed his Objections, and I anſwer'd them on the ſudden; far from Charming them with my Eloquence: Which Mr.* Le Grand *muſt certainly mean as a Jeſt; for I pretend to no more* French, *than to be underſtood, when I ſpeak it. What he ſaid was mean and trifling; and yet it was ſo fully anſwered by me, that we parted Civily, and (as I thought) good Friends. And when he was gone, both* Thevenot *and* Auzont *ſaid,*

They were aſhamed to hear ſuch Poor Things objected, (Pauvretes *was their Word*) *after the Noiſe that Mr.* Le Grand *had made. But two Days after, Mr.* Auzont *came to me, both in his own Name, and in Mr.* Thevenot's, *and deſired me not to ſpeak of that Matter to any Perſon. The Court was then ſo ſet on Extirpating* Hereſy, *that they apprehended any Thing ſaid by me, might bring me into Trouble: They would do me Juſtice, ſo I needed not be concern'd to do it to my ſelf.*

I muſt alſo add, that Mr. Le Grand *ſaid, after he had offer'd his Objections, That as to the Main of my* Hiſtory, *he could furniſh me with many Materials to ſupport it. And he made me a Preſent of a very Valuable Book, publiſhed by* Camuſat *at* Troyes, 1613, *with the Title of* Melanges Hiſtoriques; *of which I have made good Uſe in the following Work. The Matter reſted thus till the Year* 1688, *that Mr.* Le Grand *publiſhed the* Hiſtory of King *Henry* the VIIIth's Divorce. *And ſoon after that, Two other Volumes of his appeared: One was a ſevere Invective againſt me and my* Hiſtory; *the other was, a Collection of Letters, by which his* Hiſtory *was juſtified. In this laſt, there are ſome very Valuable ones; to which I have had Occaſion oftner than once to refer my Reader. In the Two Firſt of theſe Tomes, Mr.* Le Grand *thought fit to lay aſide all Sort of Good Manners, and to treat me more in the Stile of an angry Monk, than of one that had lived long in the Company of well-bred Men. I imputed this to a Management he was under by ſome of the Court of that Unfortunate Prince, who ſoon after felt the Tragical Effects of ſuch Unhappy Counſellors, as had then the Aſcendant. To theſe, I did believe, Mr.* Le Grand *had dedicated his Pen; and that drew from me a ſevere* Poſtſcript, *to a Cenſure that I publiſh'd upon the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Book of Variations; for which I am heartily ſorry, and aſk his Pardon.*

The Truth is, the firſt Paper in his Third Tome, ſeemed to juſtify any Thing that could have been ſaid, to expoſe a Man that could offer ſuch an Abſtract as he gave of it in his Hiſtory, *and them that judged ſo ill, as to think fit to Print that Letter, that does plainly contradict the Senſe he gave of it. The Letter is writ by* Pace, *Dean of St.* Paul's, *to King* Henry, (*ſaid by him to be written in the Year* 1526; *but in that he is miſtaken, as will appear afterwards*) *on the Subject of the Divorce. He owns that he writ the Book, which had been brought to the King the Day before, by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Dr.* Wakefeld; *who was ready to defend it all, either in Writing, or in a Publick Diſputation.* " * *And ſince he heard from the King,* " *that ſome of his Learned Counſellors wrote, that* Deuteronomy *abrogated*

* Et quoniam Majeſtas tua mihi ſignificavit, neſcio quos è ſuis literatis Conſiliariis ſcripſiſſe Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquiſivi quid id ſibi vellet; & tandem inveni id indubitato falſum eſſe: Eſt Compendium, ac Repetitio, ſeu, ut ita dicam, Recapitulatio Legis Moſaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen *Deuteronomium*, quantum ad ſenſum rei attinet illud, idem ſignificat quod habetur in Hebræo; id eſt, Liber, in quo continetur ſecunda Lex, vel Repetitio primæ Legis. Poſt meum à Majeſtate tua diſceſſum, D. R. *Wakefeldus* unice me rogavit, ut ſibi ſignificarem, an placeret tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum ſtaret à te an contra te? Ei ita reſpondi, Te nihil velle quod eſſet alienum à Nobili Principe, & ſingu-

laribus

" *rogated* Leviticus, *he ſhews him how falſe that was. It was only* " *a Recapitulation of the* Moſaick *Law; it ſeems they thought this* " *was the Importance of the* Greek *Word* Deuteronomy, *(or a Second* " *Law) but he ſhews that it imported only a Repetition of the former* " *Law, and the Book had another Title in the* Hebrew. *Then he ſays* " *that* Wakefield *deſired him to let him know whether the King had a* " *Mind to know the Truth in that Matter, whether it ſtood for him,* " *or againſt him: To this* Pace *anſwer'd, That the King deſired no-* " *thing but what became a Noble, and a Vertuous Prince; and that* " *he would do a moſt acceptable Thing to him, if he would take Pains* " *to let him know what was the Pure Verity: Then he being under* " *ſome Fear, ſaid he could not ſet about it, unleſs his Majeſty would* " *Enjoin and Command it; but when he received his Commands, he* " *would ſet forth ſuch Things both againſt him, and for him, as no* " *other Perſon within his Kingdom could do.*" *There is nothing here but what is Honourable both for the King, for* Pace, *and for* Wakefield.

Mr. Le Grand *has made a very particular Abſtract of this: He ſays,* " † Pace *deſigning to flatter his Prince's Paſſion, thought they ſhould* " *not ſtand either on the Vulgar, or the* 70 *Tranſlators, but have re-* " *courſe only to the* Hebrew, *which he maintained was more favour-* " *able to the King. He had written to* Wakefeld, *and ſhewed him* " *the Trouble the King was in, and deſired he would clear up the* " *Matter*; Wakefeld *raviſhed to be thus employ'd, ſaid he would* " *juſtifie all that* Pace *had ſaid to the King; but then apprehending* " *that* Pace *might deceive him, or be deceived himſelf; or perhaps* " *that the King might change his Mind, he deſired that the King him-* " *ſelf would let him know what he would have him to do; whether he* " *ſhould defend the one ſide, or the other; and he would do accord-* " *ing to the Orders he ſhould receive, and make ſuch Diſcoveries for* " *or againſt it as ſhould paſs the Capacity of all* Engliſh-Men. *Thus* " *(ends he)* Wakefeld, *who had more Vanity than Religion, was* " *driving a Traffick with his Sentiments.*

I have put in the Margin the Latin *of* Pace's *Letters, and the Account that Mr.* Le Grand *gives of it in* French, *that the Reader may judge what can be thought of a Man that repreſents Things ſo unfair-*

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laribus Virtutibus prædito; Illum Majeſtati tuæ rem gratiſſimam facturum ſi laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declaret. Tum ille neſcio quo ductus timore negavit ſe hoc poſſe facere, niſi Majeſtas tua id ſibi injungeret & mandaret; & ſi mandares ſe producturum in medium tam contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo regno producere poſſet.

† Nos avous la lettre de ce darnier (*Pace*) qui cherchant à flatter la Paſſion de ſon Prince, vouloit que ſans s'arreter ni à la Vulgata ni à la Traduction des ſeptante, on eut recours au texte Hebrew; qu'il ſoutenoit luy eſtre plus favourable. Il en ecrivit à *Robert Wakfield*, & luy decovrit l'embarras ou le Roy ſe trouvoit, le priant de luy vouloir eclaircir cette matiere. *Wakfield* ravy de travailler pour le Roy, repondit d' abord, qu'il appueroit ce que *Pace* avoit dit à *Henry*. Puis faiſant reflexion que *Pace* pouvoit le tromper ou ſe tromper luy meme, ou que le Roy changeroit peut eſtre, Il alla trouvoir *Pace*, & luy temoignoit, qu'il ſouhaitroit que ſa Majeſté luy ecrivit elle meme, ce qu'elle Vouloit qu'il fit, & ſi il devoit defendre le pour ou le contre, & qu' alors ſelon les ordres qu'il recevroit, il donneroit des eclairciſſemens ou pour ou contre, qui paſſeroient le capacitè de tous les Anglois. C'eſt ainſi que *Wakefield*, qui avoit plus de Vanitè que de Religion, trafiquoit de ſes ſentiments.

ly, and makes ſuch Inferences from them. I confeſs this raiſed in me too much Indignation to be governed as it ought to have been: I therefore thought ſuch a Writer deſerved not to be followed in every Step. I likewiſe employ'd at ſeveral Times, ſome who went to Paris, *to try in what Eſteem that Performance was; and if I was not much deceived in the Accounts ſent me from thence, the Book had loſt the Eſteem of all Perſons there, ſo that it was no more talked of, nor read. I cannot therefore bring my ſelf to examine it minutely, yet where any Matter of Weight requires it, I ſhall either juſtify, or retract what I had delivered in my Hiſtory. I ſhall ſay no more of that Work in this Place, ſave only that the Original Judgment of the* Sorbonne, *about which Mr.* Le Grand *ſeemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the Conference I had with him, and in his Book, is now found by Mr.* Rymer, *among the other Judgments of the Univerſities in the ſecret Treaſury, out of which that Laborious Searcher into our Original Treaties, has already publiſhed* 15 *Great Volumes in Folio: Of this I ſhall give a more particular Account in its proper Place.*

The next Attack that was made on my Work, was in the Year 1693, *under the Title of,* A Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of *England*: By *Anthony Harmer. It is well known that was a diſguiſed Name, and that the Author was Mr.* Henry Wharton, *who had publiſhed Two Volumes with the Title of* Anglia Sacra: *He had examined the dark Ages before the Reformation, with much Diligence, and ſo knew many Things relating to thoſe Times beyond any Man of the Age; he pretended that he had many more Errors in reſerve, and that this Specimen was only a haſty Collection of a few, out of many other Diſcoveries he could make: This conſiſted of ſome trifling and minute Differences in ſome Dates of Tranſactions of no Importance, upon which nothing depended; ſo I cannot tell whether I took theſe too eaſily from printed Books; or if I committed any Errors in my Notes taken in the ſeveral Offices. He likewiſe follows me through the ſeveral Recapitulations I had made of the State of Things before the Reformation, and finds Errors and Omiſſions in moſt of theſe; he adds ſome Things out of Papers I had never ſeen. The Whole was writ with ſo much Malice, and ſuch Contempt, that I muſt give ſome Account of the Man, and of his Motives. He had expreſs'd great Zeal againſt Popery, in the End of King* James's *Reign, being then Chaplain to Archbiſhop* Sancroft, *who, as he ſaid, had promiſed him the Firſt of thoſe Prebends of* Canterbury *that ſhould fall in his Gift; ſo when he ſaw that the Archbiſhop was reſolved not to take the Oaths, but to forſake his Poſt, he made an earneſt Application to me, to ſecure that for him at Archbiſhop* Tillotſon's *Hands: I preſſed him in it as much as was decent for me to do, but he ſaid he would not encourage theſe aſpiring Men, by promiſing any Thing before it ſhould fall; as indeed none of them fell during his Time.* Wharton *upon this Anſwer thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a Civil Denial, and ſaid he would be revenged; and ſo he publiſhed that* Specimen. *Upon which, I, in a Letter that I printed, addreſſed to the preſent Biſhop of* Worceſter, *charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reſerved at that Time; for 'till that was done, I would not enter upon the Examination of that* Specimen. *It was*

received

received with Contempt; *and* Tillotſon *juſtified my preſſing him to take* Wharton *under his particular Protection ſo fully, that he ſent and asked me Pardon: He ſaid he was ſet on to it, and that, if I would procure any Thing for him, he would diſcover every Thing to me: I deſpis'd that Offer, but ſaid that I would at any Price Buy of him thoſe Diſcoveries that he pretended to have in reſerve; but Mr.* Chiſwel *(as whoſe Houſe he then lay, being Sick) ſaid he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing: He died about a Year after: So I will ſay no more of him, only this, that where I ſee a Voucher for any Thing that he Objects, I will ſubmit and own my Error, but I have no Reaſon to take any Thing on his Word. I have a Work lying on my Table, which ſhews how little Regard is due to his Collections. It was ſent me by a worthy Perſon in one of the Univerſities, and is a Collating of Ten Pages of his* Anglia Sacra, *with the Manuſcript that he Vouches: It ſwells indeed to a Book.* Wharton *omits the moſt Material Paſſage of an Inſtrument that blemiſhed one of his Heroes. In ſome Places there are Errors in every Line; and there are Three Capital Errors in One Line, and about* 50 *in that ſmall compaſs; I have ſhewed the Book to a great many Perſons, and will ſhew it to any who deſire to ſee it, but do not deſcend here to further Particulars, for that perhaps might diſcover the Author, and expoſe him to the Malice of an ill-natur'd Cabal. Since that Time, a Writer of a greater Name, has with abundance of ill-natur'd Scorn, pretended to under-value my Work. I name him not, for I love not to tranſmit the Remembrance of ſuch Things to Poſterity. Where he gives ſuch Vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract; but when he appeals to ſome Nameleſs Manuſcript in his own Poſſeſſion, I will have no Regard to this; for a Writer that has been found too faulty in citing ſuch Vouchers as can be examined, ought not to expect Belief, when he has Recourſe to ſuch as are kept by him as Secrets, not to be communicated but to a few Confidents, nor entirely to theſe, as I have been informed. All that has been hitherto objected to me, though with Airs of great Aſſurance and Scorn, has been ſo trifling, that ſome good Judges have thought I ſhewed them too much Reſpect to take any Notice of them: They thought it was enough to mark down ſuch ſmall Miſtakes as I ſaw had been made by me, without ſo much as mentioning thoſe who made ſuch Reflections: I would have complied with their Advice, if I had not a juſt Zeal to maintain the Credit of that Work; which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the Diſcoveries that had been made, even in the minuteſt Matters, though with all the Indecency and Contempt poſſible.*

A very Worthy Perſon in one of the Univerſities, has ſent me a Copious Collection of Remarks on both my former Volumes, but upon Condition not to name him; which I will obſerve religiouſly, becauſe I promiſed it; though it is not eaſy to my ſelf, ſince I may not own to whom I owe ſo great an Obligation; but I ſuppreſs none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me. I have had Aſſiſtance from ſome other Hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them, in their proper Places.

I have

I have choſen rather to publiſh all that is of new offer'd to me, in a Volume a-part, than to reprint my former Volumes with theſe Corrections, as ſome have adviſed me to do. There are ſome Thouſands of the former Impreſſions abroad in the Nation, that would be of little Value, if any ſuch New Edition ſhould appear. I have ever looked on ſuch new enlarged Editions, as little leſs than a robbing the Publick; beſides that, in ſo doing, I ſhould only drop thoſe Errors of my former Work, without that formal diſowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe the Publick. I have ever looked on Falſhoods in Hiſtory, when fallen into deliberately, as the worſt ſort of Lying, both the moſt publick, and the moſt laſting. But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet perſiſted in after a Diſcovery, they are as bad as when done on Deſign. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could; and if in ſo great a Variety of Materials, ſome are Spurious, and others appear Doubtful; and if in the Haſte in which the Circumſtances of that Time almoſt forced me to publiſh that Work, without looking out for more Aid, and without waiting for further Diſcoveries, there are ſome inconſiderable Errors and Defects in the leſs important Parts of my Work, that relate not to the Main of Things, I hope the World will be ſo juſt, and ſo favourable, as to make fair Allowances for them, and to accept all the Reparation I can make for paſt Errors, when I own my Failing, and ſet my Readers right.

I come next to give an Account of the Reaſons that moved me to ſet about this Work at this Time. The Reaſons of my engaging in it at firſt, ſeemed now to return upon me; and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor then in view, and the dreadful Apprehenſions we had of the Power of France, *and of the Zeal with which the extirpating that which ſome called the* Peſtilent Hereſy, that had ſo long infeſted thoſe Northern Kingdoms, *was then driven on, made it ſeem a proper Time to awaken the Nation, by ſhewing both what Popery, and what the Reformation was; by ſhewing the Cruelty and Falſhood of the former, and what the Patience and Courage of our Reformers was; and the Work had generally ſo good an Effect then, that if the like Dangers ſeem to revert, it may not be an improper Attempt to try once more to awaken a Nation that has perhaps forgot paſt Dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.*

If there is any Difference between the preſent State of Things, and that we were in above 30 *Years ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceleſs, more inſenſible and ſtupid, and much more depraved in all Reſpects than we were then. We are ſunk in our Learning, vitiated in Principle; tainted, ſome with Atheiſm, others with Superſtition; both which, though by different ways, prepare us for Popery. Our Old Breaches are not healed, and new ones, not known in former Times, are raiſed and fomented with much Induſtry and great Art, as well as much Heat: Many are barefacedly going back to that Miſery from which God with ſuch a mighty Hand reſcued us; and has hitherto preſerved us with an amazing Chain of Happy Providences; but* the deaf Adder ſtops her Ear, let the Charmer charm never ſo wiſely.

All Books relating to thoſe Controverſies lie dead in Shops, few calling for them; many of them (as Men of the Trade have told me) being looked on as Waſte Paper, and turned to Paſteboard. There are, after all, ſome Real and Senſible Arguments, that may perhaps have ſome Effect on thoſe, who let not themſelves be moved with Matters of dry Speculation, or with cold Reaſoning. I have made many Diſcoveries, that may awaken ſome, on whom the cleareſt Demonſtrations will perhaps make no Impreſſion.

In Queen Mary's *Time, beſide all that Scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious Breach of ſolemn Promiſes, of the corrupting and packing of Parliaments, and of that unrelenting Cruelty, which was purſued to the End of that Reign without Intermiſſion; I have had Occaſion to ſee much farther into the Spirit which then prevailed. I have had the Peruſal of the Original Council-Book, that went from the Beginning of her Reign to the laſt Day of the Year* 1557; *in which ſuch a Spirit of Cruelty and Bigottry appears, thro' the whole Courſe of that Reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmleſs Woman, weak tho' learned, guilty of nothing but what her Religion infuſed in her, ſo carried to an Indecence of Barbarity, that it appears that* Bonner *himſelf was not cruel enough for her, or at leaſt for her Confeſſor. She believed her ſelf with Child, and when the Time came in which ſhe expected to be delivered, ſhe continued looking for it every Day above a Month; then a Conceit was put in her Head, that ſhe could not bear her Child, as long as there was a Heretick left in the Kingdom.*

It was a great Part of the Buſineſs of the Council, to quicken the Perſecution every where: Letters were writ to the Men of Quality in the ſeveral Counties, to aſſiſt at the Execution of thoſe who ſuffered for Hereſy, and to call on all their Friends to attend on them. Letters of Thanks were writ to ſuch officious Perſons, as expreſſed their Zeal, ordering them to commit all to Priſon, who came not to the Service, and to keep them in Priſon till the Comfort of their Amendment appeared. Directions were given to put ſuch as would not diſcover others, to the Torture: Thanks were in a particular Stile ſent to ſome Gentlemen, who (as it is expreſſed) came ſo honeſtly, and of themſelves, to aſſiſt the Sheriffs at thoſe Executions. *Pretences of Conſpiracies were every where under Examination; many were committed, and tried for Words. Letters were writ to* Corporations, *about the Elections of* Mayors: *And the Lords had many Letters, to look carefully to the Elections of* Parliament-Men, *and to engage the Electors, to reſerve their Voices for ſuch as they ſhould name.* Sheriffs *began to grow backward, and to delay Executions, in Hopes of Reclaiming Perſons ſo condemned: But they were order'd to do ſo no more.*

Letters were on one Day wrote to the Sheriffs of Kent, Eſſex, Suffolk, *and* Staffordſhire, *and to ſeveral Mayors, to ſignifie what had moved them to ſtay the Executions of ſuch Perſons as had been delivered to them by the Ordinaries, being condemned for Hereſy. One Letter of a more ſingular Strain, was wrote to the* Lord-Mayor *and the* Sheriffs *of* London, *to give Subſtantial Orders, (I give the Words in the Council-Book,) "That when any obſtinate Man, condemned by "Order of the Law, ſhall be deliver'd to be puniſh'd for Hereſy, there "be*

" *be a good Number of Officers and other Men appointed to be at the* " *Execution; who may be charged to ſee ſuch as ſhall miſuſe themſelves,* " *either by comforting, aiding, or praiſing the Offenders, or otherwiſe* " *uſe themſelves to the ill Example of others, to be apprehended and* " *committed to Ward; and beſides, to give Commandment that no* " *Houſholder ſuffer any of his Apprentices, or other Servants to be* " *abroad, other than ſuch as their Maſters will anſwer for; and that* " *this Order be always obſerv'd in like Caſes hereafter*". *Such Pains were taken to extinguiſh all the Impreſſions of Humanity, or at leaſt to puniſh every Expreſſion of it; and this was ſo conſtantly purſued, that Three Men and Two Women were burnt at* Canterbury *on the* 10*th of* November, *a Week before her Death; for ſhe died on the* 17*th.*

Cox Hiſt. of *Ireland.*

Nor were they ſatisfied with all theſe Arts of Cruelty in England; *but hearing that there were ſome of that ſort in* Ireland, *one* Cole *was ſent over with a Commiſſion to ſet a Perſecution on foot there. When he was at* Cheſter, *the Corporation waited on him, in reſpect to his being ſent by the Queen; he ſhewed them his Powers and Letters to the Government of* Ireland, *but leaving his Papers on the Table, when he went in Reſpect to this Body to conduct them down Stairs, the Miſtreſs of the Houſe being ſecretly a zealous Woman, did with a particular Addreſs make up a Pacquet like his, in which ſhe put a Pack of Cards, the Knave of Clubs being turned uppermoſt; and ſo ſhe took away his Papers, putting this inſtead of them. He ſuſpecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to* Dublin, *and deliver'd his Meſſage and Pacquet to the Council there, which was certainly received with Scorn and Indignation. He came back to* London, *and got new Powers, a few Days before the Queen's Death; for the News of it overtook him before he had his Paſſage. The Levity of this Story made me at firſt ſuſpect it, till I found it in ſeveral Books, in which it is ſaid that the Woman had for this Service a Penſion from Queen* Elizabeth.

I have in my former Hiſtory ſhewed what Steps were made in that Reign, towards the ſetting up an Inquiſition in England; *which was very probably ſuggeſted by King* Philip, *and ſome of his* Spaniards, *as the only ſure Method to extirpate Hereſy: But I have ſince ſeen ſome further Steps made towards it.* Ratcliffe, *Earl of* Suſſex, *was in high Favour; and he, who ſaw what was the Method to ſecure and advance it, moved, that inſtead of the dilatory Proceedings in the Ordinary Courts, ſuch Offenders ſhould be proceeded agvinſt by Martial Law. To this the Council wrote Anſwer, They commended his Zeal, and acknowledged that ſuch Perſons deſerv'd to be ſo us'd: Yet it was not thought the beſt Way, but they were to be puniſh'd as the Laws did order. But when they had had their Puniſhment, he was order'd to keep them in Priſon and in Irons, till they came to know themſelves and their Duty. I have alſo found what he did towards the ſetting up an Inquiſition. I did formerly print the Inſtructions that were ſent to the County of* Norfolk. *Of theſe the 6th did run thus:* " *They ſhall* " *procure to have in every Pariſh, or Part of the Shire, as near as may* " *be, ſome one or more honeſt Men ſecretly inſtructed, to give Informa-* " *tion of the Inhabitants amongſt or about them*". *I find in a Regi-*

2*d.* Volume of *H. R.* Coll. of Rec. p. 283.

ſter of the Earl of Suſſex, *that to the 6th Article it is agreed,* "*That* "*the Juſtices of the Peace, in every of their Limits, ſhall call ſe-* "*crètly before them, One or Two honeſt and ſecret Perſons, or more,* "*by their Diſcretions, and ſuch as they ſhall think good; and com-* "*mand them by Oath, or otherways, as the ſame Juſtices ſhall think* "*good, that they ſhall ſecretly learn and ſearch out, ſuch Perſon or* "*Perſons, as ſhall evil-behave themſelves idly at Church, or deſpiſe* "*openly by Words the King and Queen's Proceedings; or go about* "*to make or move any Stirr, Commotion, or unlawful Gathering toge-* "*ther of the People; or that ſhall tell any Seditious, or Lewd Tales,* "*Rumors or News, to move or ſtir any Perſon or Perſons, to riſe, ſtir,* "*or make any Commotion or Inſurrection, or to conſent to any ſuch In-* "*tent or Purpoſe. And alſo, that the ſame Perſons ſo to be appoint-* "*ed, ſhall declare to the ſame Juſtices of the Peace, the Ill Behaviour* "*of lewd, diſorder'd Perſons; whether it ſhall be for uſing Unlawful* "*Games, Idleneſs, and ſuch other Light Behaviour of ſuch ſuſpected* "*Perſons, as ſhall be within the ſame Town, or near thereabouts.* "*And that the ſame Information ſhall be given ſecretly to the Juſti-* "*ces: And the ſame Juſtices ſhall call ſuch accuſed Perſons before* "*them, and Examine them, without declaring by whom they be ac-* "*cuſed. And that the ſame Juſtices ſhall, upon their Examinations,* "*Puniſh the Offenders, according as their Offences ſhall appear to* "*them upon the Accuſement and Examination, by their Diſcretion,* "*either by open Puniſhment, or good Aberring. Here are ſworn Spies appointed, like the Familiars of the* Inquiſition: *Secret Depoſitions not to be diſcovered; and upon theſe, further Proceedings are or-der'd. If this had been well ſettled; what remained to compleat a Court of* Inquiſition, *would have been more eaſily carried.*

Here is that, which thoſe who look towards a Popiſh *Succeſſor, muſt look for, when that Evil Day comes. All this will make little Impreſſion on thoſe, who have no fixed Belief of any Thing in Religion themſelves; and ſo may reckon it a ſmall Matter, to be of any Religion, that comes to have the Law and the Government on its Side; and reſolve to change with every Wind and Tide, rather than put any Thing to Hazard by Struggling againſt it. Yet ſome Compaſſion to thoſe, who have a more firm Belief of thoſe great Truths, might be expected from Men of the ſame Country, Kindred, and who have hitherto profeſſed to be of the ſame Religion. The Reviving the Fires in* Smithfield, *and from thence over the whole Nation, has no amiable View, to make any Haſte to it; and leaſt of all to thoſe, who, if they have any Principles at all, muſt look for nothing leſs than the being turned out of their Livings, or forced to abandon their Families, and, upon every Surmiſe or Suſpicion, to be hunted from Place to Place, glad if they can get out of the Paw of the Lion, into Parts beyond the Seas: And then they may expect to meet with ſome of that Haughty Contempt, with which too many have treated* Foreigners, *who took Sanctuary among us.*

But when this Fatal Revolution *comes upon us, if God, for our Sins, abandons us into the Hands of Treacherous and Bloody Men; whither can we hope to fly? For, with us, the whole* Reformation

muſt fall under ſuch an Univerſal Ruin, that, humanly ſpeaking, there is no View left beyond that.

Yet ſince that Set of Men is ſo impiouſly corrupted in the Point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting ſuch a Part in it, as may be aſſign'd them; there are other Conſiderations of another Sort, ariſing from ſome Papers (put in my Hands ſince I wrote the Hiſtory*) that may perhaps affect them deeper, becauſe they touch in a more ſenſible Part.*

It is well known, how Great and how Valuable a Part of the whole Soil of England, *the* Abbey-Lands, *the Eſtates of the Biſhops, of the Catherals, and the Tythes are. I will not enter into any ſtrict Computation of what the whole may amount to. The Reſumption of theſe, would be no eaſy Matter to many Families: And yet all theſe muſt be thrown up; for Sacrilege in the Church of* Rome *is a Mortal Sin. And therefore Cardinal* Pole, *even in that pretended Confirmation of the Grants that were then made, laid a heavy Charge on thoſe who had the Goods of the Church in their Hands, to remember the Judgments of God that fell on* Belſhazzar, *for Prophaning the Holy Veſſels; tho' they had not been taken by himſelf, but by his Father. It is true, this may be ſuppoſed to relate only to Church-Plate: Tho' there is no Reaſon to reſtrain ſuch a Solemn Charge, to ſo Inconſiderable a Part of what had been taken from the Church; no doubt, he had the whole in his View. And this ſhewed, that tho' he ſeemed to ſecure them from any Claim that the Church might have, or any Suit or Proceeding upon that Account; yet he left the Weight of the Sin on their Conſciences; which a dextrous Confeſſor might manage ſo, as to make the Poſſeſſors yield up their Rights, eſpecially when they themſelves could hold them no longer. The Thing was ſtill a Sin; and the Poſſeſſion was unjuſt. And to make it eaſy to reſtore in the laſt Minutes, the Statute of* Mortmain *was repealed for* 20 *Years; in which Time, no doubt, they reckon'd, they would recover the beſt Part of what they had loſt. Beſides that, the Engaging the Clergy to renew no Leaſes, was a Thing entirely in their own Power; and that, in* 40 *Years Time, would raiſe their Revenues to be about Ten times their preſent Value.*

But ſetting all this aſide; it has appeared evidently to me, from ſome Papers ſent me, ſome Years after I wrote my Hiſtory, *that all that Tranſaction was fraudulent, and had ſo many Nullities in it, that it may be broke through, whenſoever there is a Power ſtrong enough to ſet about it. In the Firſt Powers that are in that* Collection, *all the Grace and Favour that the Pope intended to the Poſſeſſors of thoſe Lands, was to indempnify them for the Mean Profits they had received, and for the Goods that had been conſumed*: They Reſtoring firſt (if that ſhall ſeem expedient) the Lands themſelves, that are unjuſtly detained by them. *This was only the Forgiving what was paſt; but the Right of the Church was inſiſted on, for the Reſtitution of thoſe Lands. The Reſervation in theſe Words,* [If that ſhall ſeem expedient to you,] *can be underſtood in no other Senſe, but that it was referred to his Diſcretion, whether he ſhould inſiſt to have the Reſtitution firſt made, before he granted the Indemnity for the Mean Profits, or not.*

It

It is true, the Council in England *who were in that ſupported by the Emperor, thought theſe Powers were too narrow, and inſiſted to have them enlarged. That was done, but in ſo Artificial a Manner, that the Whole Settlement made by* Pole *ſignified nothing, but to lay the Nation once aſleep, under a falſe Apprehenſion of their being ſecured in thoſe Poſſeſſions, when no ſuch Thing was intended; nor was it at all granted, even by the lateſt Powers that were ſent to Cardinal* Pole. *For in theſe, after the Pope had referred the ſettling that Matter to him, that he might tranſact it with ſuch Poſſeſſors, for whom the Queen ſhould intercede, and diſpence with their Enjoying them for the Future without any Scruple, a* Salvo *is added, by which the Whole Matter is ſtill reſerved to the Pope for his final Confirmation, in theſe Words,* Salvo tamen in his quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem hæc ſancta ſedes merito tibi videretur conſulenda, noſtro & præfatæ Sedis beneplacito & confirmatione. " *Saving always in* " *ſuch Things, in which for their Greatneſs and Importance it ſhall* " *appear to you, that this Holy See ought in Reaſon to be conſulted,* " *our and the ſaid See's good Pleaſure and Confirmation. By theſe Words it is very plain, that as in the Powers granted, they ſeem'd to be limited to a few, to ſuch for whom the QUEEN ſhould intercede, ſince it is not expreſſed that the Pope thought that ſhe ſhould intercede for all that poſſeſſed them; ſo they were only Proviſional: And therefore ſince no Bull of Confirmation was ever obtain'd, all theſe Proviſional Powers were Null and Void, when the Confirmation was ask'd and deny'd: As all the Hiſtorians of that Time agree it was: And this was ſo ſuitable to* P. Paul *the IVth's Temper and Principles, that no Doubt is to be made of his perſiſting ſtedfaſtly in that Reſolution.*

I know there was a Mercenary Writer found in King James's *Reign, who ſtudied to lay all People aſleep, in a ſecure Perſuaſion of their Titles to thoſe Lands. He pretends there was a Confirmation of all that* Pole *did, ſent over to* England. *He brings indeed ſome Proof that it was given out and believed, which might be a Part of the Fraud to be uſed in that Matter. But as no ſuch Thing appears in the* Bullary, *ſo he does not tell us who ſaw it, or where it was laid up. He indeed ſupports this by an Argument that deſtroys it quite: For he tells us, that Two Year after this, Secretary* Petre *had a particular Bull, confirming him in his Poſſeſſion of ſome Church-Lands. This ſhews, that either that Perſon, who was Secretary of State, knew that no Confirmation was ſent over; ſo that it was neceſſary for him to procure a particular Bull for ſecuring his own Eſtate; or whatever might be in* Pole's *Powers, he might think ſuch a General Tranſaction, which the Neceſſity of that Time made reaſonable, would be no longer ſtood to, than while that Neceſſity continued,*

General Treaties and Tranſactions have had ſuch a Fate that few will truſt to them. The Spirit of the Church, as well as the Spirit of a Treaty, will be prefer'd to the Words of all Tranſactions. *Have not we ſeen in our own Days an Edict that was paſſed with all Solemnity poſſible, and declared perpetual and irrevocable, yet recalled with this very Preamble, That it was made in Compliance to the Neceſſity of that Time, and on Deſign to bring thoſe, that were promiſed to be for ever tolerated by it, into the Boſom of the Church. There is ſo much in the*

Canon Law againſt all Sacrilege, and all Alienations of what is once dedicated to God; that though ſome Canoniſts many have carried the Plenitude of the Papal Power ſo far, as to reach even to this, which this hired Writer builds on; yet there is ſo much affirmed to the contrary by others, that it is certain whenſoever the Papacy has Strength enough to ſet aſide all the Settlement then made, they will find ſufficient Grounds in Law to proceed to the Overturning all that was then done. The Princes of Germany, *whoſe Settlements he appeals to, do not truſt to any Treaty, with either Emperor, or Popiſh Princes, with relation to the Church-Lands, of which they poſſeſſed themſelves; but to the Treaties and Guaranties into which they enter'd with one another: And ſo they are engag'd by their Faith, and by their mutual Intereſts to maintain one another and themſelves in their Poſſeſſions: Nor does it appear that a Papal Bull was ever obtained to confirm them. On the contrary, the Pope's Legates proteſted againſt them; and, as will appear afterwards,* Charles *the Vth's Confeſſor refus'd to give him Abſolution for his conſenting to Edicts of that ſort. If the Neceſſity of the Time makes it neceſſary to maintain that Settlement, ſo long it will be maintain'd, and no longer.*

But to put this Matter out of all Doubt, that ſome Pope did ſoon after our Ambaſſador were ſent to him, by a Bull dated the 12th *of* July, 1555, *within Three Weeks after the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors had their Audience, condemn all the Alienations of Church-Lands, and even all Leaſes for one or more Lives; or for a Term longer than Three Years: This he extends to all Cathedrals, Monaſteries, and Hoſpitals, and annuls all Leaſes, Grants, Exchanges, Mortgages, and Obligations of Lands, Caſtles, Towns, and Cities, even though made by Popes themſelves, or by their Authority and* Order; *and by the Preſidents, Prelates, or Rectors of Churches, Monaſteries, or Hoſpitals, of what Rank and Dignity ſoever, Cardinals by Name being expreſſed, that were done to the Prejudice of the Church, the Solemnity by Law required, not being obſerved: Amd that which was Null in the firſt making, but ſupply'd by ſubſequent Contracts, in what Form ſoever made, though by Proofs upon Oath, and by what length of Time ſoever it may claim Preſcription, is all reſcinded, and made void and null. And the Detainers of Goods, upon thoſe Titles are requir'd to quit Poſſeſſion, and to make full Satisfaction for what they have receiv'd, and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and Pecuniary Puniſhments.*

It is true, in all this, England *is not expreſsly named, and perhaps the Pope had the recovering from the Family of the* Farneſe, *that which* Paul *the IIId had alienated to it, chiefly in his Eye: But the Words of this Bull do plainly take in the late Settelment in* England: *For though the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors were then newly come to* Rome, *demanding the Confirmation of what* Pole *had done, yet no Exceptions are made for* England: *So it ſeems, it was intended by theſe General Words, put in on Deſign, to overthrow it. Now becauſe this Matter is of ſuch great Concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examin into this Bull; I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as a ſmall Piece of Inſtruction, to all who are poſſeſſed of any Eſtate ſo alienated from Churches, Monaſteries, or Hoſpitals.*

Upon the Concluſion of this Head, I cannot but take notice of one Inſinuation, that I hear ſome are not aſham'd to make: That ſuch a Reſumption may be indeed a Prejudice to the Laity, but that the Clergy will be enrich'd by it. If this had been brought me by an Ordinary Hand, I ſhould not have thought it worth mentioning; but ſince ſome have the Impudence to ſet it on foot, I muſt add, That theſe are vain Hopes, as well as they are ſuggeſted on black Deſigns: For though the Church, take it in the Bulk, has immenſe Riches in the Roman *Communion; yet in no Church that ever I ſaw are the Parochial Clergy kept poorer, and made more deſpicable; they are as the Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, kept at hard Labour, on a very poor Subſiſtence. The ſeveral Orders among them, the governing Clergy, and the outward Magnificence of their Churches, and Services, devours all that Treaſure: So that the poor Clergy, even in that State of Celibate, have ſcarce neceſſary Suſtenance, unleſs it be in ſome Capital Cities, and in very vaſt Pariſhes in them: They are ſtarved, to maintain the Luxury and Vanity of others: This was the true Occaſion of all the Poverty of the Parochial Clergy among us, to which ſome Remedies have been ſought for, and to ſome Degree found, ever ſince the Reformation was firſt ſettled among us.*

But none of theſe Things will move an inſenſible and degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but preſent Advantages: And ſo they may now ſupport a Luxurious and Brutal Courſe of irregular and voluptuous Practices, they are eaſily hired to betray their Religion, to ſell their Country, and to give up that Liberty, and thoſe Properties, which are the preſent Felicities and Glories of this Nation. The giving them up, will be a laſting Infamy on thoſe who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heavieſt Curſes of Poſterity on ſuch perfidious Betrayers of their Truſt: By this they will bring Slavery on themſelves (which they well deſerve, being indeed the worſt ſort of Slaves) and entail it on the ſucceeding Generation.

I return to proſecute the Account of my Deſign in this Work. I went through thoſe Volumes in the Cotton *Library, of which I had only a tranſient View formerly; and laid together all that I thought neceſſary to compleat it. I ſaw a great and a fair Proſpect of ſuch a Change ready to be made in* France, *as King* Henry *had made in* England. *Mr.* Le Vaſſor *has, out of an Invaluable Collection of Original Papers that are in Sir* William Trumball's *Hands, publiſhed Inſtructions ſent by the Duke of* Orleans *to the Princes of* Germany; *by which, as he declared himſelf a Proteſtant, ſo he gave in General Words good Hopes of his Father* Francis. *I found alſo, both in Papers, and printed Books, that King* Henry *often reproached* Francis *for not keeping his Word to him; and in a long Diſpatch of a Negotiation that* Paget *was employ'd in with the Admiral of* France, *I ſaw further Evidence of this. I was by theſe Indications ſet on to ſee how far I could penetrate into that Secret.*

I was by the Favour of the Earl of Dartmouth *admitted to a free Search of the Paper-Office, which is now in much better Order and Method than it was above* 30 *Years ago, when I ſaw it laſt: And there, among other very valuable Papers, I found the Copy of that ſolemn Promiſe that* Francis *made to* Henry, *minuted on the Back by* Cromwell's *Hand as a true Copy, in theſe Words,* An Inſtrument deviſed from the *French* King, for his Juſtification and Defence of the Invalidity of the King's Highneſs's Firſt Marriage, and the Validity of the Second.

" By

" *By this, he in expreſs Words condemns the Pope's Bull diſpenſing with* " *the Marriage with Queen* Catherine, *which he, by the Unanimous* " *Conſent of thoſe Learned Men whom he had appointed to examine it,* " *condemns as Inceſtuous and Unlawful; and reputes the Daughter born* " *in it, Spurious and Illigitimate: And that the Second Marriage with* " Anne, *then Queen, was Lawful and Juſt; and that Queen* Eliza- " beth *born of it, was lawfully Born. And he promiſes to aſſiſt and* " *maintain the King in this againſt all the World. In this Inſtrument* " *he owns King* Henry *to be, under God, the* Supreme Head of the " Church of *England*: *And he affirms, that many of the Cardinals, in* " *particular the late Cardinal of* Ancona, *and even Pope* Clement *the* " *VIIth himſelf, did both to his Ambaſſador, and to himſelf at* Marſeilles " *plainly confeſs, that the Pope's Bull, and the Marriage made upon it,* " *were null and void; and that he would have given a Definitive Sen-* " *tence, if ſome Private Affections, and Human Regards had not hin-* " *der'd it. This makes me conclude, that he gave other Inſtruments* " *of a further Extent to King* Henry; *for failing in which, I find he was often reproached, though this ſingle Inſtrument is all that I could find out: But the Lord* Herbert *reckons among the Chief Cauſes of King* Henry's *laſt Rupture with* Francis, *That he had not deſerted the Biſhop of* Rome, *and conſented to a Reformation as he once promiſed.*

I ſaw when I paſſed through Zurich, *a Volume of Letters that paſſed between* Bullinger *and thoſe* Engliſh *Divines that had been ſo kindly entertained by him in that Noble Canton: And by the Interpoſition of my Learned, Judicious, and Pious Friend, Mr.* Turretin *of* Geneva, *Mr.* Otto, *a Worthy Profeſſor there, has taken ſuch Care, that Copies of them are procured for me; in which we may ſee the Senſe of thoſe who revived our Reformation in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time. Men who had been Abroad, and had ſeen all Things about them in a true Light, that ſaw in what the Strength of* Popery *lay, and what fortified, or weakened the Body of the Reformed, were liker to have truer Views than can be expected from retir'd, or ſullen Men, who have lived in a Corner, and have but a ſmall Horizon.*

It has been objected to me, that I have ſaid little of Proceedings in Convocation, and of the Struggle that the Clergy made before they were brought to make the Submiſſion, which brought thoſe Bodies under Reſtraints, that ſeem now uneaſie to the Advocates for Church Power. I muſt confeſs I have been veery Defective here: I underſtood that the Books of Convocation were burnt: None of thoſe Great Men, under whoſe Direction that Work went on, knew any Thing of thoſe Diſcoveries that have been of late made; ſo no wonder if I paſſed over what was then ſo little known. Yet now I have examined all that I could find of thoſe Matters, I confeſs I am not inclined to expect much from the Aſſemblies of Clergymen. I have ſeen nothing in Church Hiſtory to incline me to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's *Opinion of thoſe Aſſemblies: What has happened among our ſelves of late, has not made me of another Mind: And I will not deny, but that my Copiouſneſs on theſe Matters, is in my own Opinion, one of the meaneſt Parts of my Work. The Wiſeſt, and Worthieſt Man in that Convocation Archbiſhop* Warham, *was the Perſon that promoted the Submiſſion the moſt. It was no Wonder if a corrupt Clergy, that made ſuch ill Uſe of their Power, had no Mind to Part with any Branch of it. Yet, ſince theſe Things have been of late ſuch a Subject of Debate among*

among us, I have taken what Pains I could, to gather all that is left of thoſe Times, in ſuch Copies, or rather Abſtracts, as have been of late found in Private Hands: Only I will ſet down the Opinion of Sir Thomas More, *the beſt Man of the* Popiſh *Side in that Age, of thoſe Meetings.* "*It is* "*true, he ſays, the Clergy's Aſſembling at the Convocation, was call'd by* "*the Name of Confederacies. But, he adds, if they did aſſemble often,* "*and there did ſuch Things, for which ſuch Aſſemblies of the Clergy in eve-*"*ry Province thro' all* Chriſtendom, *from the Beginning, were inſtituted* "*and deviſed, much more good might have grown thereof, than the long* "*Diſuſe can ſuffer us now to perceive. But all my Days, as far as I have* "*heard, nor (I ſuppoſe) a good Part of my Father's neither, they came* "*never together to Convocation, but at the Requeſt of the King; and at* "*ſuch their Aſſemblies, concerning Spiritual Things, have very little done.* "*Wherefore that they have been in that Neceſſary Part of their Duty ſo* "*negligent, whether God ſuffer to grow to an unperceived Cauſe of Diviſi-*"*on and Grudge againſt them; God, whom their ſuch Negligence hath, I* "*fear me, ſore offended, knoweth.* *More's Apol.* 1533. *Fol.* 241.

The Affinity of the Matter, has led me to reflect on a Great Tranſaction, 1532. *with Relation to the Church of* France, *which was carried on, and finally ſettled, in the very Time that K.* Henry *was Breaking with the Court of* Rome. *It was the* Concordate, *that* Francis I. *made with Pope* Leo X. *The King and the Pope came to a Bargain, by which they divided the Liberties of the* Gallican *Church between them, and indeed quite enſlaved it. There are ſo many Curious Paſſages in the Progreſs of that Matter, that I hope the Opening theſe, will be a very acceptable Entertainment to the Nation. And the rather, becauſe in it this Nation will ſee, what it is to deliver up the Eſſential Liberties of a Free Conſtitution to a Court, and to truſt to the Integrity and Firmneſs of Courts of Juſtice, when an Aſſembly of the States is no more neceſſary to the Raiſing of Money, and the Support of the Government. I know nothing writ in our Language, with Relation to this Matter, beſides that Account I gave of it, in a Book concerning the* Regale. *It was taken from a very Exact Hiſtory of that Tranſaction, that was written by Mr.* Pinſons, *printed* Anno 1666; *and that ſeemed to ſome very Proper Judges, to relate ſo much to our Affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably diſpoſed the Nation, more eaſily to throw off the* Papal *Authority. They ſaw, what a filthy Merchandiſe the Court of* Rome *had made of the Liberties of the Neighbouring Church; taking Care only to ſecure their own Profits, and delivering up the reſt to the Crown. The beſt Writers of that Church have, on many Occaſions, lamented the Loſs of their Liberties by that deteſtable Bargain, into which* Francis's *Neceſſities, wrought on by the Practices of the Court of* Rome, *drew him.* "*By this, the Church of* France, *from being a Queen, be-*"*came (as Biſhop* Godeau *expreſſes it) a Slave. And he adds, Our Fa-*"*thers have groaned, and all that love the Order of the Houſe of God* "*will ſtill groan, as long as Elections continue to be put down: So that* "*we muſt needs enter into the Sanctuary, by the way of the Court. In another Place:* "*Theſe Promotions have been always fatal to the Church;* "*and the Biſhops that the Court has made, have been ordinarily the Chief* "*Advancers of Schiſms, Hereſies, and of the Oppreſſion of the Church. And he concludes,* "*One cannot read* Nazianzen's *Verſes, of the Prelates* "*of his Time, without being ſtruck with Horror, and forc'd to acknow-*"*ledge, that a Secular Temper is entirely contrary to the Epiſcopal Spi-*"*rit.*

" *rit. Of this, a* Greek *Writer makes a ſevere Remark, in the Hiſtory of* Andronicus's *Reign; which may perhaps be as juſtly apply'd to other Reigns, telling what Sort of Biſhops were then made.* " *Princes chuſe* " *ſuch Men to that Charge, who may be their Slaves, and in all Things* " *obſequious to what they preſcribe; and may lie at their Feet, and have* " *not ſo much as a Thought contrary to their Commands. This Change in their Conſtitution, has put an End not only to National, but even to Provincial Synods in that Kingdom. Some were indeed held, upon the Progreſs that* Luther's *Doctrine was beginning to make in* France; *and others, during the Civil Wars, in order to the getting the Council of* Trent *receiv'd in* France. *But now in the Space of* 90 *Years laſt paſt, theſe are no more brought together. The Aſſemblies of the Clergy meet only to give Subſidies, and to preſent their Grievances; but do not pretend to the Authority of a Regular Synod. And tho' in the Year* 1682 *they drew up ſome Articles, yet theſe had their Authority only from the Severity of the King's Edict, till by a Tranſaction with the Court of* Rome *that was let fall.*

I have now gone over all the Matters, that do properly fall within this Introduction. *It remains, that I leave the Senſe of the Subject of this, and of my Two former Volumes, upon the Conſciences of my Readers. Can it be poſſible, that any are ſo depraved, as to wiſh we had no Religion at all; or to be Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion? Would theſe Men reduce us to be a Sort of* Hottentots? *And yet this muſt grow to be the Effect of our being without all Religion. Mankind is a Creature, by his Make and Frame diſpoſed to Religion; and if this is not managed by true Principles, all the Jugglings of* Heatheniſm *would again take Poſſeſſion of the World. If the Principles of Truth, Juſtice, Temperance, and of Univerſal Love, do not govern Men, they will ſoon grow Curſes and Plagues to one another: And a Crew of Prieſts will grow up, who will teach them to compound for all Crimes, and to expiate the Blackeſt Practices by ſome* Rituals.

Religion has ſo much to ſtruggle with, that, if it is not believ'd to be reveal'd by God, it will not have Strength enough to reſiſt thoſe ill Inclinations, thoſe Appetites and Paſſions, that are apt to riſe up in our Minds, againſt its Dictates. What is there in the true and unſophiſticated Chriſtian Religion, that can give a Colour to Prejudices againſt it? The whole Complex of that Rule of Life which it preſcribes, is ſo plainly ſuited to our Compoſition, both in our Souls and their Faculties, and in our Bodies, with Relation to good Health, to Induſtry and long Life; and to all the Intereſts of Human Society, to the Order and Peace of the World, and to the Truth and Love, that are the Cements and Securities of the Body Politick, that, without any labour'd Proof of its Divine Original, theſe are ſuch Characters, that they may ſerve to prove, it is ſent into the World by a Lover of Mankind, who knew our Nature, and what was proper both to perfect it, and to render it not only ſafe, but happy.

But when to all this, we add the Evidence that was given at its appearing in the World: That he, who was the firſt Author of it, and thoſe whom he employ'd firſt to Propagate it, did, upon many Occaſions, in full Day-Light, and in the Sight of great Multitudes, do Things ſo far above the Powers of Nature, in ſuch unconteſted Miracles, that by theſe it evidently appear'd they were aſſiſted by ſomewhat ſuperior to Nature, that could command it at Pleaſure. Here is the fulleſt Ground of Conviction poſſible. Theſe Things were written, publiſh'd, and receiv'd in the Age;

in which they were tranſacted: And thoſe Writings have been preſerved with great Care, and are tranſmitted down to us, at the Diſtance of above Sixteen Ages, Pure and Uncorrupted. In theſe we have the fixed Standard of our Religion; and by them, we can ſatisfy our ſelves concerning all ſuch Practices as have been made upon it, or ſuch Inferences as are drawn from it. I wiſh thoſe, who take to themſelves the Name of Free-Thinkers, *would conſider well, if they think it is poſſible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all; and what the Conſequences of that may prove; and then ſee, if there is any Religion ſo little liable to be corrupted, and that tends ſo much to the Good of Mankind, as the True Chriſtian Religion Reform'd among us.*

As for thoſe that do truly believe this Religion, and have an Ingenuous Senſe and Taſte of Liberty; can they admit a Compariſon to be made, between a Religion reſtrain'd to a Fixed Standard, (into which, every one is admitted to examine the Senſe of it, in the beſt Method he can) and that which ſets up another uncertain Standard, of which they pretend to be the Depoſitaries; I mean, Traditions; *and pretend further, they are the Infallible Expounders of it; and that the True Standard it ſelf is not to be expos'd to common View? That God is to be Worſhipped in a Language not underſtood; That inſtead of a Competent Proviſion to thoſe who Labour in this Work, the Head of them is to become a Great Prince, and may pretend to a Power to Diſpoſe of Kingdoms and States, to* Pardon Sins, *and to Redeem Sinners out of the Miſeries of a Future State: And that the Character derived from him is ſo Sacred, that, in Defiance to Senſe and Reaſon, a Prieſt, by a few Words, can work a Miracle, in Compariſon to which, the greateſt of Miracles is nothing; and who, by theſe Means, have poſſeſſed themſelves of an Immenſe Wealth, and a Vaſt Authority.*

Theſe are all Things of ſo ſtrange a Nature, and ſo contrary to the Genius and Deſign of the Chriſtian Religion, that it is not eaſy to imagine how they could ever gain Credit and Succeſs in the World: But when Mens Eyes have been once open'd, when they have ſhaken off the Yoke, and got out of the Nooſe; when the Simplicity of true Religion has been ſeen into, and the Sweets of Liberty have been taſted; it looks like Charm and Witchcraft, to ſee ſo many looking back ſo tamely on that Servitude, under which this Nation groaned ſo heavily for ſo many Ages. They may ſoon ſee and know what our happy Condition is, in the Freedom we enjoy from theſe Impoſitions, and what their Miſery is, that are condemned to them. It is not enough for ſuch as underſtand this Matter, to be contented in their own Thoughts with this, That they reſolve not to turn Papiſts themſelves: They ought to awaken all about them, even the moſt ignorant and the moſt ſtupid, to apprehend their Danger, and to exert themſelves with their utmoſt Induſtry, to guard againſt it, and to reſiſt it: They ought to uſe all their Efforts to prevent it, and earneſtly to pray to God for his Bleſſing upon them. If after all Mens Endeavours to prevent it, the Corruption of the Age, and the Art and Power of our Enemies, prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we muſt ſubmit to the Will of God, be ſilent, and prepare our ſelves for all the Extremities of Suffering and of Miſery; and if we fall under a Perſecution, and cannot fly from it, we muſt reſolve to glorify God, by bearing our Croſs patiently. Illegal Sufferings are no more to be born, than the Violences of a Robber: But if the Law comes once to be in the Hands of thoſe wicked Men, who will not only revive the Repealed Laws againſt Hereticks, but, if they can, carry their Cruelty up to the Heighth of an Inquiſition, then we muſt try by the Faith and Patience of the Saints, to go through Fire and through Water, *and in all Things to be* more than Conquerors.

I know ſome, who are either apt to deceive themſelves, or hope to deceive others, have this in their Mouths, That Popery *is not what it was before the Reformation; Things are much mended, many Abuſes are detected, and Things*

are not ſo groſs as they were then: And they tell us, that further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them; in particular, they fancy they ſee the Error of Proceeding ſeverely with Hereticks; ſo that there is no Reaſon to apprehend the Return of ſuch Cruelties, as were practiſed an Age and a half ago.

In Anſwer to this, and to lay open the Falſhood of it, we are to look back to the firſt Beginning of Luther's *Breach: It was occaſion'd by the ſcandalous Sale of Pardons and Indulgencies, which all the Writers of the* Popiſh *Side give up, and acknowledge it was a great Abuſe; ſo in the Countries where the Reformation has got an Entrance, or in the Neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of: And it has been taken for granted, that ſuch an infamous Traffick was now no more practiſed. But of late, that we have had Armies in* Spain *and* Portugal, *we are well aſſured that it is ſtill carried on there, in the moſt bare-fac'd manner poſſible. It is true, the proclaiming a Sale is forbid by a Bull: But there is a Commiſſary in every Place, who manages the Sale with the moſt infamous Circumſtances imaginable. In* Spain, *by an Agreement with the Pope, the King has the Profits of this Bull; and it is no ſmall Branch of his Revenue. In* Portugal, *the King and the Pope go Shares. Dr.* Colbatch *has given a very particular Account of the managing the Bull there: For as there is nothing ſo impudent, that thoſe Men are aſhamed to venture on; ſo they may ſafely do what they pleaſe, where the Terror of the Inquiſition is ſo ſevere a Reſtraint, that Men dare not whiſper againſt any Thing that is under that Protection.*

A notable Inſtance of this has appear'd lately, when in the Year 1709, *the Privateers of* Briſtol *took the* Galleon, *in which they found* 500 *Bales of theſe Bulls, and* 16 *Reams were in a Bale: So that they reckoned the whole came to* 3840000. *Theſe Bulls are impoſed on the People, and ſold, the loweſt at* 3 Ryals, *a little more than* 20 d. *but to ſome at* 50 *Pieces of Eight, about* 11 l. *of our Money; and this to be valued according to the Ability of the Purchaſer, once in two Years: All are obliged to buy them againſt* Lent. *Beſides the Account given of this in the Cruiſing Voyage, I have a particular Atteſtation of it by Captain* Dampier, *and one of the Bulls was brought me printed, but ſo, that it cannot be read. He was not concern'd in caſting up the Number of them; but he ſays, that there was ſuch a vaſt Quantity of them, that they careen'd their Ship with them.*

As for any Changes that may be made in Popery, it is certain, Infallibility is their Baſis: So nothing can be altered where a Deciſion is once made. And as for the Treatment of Hereticks, there has been ſuch a Scene of Cruelty of late open'd in France, *and continued there now almoſt* 30 *Years without Intermiſſion; that even in the Kingdom, where Popery has affected to put the beſt Face on Things poſſible, we have ſeen a cruel Courſe of Severity, beyond any thing in Hiſtory. I ſaw it in its firſt and ſharpeſt Fury, and can never forget the Impreſſion that made on me.*

A Diſcovery lately made, ſhews what the Spirit of thoſe at Rome, *who manage the Concerns of that Religion, is, even in a mild Reign, ſuch as* Odiſchalci's *was; and we may well ſuppoſe that becauſe it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a Spirit of Perſecution. When the Abbey of St.* Gall *was taken in the late War in* Switzerland, *a Manuſcript was found, that the Court of* Propaganda *ordered their Secretary to prepare for* Innocent *the XIth's own Uſe, which after his Death came into the Hands of Cardinal* Sfondrato, *who was Abbot of St.* Gall, *and ſo at his Death left this Book there. It gives a particular Account of all the Miſſions they have in all the Parts of the World; and of the Rules and Inſtructions given them, with which I hope thoſe Worthy Perſons, in whoſe Hands this Valuable Book*

is now fallen, will quickly acquaint the World. The Concluſion of it, is an Addreſs to the Pope, in which they lay his Duty before him, from two of the Words in the New Teſtament, directed to St. Peter. *The Firſt was,* Feed my Sheep, *which obliged him not only to feed the Flock that was gathered at that Time, but to proſecute the conſtant Increaſe of it, and to bring thoſe Sheep into it that were not of that Fold. But the other Word was addreſſed to him by a Voice from Heaven, when the Sheet was let down to him full of all ſorts of Beaſts, of which ſome were unclean,* Riſe, Peter, kill and eat, *to let all ſee that it is the Duty of the Great Pontiff to riſe up with Apoſtolical Vigilance, to kill and to extinguiſh in the Infidels their preſent Life, and then to eat them, to Conſubſtantiate their falſe and brutal Doctrine into the Verity of our Faith. There is an Affectation in theſe laſt Words ſuitable to the Genius of the* Italians. *This Application of theſe Two Paſſages, as containing the Duties of a Pope, was formerly made by* Baronius, *in a flattering Speech to encourage Pope* Paul *the Vth in the War he was deſigning againſt the* Venetians.

By this we ſee, that how much ſoever we may let the Fears of Popery wear out of our Thoughts, they are never aſleep, but go on ſteadily, proſecuting their Deſigns againſt us. Popery *is* Popery *ſtill, acted by a Cruel and Perſecuting Spirit; and with what Caution ſoever they may hide, or diſown ſome ſcandalous Practices, where Hereticks dare look into their Proceedings, and lay them open; yet even theſe are ſtill practiſed by them, when they know they may ſafely do it, and where none dare open their Mouth againſt them; and therefore we ſee what Reaſon we have to be ever Watching, and on our Guard againſt them.*

This is the Duty of every ſingle Chriſtian among us; but certainly thoſe Peers and Commoners, whom our Conſtitution has made the Truſtees and Depoſitaries of our Laws and Liberties, and of the Legal Security of our Religion, are under a more particular Obligation of watching carefully over this Sacred Truſt, for which they muſt give a ſevere Account in the laſt Day, if they do not guard it againſt all Danger, at what Diſtance ſoever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the Fences and Outworks of it, or ſuffer Breaches to be made on any of them; if they ſuffer any Part of our Legal Eſtabliſhment to be craftily undermin'd; if they are either abſent or remiſs, on Critical Occaſions; and if any Views of Advantage to themſelves prevail on them, to give up, or abandon the Eſtabliſhment and Security of our Religion: God may Work a Deliverance for us another way, and if it ſeem good in his Eyes, he will deliver us; but they and their Families ſhall periſh, their Names will rot and be held in deteſtation; Poſterity will Curſe them, and the Judgments of God will overtake them, becauſe they have ſold that which was the moſt Sacred of all Things, and have let in an Inundation of Idolatry, Superſtition, Tyranny, and Cruelty upon their Church and Country.

But in the laſt Place, thoſe who are appointed to be the Watchmen, *who ought to give warning, and to* lift up their Voice as a Trumpet, *when they ſee thoſe Wolves ready to break in and devour the Flock, have the heavieſt Account of all others to make, if they neglect their Duty; much more if they betray their Truſt: If they are ſo ſet on ſome ſmaller Matters, and are ſo ſharpened upon that Account, that they will not ſee their Danger, nor awaken others to ſee it, and to fly from it; the guilt of thoſe Souls who have periſhed by their Means,* God will require at their Hands, *if they, in the View of any Advantage to themſelves, are ſilent when they ought to cry out Day and Night: They will fall under the Character given by the Prophet, of the Watchmen in his Time.* They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb Dogs, they cannot bark, ſleeping, lying down, loving to ſlumber: Yea, they are greedy Dogs, which can never have enough: And they are Shepherds that cannot underſtand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter: That ſay, come,

I will fetch Wine, and we will fill our ſelves with ſtrong Drink; to morrow ſhall be as this Day, and much more abundant.

This is a lively Deſcription of ſuch Paſtors as will not ſo much as ſtudy Controverſies, and that will not know the Depths of Satan; that put the Evil Day far off, and as the Men in the Days of Noah *or* Lot, *live on at their Eaſe, ſatisfying themſelves in running round a Circle of dry and dead Performances; that do neither awaken themſelves, nor others. When the Day of Tryal comes, what will they ſay? To whom will they fly for help? Their Spirits will either ſink within them, or they will ſwim with the Tide: The Cry will be, the Church, the Church, even when all is Ruin and a Deſolation. I hope they will ſeriouſly reflect on the few Particulars that I have, out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and ſee what Weight may be in them, and look about them, to conſider the Dangers we are in, before it is too late: But what can be ſaid of thoſe, who are already going into ſome of the worſt Parts of Popery. It is well known, that in Practice, the Neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, and the Prieſtly Abſolution, with the Conceit of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, are the moſt gainful Parts of Popery, and are indeed thoſe that do moſt effectually ſubdue the World to it. The Independance of the Church on the State, is alſo ſo contended for, as if it were on Deſign to diſgrace our Reformation. The indiſpenſible Neceſſity of the Prieſthood to all Sacred Functions, is carried in the Point of Baptiſm further than Popery. Their Devotions are openly recommended, and a Union with the* Gallican *Church has been impudently propoſed; the Reformation and the Reformers are by many daily vilified; and that Doctrine that has been moſt univerſally maintained by our beſt Writers, I mean the Supremacy of the Crown, is on many Occaſions arraigned. What will all theſe things end in! And on what Deſign are they driven! Alas it is too viſible.*

God be thanked there are many among us that ſtand upon the Watch Tower, *and that give faithful Warning; that ſtand in the* Breach, *and make themſelves* a Wall for their Church and Country; that cry to God Day and Night, and lie in the Duſt mourning before him, *to avert thoſe Judgments that ſeem to haſten towards us: They ſearch into the Myſtery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themſelves with all that Maſs of Corruption that is in Popery. They have another Notion of the Worſhip of God, than to dreſs it up as a ſplendid* Opera: *They have a juſt Notion of Prieſthood, as a Function that imports a Care of Souls, and a Solemn performing the Publick Homage we owe to God; but do not invert it to a Political Piece of Craft, by which Mens Secrets are to be diſcovered, and all are ſubdued by a Tyranny that reaches to Mens Souls, as well as to their Worldly Concerns. In a word, they conſider Religion in the Soul, as a ſecret Senſe of Divine Matters, which purifies all Mens Thoughts, and governs all their Words and Actions: And in this Light they propoſe it to their People, warning them againſt all Dangers, and againſt all Deceivers of all ſorts: Watching over them as thoſe that muſt give an Account to the* Great Biſhop of Souls, feeding the Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt has made them Overſeers, *ready to lay down their Lives for them, looking for their Crown from the* Chief Shepherd, when he ſhall appear.

May the Number of theſe good and faithful Servants encreaſe daily more and more; may their Labours be ſo bleſſed, that they may ſee the Travail of their Soul and be ſatisfied; and may many by their Means, and by their Example be ſo awakened, that they may reſiſt even to Blood, ſtriving againſt Sin, and againſt the Man of Sin: And may I be of that Number, labouring while it is Day, and ready when the Night comes, either to lie down and reſt in the Grave; or if God calls me to it to Seal that Doctrine, which I have been preaching now above Fifty Years, with my Blood: May his Holy will be done, ſo I may but Glorify him in my Soul and Body, which are his.

THE

The Third Part OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK I.

Of Matters, *that happen'd in the Time comprehended in the First Book of the History of the Reformation.*

BEFORE I enter on the Affairs of *England*, I have thought it would be of great Uſe to prepare the Reader for what relates to them; by ſetting before him the Progreſs of that Agreement, into which the *French* King's Affairs carried him; by which he deliver'd up One Great Part of the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church to the Pope, and invaded the reſt himſelf. This was carried on in a Courſe of many Years; and the Scene lying next us, and it being concluded in the very Time in which the Breach of this Nation was far carried on, in the Year 1532, I thought it would not be an improper Beginning of my Work, to ſet out that Matter very copiouſly; ſince it is highly probable, that it had a great Influence on all who were capable to reflect on it.

The greateſt Tranſaction that happened in this Period, being the ſetting up the *Concordat*, in the room of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, by *Francis* the Firſt, it will be neceſſary in order to the clear opening of the Matter, to look back into the former Ages.

The Progreſs of the Papal Uſurpations.

A N N O 1300.

The Progreſs the Papacy had made from Pope *Gregory* the VIIth, to Pope *Boniface* the VIIIth's Time, in little more than 230 Years, is an amazing thing: The one begun the Pretenſion to depoſe Kings, the other in the Jubilee that he firſt opened, went in Proceſſion thro' *Romè*, the firſt Day attired as Pope, and the next Day attired as Emperor, declaring, That all Power, both Spiritual and Temporal, was in him, and derived from him: And he cried out with a loud Voice, *I am Pope and Emperor, and have both the Earthly and Heavenly Empire*; and he made a ſolemn Decree in theſe Words, *We Say, Define, and Pronounce, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, for every Human Creature to be ſubject to the Biſhop of* Rome. The Holy War, as it was called, was a great Part of the Buſineſs of that Interval; by which the Authority and Wealth of the Papacy received no ſmall Addition: It is true, the Removal of the Popes to *Avignon*, and the Schiſm that followed upon the Popes Return to *Rome*, did put no ſmall Stop to that growing Power, and to the many and great Uſurpations, and Inventions not known to former Ages, which were ſet on foot to draw all People into a ſervile Dependance on the Popes.

The Schiſm in the Papacy.

This long Schiſm between the Popes that ſate at *Rome* and *Avignon*, was the beſt Conjuncture the Biſhops could ever have hoped for, to recover their Authority; which had been for ſome Ages oppreſſed; and indeed trodden under foot by the Papacy. And if that had happened in a leſs ignorant Age, it is very probable there would have been more effectual Proviſions made againſt it. The Biſhops that met at *Conſtance*, did not apprehend that the Continuance of that Breach was that in which their Strength lay: They made too much haſte to heal it; but they ſoon found that when all was again united, none of the Regulations that they made, could reſtrain a Power that pretended to know no Limits. The greateſt Security of the Church, as they thought, was in the Act for Perpetual General Councils; which were to meet after ſhort Intervals; and in the Act for Subjecting the Popes to the Councils, requiring them to call them and the Council to meet at the End of Ten Years, whether the Pope ſummoned it, or not.

The Council of *Baſil.*

But theſe proved feeble Reſtraints; yet the Council of *Baſil* did ſit purſuant to the Decree made at *Conſtance*: And the Biſhops who met there, endeavoured as much as their low Size of Learning could direct them, to ſet forward a Reformation of thoſe Abuſes that were brought into the Church, and that ſupported that Deſpotick Power which the *Popes* had aſſumed. They reckoned a Regulation of the Elections of Biſhops was the laying a good Foundation, and the ſetling of Pillars and Baſes upon which the Fabrick of the Church might ſecurely reſt. Many Biſhops were made by Papal Proviſions; theſe they ſimply condemned: Others were promoted by the Power and Favour of Princes; to which Ambitious Men recommended themſelves by baſe Conpliances, and ſimoniacal Bargains; in Oppoſition

to

to theſe, they reſtored Elections to the Chapters, with as good Proviſions as they could contrive, that they ſhould be well managed. 1300

The Pope and Council quarrel.

A Conteſt falling in upon their Proceedings, between them, and Pope *Eugenius* the IVth, they addreſſed themſelves to *Charles* the VIIth King of *France*, for his Protection. They ſent him the Decrees they had made againſt *Annats*, that is, Firſt-Fruits; a late Device of Pope *Boniface* the IXth, then about 50 Years ſtanding, pretending to carry on a War againſt the *Turk* by that Aid. They alſo condemned *Gratias Expectativas*, or the Survivances of Biſhopricks, and other Benefices; with all Clauſes of Reſervations in Bulls, by which Popes reſerved to themſelves at pleaſure, ſuch Things as were in a Biſhop's Collation. They appointed Elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, and not by the Pope. They condemned all Fees and Exactions upon Elections, except only a Salary for the Writers Pains; and all Appeals, except to the immediate Superior; with all Appeals from a Grievance, unleſs it was ſuch that the final Sentence muſt turn upon it: And when the Appeal roſe up by all intermediate Steps to the Pope, it was to be judged by Delegates appointed to ſit upon the Place, where the Cauſe lay, or in the Neighbourhood: Only the Cauſes marked expreſsly in the Law, as *greater Cauſes*, were reſerved to the Pope. Proviſion was made for the Encouragement of Learning, and of the Univerſities, that the Benefices that fell in any Collator's Gift, ſhould be in every Third Month of the Year, given to Men that had been, during a limited number of Years, bred in them; and had upon due Trial obtained Degrees in them. If a Biſhop had Ten Benefices in his Gift, the Pope might name to One; and if Fifty, to Two, but to no more. Some of the Proviſions relate to the Diſcipline and Order of the Cathedral Churches: But the main Thing of all was their declaring the Council to be above the Pope; that the Pope was bound to ſubmit to it, and that Appeals lay to it from him.

The Firſt Breach between the Pope and the Council, was made up afterwards by the Interpoſition of *Sigiſmond* the Emperor: The Pope recalled his Cenſures, confeſſed he had been miſled, and ratified all that the Council had done: But that laſted not long; for upon the Pretence of treating a Reconciliation with the *Greek* Church, ſome moved for a Tranſlation of the Council to *Ferrara*; but the Majority oppoſed it: Yet the Pope did Tranſlate it thither. Upon which, the Council condemned that Bull, and proceeded againſt *Eugenius*. He on the other Hand declared them to be no Council, and excommunicated them: They on their Part depoſed him, and choſe another Pope, *Amedee* Duke of *Savoy*, who took the Name of *Felix*: He had retired from his Principality, and upon that, they again begged the Protection of *France*.

1438.

The *Pragmatick Sanction* made in *France*.

The King being thus applied to by them, ſummoned a great Aſſembly to meet at *Bourgos*; where the *Dauphin*, the *Princes* of the *Blood*, many of the Nobility, and many Biſhops met. They would not approve the Depoſition of the Pope, nor the new Election of *Felix*: But yet they rejected the Meeting of *Ferrara*, and adhered to that at *Baſil*. The Decrees paſt at *Baſil* were by them reduced into the Form of an Edict; and publiſhed under the Title of the *Pragmatick*

1438 *Sanction*: Which the King declared he would have to be inviolably obſerved; and he reſolved to moderate Matters between the Pope and the Council.

The Effects it had. There are very different Relations made of the Effects that this Edict had: Some ſay that the Church of *France* began to put on a new Face upon it, and that Men were advanced by Merit, and not as formerly by Applications to the Court of *Rome*; nor Solicitations at the Court of *France*: "Others give a moſt tragical Repreſentation "of Elections, as managed by Faction, indirect Arts, the Solicitations "of Women, and ſimoniacal Bargains; and in ſome Places by open "Violence; out of which, many Suits were brought into the Courts "of Law. The Treaſure of the Church was, as they ſaid, applied "to maintain theſe; the Fabrick was let go to Ruin; and Biſhops "Houſes dilapidated. Pope *Leo*-the Xth in his Bull that abrogates "this Sanction, enumerates many Evils that aroſe out of theſe Ele-"ctions, and that in particular, Simony and Perjury prevailed in "them, of which he ſays he had undeniable Evidence, in the many "Abſolutions and Reabilitations that were demanded of him. This might be boldly alledged, becauſe it could not be diſproved, how falſe ſoever it might be.

There might be ſome Inſtances of Faction, which were no doubt aggravated by the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome*: For the Profits which came from *France* being ſtop'd by the *Pragmatick*, all Arts were uſed to diſgrace it.

The Pope condemns it. *Eneas Silvius* was counted one of the ableſt Men of that Time. He was Secretary to the Council of *Baſil*, and wrote copiouſly in Defence of it againſt the Pope: But he was gained over to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*; he had a Cardinal's Hat, and was afterwards advanced to the Popedom, and reigned by the Name of *Pius* the IId. He retracted all his former Writings, but never anſwered them: Yet he was ſo barefaced in ſetting himſelf to Sale, that when he was reproached for changing Sides, he anſwered, the Popes gave Dignities, Abbies, Biſhopricks, and Red Hats to their Creatures; but he asked, how many of ſuch good Things did the Council give.

In a Council at *Mantua*. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as Deſerters are apt to do, by railing at all that the Council of *Baſil* had done, and againſt the *Pragmatick Sanction*. He branded it as a *Hereſy*: And in a Council that he held

1458. at *Mantua* 20 Years after, he inveighed ſeverely againſt it. He ſaid, Biſhops thought to have eſtabliſhed their Power, but on the contrary their Authority was ruined by it: For Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes were brought into the Secular Courts, and all Things were put into the King's Hands: Yet that *Sanction* was obſerved in *France* till the King's Death; and though ſome were perſuaded to go to *Rome*, and to procure Bulls, theſe were eſteemed no better than Traitors and Enemies to the Country. It is true, upon this the Courts of Parliament took upon them to judge in all Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and to examine whether the Eccleſiaſtical Courts had proceeded according to the Laws of the Church or not: And that the Sentences of the Temporal Courts might be executed, they ordered the Revenues of Biſhops, if they ſtood out in Contumacy, to be ſeized into the King's Hands, and their Perſons to be arreſted.

When

When *Daneſius* the Attorney-General heard how Pope *Pius* had arraigned the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and that he was deſigning to proceed to Cenſures againſt the King and his Miniſters, he proteſted againſt all he had ſaid, referring the Deciſion of the Matter to a General Council. 1458.

Upon that King's Death he was ſucceeded by *Lewis* the XIth; and the Biſhop of *Arras* having great Credit with him, the Pope gained him by the Promiſe of a Cardinal's Hat, to uſe his Endeavours to get the King to abrogate the *Sanction*; and becauſe he thought that which might work moſt on the King, was the Apprehenſion that much Money which was now kept within the Kingdom, would upon the laying it aſide, be carried to *Rome*; this Expedient was offered, that there ſhould be a Legate Reſident in *France*, with Powers to grant ſuch Bulls as was neceſſary: Though this was never done, and it ſeems it was only offered as a Specious Conceſſion to gain their Point. King *Lewis* the XIth's Character is given us ſo fully by *Philip de Comines*, who knew him well, that none who have read him, will wonder to find, that when he needed any Favour from the Court of *Rome*, he made the fulleſt Submiſſion that any King perhaps ever made: He in a Letter that he wrote to the Pope, owns *the Pope to be God's Vicar on Earth, to whoſe Words he will always hearken and obey: And therefore, though the* Pragmatick Sanction *was received upon long Deliberation, in a great Aſſembly, and was now fully ſettled, yet ſince the Pope deſired that it might be abrogated, and ſince the Biſhop of* Arras *had put him in mind of the Solemn Promiſe that he had made by him, before he came to the Crown, he reckoning that Obedience was better than all Sacrifice, ſince that* Sanction *was made in a Time of Sedition and Schiſm, ſo that by it his Kingdom was not conform to other Kingdoms; though many Men ſtudied to maintain it, yet he reſolved to follow and obey the Pope's Orders; therefore he abrogates it entirely, and does of his own accord, not compelled in any ſort, reſtore him to the Authority that* Martin *the* Vth, *and* Eugenius *the* IVth, *did exerciſe in former Times: And bids him uſe the Power, given him by God, at his Pleaſure: And promiſes on the Word of a King, that he will take care that all his Commands ſhall be executed within his Kingdom, without Oppoſition or Appeal; and that he will puniſh ſuch as are Contumacious, as the Pope ſhall direct.*

Lewis the XIth abrogates it.

Councils *Tom.* 14. P. 97.

Here was an entire Submiſſion, penned no doubt by the aſpiring Cardinal. It was received at *Rome* with no ſmall Joy; the *Pragmatick* was dragged about the Streets of *Rome*, the Pope wept for Joy, and at Maſs on *Chriſtmaſs*-Eve, he conſecrated a Sword with a rich Scabbard, to be ſent to the King. The Title of the *moſt Chriſtian King* had been given by former Popes to ſome Kings of *France*; but Pope *Pius* was the Perſon who upon this high Merit, made it one of the Titles of the Crown: Such as read *des Comines* Hiſtory, will not find any other Merit in that King, to entitle him to ſo Glorious a Compellation

To the Pope's great joy.

The Court of Parliament of *Paris* interpoſed; they made a noble Remonſtrance to the King, in which they preſſed him to maintain the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which had its Original from a General Council, and they affirmed that the King was obliged to maintain it.

The Parliament of *Paris* oppoſe it.

Yet

1458. Yet afterwards, that King's Project of engaging the Pope to aſſiſt his Son-in-Law to recover *Sicily*, then poſſeſſed by the Baſtard of *Arragon*, did miſcarry, the Pope refuſing to concur in it; upon which, the King was offended, and carried his Submiſſions no farther; only he ſuffered Bulls of Reſervations and Survivances to take Place again.

The honeſt Courage of the Attorney-General.

This Matter was taken up again Six Years after by Pope *Paul* the IId. A new Miniſter was gained by the ſame Bait of a Cardinal's Hat, to procure the Revocation: So the King's Edict was ſent to the Court of Parliament of *Paris* to be regiſtred there, in Vacation Time. The Court ordered the Attorney-General to examine it. St. *Romain* was then Attorney-General, and he behaved himſelf with ſuch Courage, that he was much celebrated for it. "He oppoſed the Regiſtring it, and ſpoke much in the Praiſe of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; "he ſhewed the ill Conſequences of repealing it. That it would let "in upon them Abuſes of all ſorts, which were by it condemned: "All Affairs relating to the Church would be ſettled at *Rome*; many "would go and live there, in hopes of making their Fortunes by "Proviſions. He ſet forth that 10 or 12 Bulls of Survivances were "ſometimes obtained upon the ſame Benefice; and during Three "Years in Pope *Pius*'s Time (in which the exact Obſervation of the "*Pragmatick Sanction* was let fall) 22 Biſhopricks happening to fall "void, 500000 Crowns were ſent to *Rome* to obtain Bulls; and 62 "Abbies being then vacant, a like Sum was ſent for their Bulls; and "120000 Crowns were ſent to obtain other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments. "He added that for every Pariſh there might be a Bull, of a *Gratia Expectativa*, or Survivance, purchaſed at the Price of 25 Crowns; beſides a vaſt number of other Graces and Diſpenſations. He inſiſted "that the King was bound to maintain the Rights and Liberties of the "Church in his Kingdom, of which he was the Founder, and Defender.

For which he was turn'd out.

The aſpiring Cardinal offended with this honeſt Freedom of the Attorney-General, told him he ſhould fall under the King's Diſpleaſure, and loſe his Place for it. He anſwered, the King had put him "in the Poſt freely, he would Diſcharge it Faithfully, as long as the "King thought fit to continue him in it; and he was ready to lay it "down whenſoever it pleaſed the King; but he would ſuffer all "Things, rather than do any Thing againſt his Conſcience, the "King's Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom. The Favourite prevailed to get him turn'd out, but the Crafty King gave him ſecretly great Rewards; he eſteemed him the more for his Firmneſs, and reſtored him again to his Place.

The Univerſity of *Paris* alſo interpoſed, and the Rector told the Legate, that if the Matter was further proſecuted, they would Appeal to a General Council: But this notwithſtanding, and tho' the Court of Parliament ſtood firm, yet the King being under the Apprehenſions of ſome Practice of his Brothers of *Rome*, whom he hated mortally; in order to the defeating thoſe, renewed his Promiſes for abrogating the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and it was for many Years let fall into Diſuetude. Towards the End of this Reign an Aſſembly was held at *Orleans*, in order to the re-eſtabliſhing the *Pragmatick Sanction*

Sanction; and the hindring Money to be carried to *Rome*. The King died 1583. 1458.

Upon *Charles* the VIIIth's ſucceeding, an Aſſembly of the States was held at *Tours*; in which the Obſervation of the *Pragmatick Sanction* was earneſtly preſs'd; the Third Eſtate inſiſted on having it entirely reſtor'd. The Prelates, who had been promoted contrary to it under King *Lewis*, oppoſed this vehemently; and were in Reproach call'd the Court Biſhops, unduly promoted; and were charged, as Men that aſpir'd to Favour at *Rome*. *St. Romain*, now again Attorney-General, ſaid, He knew no Eccleſiaſtical Law better calculated to the Intereſt of the Kingdom, than the *Pragmatick Sanction* was; and therefore he would ſupport it. The King ſaw it was for his Advantage to maintain it, and ſo was firmly reſolved to adhere to it. The Courts of Parliament not only judged in Favour of Elections made by Virtue of that Sanction, but by earneſt Remonſtrances, they preſſed the King, to prohibit the Applications made to the Court of *Rome* for Graces condemned by it. The *Pragmatick Sanction* re-eſtabliſhed.

Innocent the VIIIth continued by his Legates to preſs the entire Repeal of the *Pragmatick*; yet notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, it continued to be obſerved during *Charles* the VIIIth's Reign. *Lewis* the XIIth did, by a Special Edict, appoint it to be for ever obſerv'd. Thus it continued till the Council of *Lateran*, ſummon'd by Pope *Julius* the IId. to which *Silveſter*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield*, were Commiſſion'd by King *Henry* the VIIIth, to go "in his Name, and on Behalf of the Kingdom, to conclude every "thing for the Good of the Catholick Church, and for a Reforma"tion, both in the Head, and in the Members; and to conſent to "all Statutes and Decrees for the Publick Good: Promiſing to ratify whatever they, or any of them ſhould do. The King's Empowering Two Perſons in ſuch a manner, ſeems no ſmall Invaſion of the Liberties of the Church; but it was in the Pope's Favour, ſo it was not challenged. But it was ſtill complain'd of by the Popes. 1499. *Rymer*, To. 13. 17. Feb. 1511.

This Council was call'd by that angry Pope chiefly againſt *Lewis* the XIIth: And the *Pragmatick Sanction* was arraigned in it; both becauſe it maintain'd the Authority of the Council to be Superior to the Pope, and becauſe it cut off the Advantages that the Court had made by the Bulls ſent into *France*. The Pope brought *Lewis* the XIth's Letters Patents, by which it was abrogated, into the Council; and the Advocate of the Council, after he had ſeverely arraigned it, inſiſted to have it condemned. So a Monition was decreed, ſummoning all who would appear for it, to come and be heard upon it within 60 Days. The Pope died in *February* thereafter.

Pope *Leo* the Xth ſucceeded, and renew'd the Monitory Letters iſſued out by his Predeceſſor. But the Perſonal Hatred with which *Julius* proſecuted *Lewis* being at an end, Things were more calmly managed. Some Biſhops were ſent from the *Gallican* Church, to aſſiſt in the Council: But before any thing could be concluded, King *Lewis* dying, *Francis* ſucceeded. He underſtood that the Pope and the Council were intending to proceed againſt the *Pragmatick Sanction*, ſo he reſolv'd to bring the Matter to an Agreement; in which ſome Progreſs was made, in an Interview that he had with the Pope at Condemn'd by the Council in the *Lateran*.

at *Bononia*. It was concluded by a Sanction called the *Concordate*, between the Cardinals of *Ancona* and of *Sanctorum Quatuor*, on the Pope's Side, and Chancellor *Prat* for the King. Some ſmall Differences remained; which were all yielded as the Pope deſired: And in the Month of *December*, the Pope's Bull, condemning the *Pragmatick Sanction*, was read, and approved by that Council, ſuch as it was.

1516.

The *Concordate* put inſtead of it.

The *Concordate* was put inſtead of it. The Truth was, *Francis* was young; and was ſo ſet on purſuing his Deſigns in *Italy*, in which he ſaw the Advantage of having the Pope on his Side, that he ſacrific'd all other Conſiderations to that, and made the beſt Bargain he could. "The King and the Pope divided the Matter be-"tween them. When any Biſhoprick became vacant, the King was "within Six Months to Name to it, a Doctor, or one Licenſed in "Divinity, of the Age of 27. If the Pope did not approve of the "Nomination, the King had Three Months more to Nominate ano-"ther; but if he fail'd again, the Pope was to Provide one to the "See. The Pope had reſerv'd to himſelf the Providing of all that "became vacant in the Court of *Rome*: (A Pretenſion the Popes had "ſet on foot, in which by degrees they had enlarged the Extent of it "to very great and undetermined Bounds; and did thereby diſpoſe of "many Benefices.) And the King was limited in his Nomination, "by ſome Conditions, with Relation to the Perſon ſo nominated; "yet the want of theſe was not to be objected to the King's Kindred, "or to other Illuſtrious Perſons. The King was alſo to Nominate "to all Abbeys a Perſon of 23 Years of Age. *Gratiæ Expectativæ*, "or Survivances and Reſervations in Bulls, were never to be admit-"ted: Only One Benefice might be reſerved from a Collator of 10; "and 2, from one of 50. Cauſes of Appeals were to be judged *in* "*Partibus*, in the Parts where the Matters lay; excepting the Cau-"ſes enumerated in the Law, as *greater Cauſes*. It was alſo provi-"ded, that in all Bulls that were obtained, the true Value of the Be-"nefice was to be expreſſed; otherwiſe the Grace was null and void. No Mention was made of Annats; and in other Particulars, the Articles in the *Pragmatick Sanction* were inſerted. The Pope promiſed he would ſend a Legate to *France*, to Tax the Value of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. All former Excommunications were taken off, with an Indemnity for all that was paſſed.

King *Francis* carried it to the Parliament of *Paris*.

The King having the Two Inſtruments, the one abrogating the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and the other eſtabliſhing the *Concordate*, ſent in great Pomp to him, in order to their being Regiſtred in Parliament; reſolved only to offer the latter, as that in which the other was virtually comprehended. So he went in Perſon to the Court of Parliament, to which many Great Men, Divines, and other Perſons of Diſtinction were called. The Chancellor ſet forth the Hatred Pope *Julius* bore King *Lewis* the XIIth, and the Violence with which he had proceeded againſt him: The King ſucceeding when the Council of the *Lateran* was aſſembled; which was compoſed chiefly of Members of the Court, or of Dependers on the Court of *Rome*; who were all engaged againſt the *Pragmatick Sanction*, as that which diminiſh'd their Profits: The King ſaw it was in vain

to

to inſiſt in defending it: But apprehending, if it were ſimply condemned, all the Old Oppreſſions would again take Place, he being then engaged in a moſt dangerous War in *Italy*, ſaw no better way to gain the Pope than by agreeing to the *Concordat*. 1516.

The Eccleſiaſticks who were preſent, ſaid by their Mouth the Cardinal of *Boiſi*, that the *Concordat* did ſo affect the Whole *Galican Church*, that without a General Conſent it could not be approved. The King upon this ſaid with ſome Indignation, that he would Command them either to Approve it, or he would ſend them to *Rome*, to diſpute the Matter there with the Pope. The Preſident anſwered in the Name of the Court, that he would report the King's Pleaſure to the Court; and they would ſo proceed in that Matter, as to pleaſe both God and the King: The Chancellor replied, The Court were Wiſe: The King ſaid, he did enjoin them to Obey without delay. Then Letters Patents were made out, ſetting forth the *Concordat*, and requiring the Court of Parliament, and all other Judges to obſerve it, and to ſee it fully executed. It was there oppoſed by the Eccleſiaſticks of that Court.

Some Days after that, the Chancellor, with ſome of the Officers of the Crown, came and brought the Whole Courts together, and delivered them the King's Letters Patents, requiring them to Regiſter the *Concordat*.* They upon that, appointed the King's Council to examine the Matters in it. The Advocate General, did in the Chancellor's Preſence, repreſent the Inconvenience of receiving the *Concordats*, by which the Liberties of the *Galican Church* were leſſened, and ſaid that by the Paying of *Annats*, much Money would be carried out of the Kingdom: So he deſired they would appoint a Committee to examine it. Four were named, who after they had ſate about it Ten Days, deſired more might be added to them; ſo the Preſident of the *Enquets*, or Inquiſitions, and Four more, were joined to them. A Week after that, the Advocate General moved the Court, to proceed ſtill to judge according to the *Pragmatick*, and not to receive the Revocation of it, againſt which he put in an Appeal. Four Days after this, the Baſtard of *Savoy*, the King's Natural Uncle, came into the Court, with Orders from the King, requiring them to proceed immediately to the Publiſhing the *Concordats*; appointing him to hear all their Debates, that he might report all to the King. He told them how much the King was offended with their Delays: They on the other hand complained of his being preſent to hear them deliver their Opinions. They ſent ſome of their Number to lay this before the King; it looked like a Deſign to frighten them, when One, not of their Body, was to hear all that paſſed among them. * The King ſaid there were ſome Worthy Men among them them, but others, like Fools, complained of him, and of the Expence of his Court: He was a King, and had as much Authority as his Predeceſſors. They had flattered *Lewis* the XIIth, and called him the *Father of Juſtice*: He would alſo have Juſtice done with all Vigour. In *Lewis*'s Time ſome were baniſhed the Kingdom becauſe they did not Obey him; ſo if they did not Obey him, he would ſend ſome of them to *Bourdeaux*, and others to *Toloufe*, and put good Men in their Places: And told them he would have his Uncle preſent, during their Deliberation: So they were forced to ſubmit to it. Oppoſition made to it by the King's learned Council.

1517. They reſolve not to publiſh it.

On the 13th of *June* they began to deliver their Opinions, and that laſted till the 24th of *July*: And then they concluded that the Court could not, and ought not, to Regiſter the *Concordats*: But that they would ſtill obſerve the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and that the Univerſity of *Paris*, and all others that deſired to be heard, ought to be heard. Therefore they ſaid they muſt Appeal from the Abrogation of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and if the King would inſiſt to have the *Concordat* obſerved, a Great Aſſembly ought to be ſummoned, ſuch as *Charles* the VIIth had called to ſettle the *Pragmatick*. They alſo charged the *Savoyard* to make a true Report to the King of their Proceedings.

The King was highly offended at this.

Upon this the King wrote to them, to ſend ſome of their Body to give him an Account of the Grounds they went on: Two were ſent, but it was long before they were admitted to his Preſence: The King ſaying he would delay their Diſpatch, as they had delayed his Buſineſs. When they were admitted, they were ordered to put what they had to offer in Writing: This they did, but deſired to be likewiſe heard: But being aſked, if they had any Thing to offer that was not in their Paper; they ſaid they had not, but deſired the King would hear their Paper read to him; the King refuſed it. They were a Body of One Hundred Perſons, and had been preparing their Paper above Seven Months, but the Chancellor would anſwer it in leſs Time: And the King would not ſuffer them to have a verbal Proceſs againſt what he had done. He told them there was but One King in *France*: He had done the beſt he could to bring all to a quiet State, and would not ſuffer that which he had done in *Italy*, to be undone in *France*; nor would he ſuffer them to aſſume an Authority like that of the Senate of *Venice*. It was their Buſineſs to do Juſtice, but not to put the Kingdom in a Flame, as they had attempted to do in his Predeceſſor's Time: He concluded he would have them Approve the *Concordats*; and if they gave him more Trouble, he would make them Ambulatory, and to follow his Court: Nor would he ſuffer any more Eccleſiaſticks to be of their Body. They were not entirely his Subjects, ſince he had no Authority to cut off their Heads: They ought to ſay their Breviary, and not to meddle in his Affairs.

They anſwered him, that theſe Things were contrary to the Conſtitution of their Court. He ſaid he was ſorry his Anceſtors had ſo conſtituted it, but he was King as well as they were; and he would ſettle them on another Foot: So he bid them begone early the next Morning: They begg'd a ſhort delay, for the Ways were bad; but the Great Maſter told them from the King, that if they were not gone by ſuch an Hour, he would put them in Priſon, and keep them in it Six Months, and then he would ſee who would move to ſet them at Liberty: So they went to *Paris*. The Duke of *Tremoville* was ſent after them to the Parliament, to let them know that the King would have the *Concordats* to be immediately publiſhed, without any further Deliberation: They muſt Obey the King as became Subjects; he told them the King had repeated that Ten Times to him, in the Space of a Quarter of an Hour; and concluded, that if they delayed any longer to Obey the King, the King would make all the Court feel the Effects of his Diſpleaſure.

The Court called for the King's learned Council, but they ſaid they had received poſitive Orders from the King by *Tremoville*, to conſent to the *Concordats*; otherwiſe the King would treat them ſo, that they ſhould feel it ſenſibly: The Advocate General ſaid he was ſorry for the Methods the King took; but he wiſhed they would conſider what might follow, if they continued to deny what was ſo earneſtly preſſed on them: The publiſhing this could be of no Force, ſince the Church, that was ſo much concerned in it, was neither called for, nor heard; the Thing might be afterwards ſet right, for *Lewis* the XIth ſaw his Error, and changed his Mind. He offered Two Things to ſoften that which was required of them: One was to inſert in the Regiſter, that it was done in Obedience to the King's Commands often repeated: The other was, that they ſhould declare that they did not approve the Abrogation of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, but were then only to publiſh the *Concordats*; and that they might reſolve in all their judiciary Proceedings to have no regard to that: And in particular to that Clauſe, that all Bulls were void if the true Value of the Benefice was not expreſſed in them. On the 18th of *March* they came to this Reſolution, that their Decree of the 24th of *July*, for obſerving the *Pragmatick*, was by them fully confirmed; but in Obedience to the King's Commands, they publiſhed the *Concordats*; adding a Proteſtation, that the Court did not approve it, but intended in all their Sentences to judge according to the *Pragmatick Sanction*.

The King's learned Council oppoſe it no longer.

1518.

The Court made theſe Proteſtations in the Hands of the Biſhop of *Langres*, a Duke and Peer of *France*, ſetting forth that their Liberty was taken from them; that the Publication of the *Concordats*, was not done by their Order, but againſt their Mind, by the King's expreſs Order; and that they did not intend to approve it, nor to be governed by it in their Judgments, but to obſerve the *Pragmatick Sanction*. They ordered likewiſe an Appeal to be made from the Pope, to the Pope better adviſed, and to the next General Council: Upon all which the Biſhop of *Langres* made an Authentick Inſtrument; ſo it was reſolved to proceed to Publication on the 22d of *March*: But on the 21ſt, the Rector of the Univerſity of *Paris*, accompanied by ſome of that Body, and by ſome Advocates, appeared, deſiring to be heard before they ſhould proceed to ſuch Publication. The Court received his Petition, and promiſed to conſider it: But ſaid if they made the Publication it ſhould not prejudice any of their Rights, for they were reſolved to judge as formerly, notwithſtanding that: Yet they required him not to publiſh this. The Dean of *Noſtredame* came on the 22d to the Court, and ſaid they heard they were going to publiſh the *Concordats*, which both implied their condemning the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and tended to the Deſtruction of the Liberties of the *Galican Church*, which the Popes had always envied them. He deſired they would not proceed to it, 'till the Whole *Gallican Church* was conſulted in the Matter; and proteſted that what they were about to do, ſhould not be to the Prejudice of the Church. After this was received, they proceeded to the Publication, as they had promiſed, adding theſe Words to it, *Read, Publiſhed, and Regiſtred, by the Order and Command of the King*,

The Parliament publiſhes it, but with a Proteſtation.

1518. *King often repeated to us, in the Presence of the Lord of* Tremoville *his First Chamberlain, specially sent to have it done.* And on the 24th of *March* they renewed their Protestation, that they did not approve of it; that they insisted in their former Appeals, and were resolved to proceed in all their Judgments without regard to it.

The University and Clergy oppose it.

On the 27th of *March*, the Rector of the University ordered a Mandat to be affixed, prohibiting their Printers to print the *Concordats*: He likewise appealed from the Pope, to a General Council, lawfully assembled, sitting in a safe Place, and in full Freedom. This was printed and affixed: And great Reflections were made by some Preachers in their Sermons, both on the King, and on the Chancellor. The King being informed of this, wrote to the First President, complaining both of the Rector, and of the Preachers: He ordered them to take Informations of all those Matters, and to get the *Concordats* to be printed as soon as was possible, and to punish the Authors of Sedition. But the Court said they knew nothing tending that way; for their Business took them up so entirely, that they could not attend on Sermons. The King complained likewise severely of the Appeal they had made; he was Monarch, and had no Superior, to whom an Appeal could lie: He also sent an Order to inhibit all Meetings in the University.

The Exceptions to the *Concordat* by the Parliament.

In the *Concordat* it was provided, that if it was not published within Six Months in *France*, it should be null and void: But the Delays that had been made, put the King on getting that Term prolonged a Year longer. "The Three Chief Exceptions that the Parliament "had to the *Concordats*, were, *First*, the declaring Bulls void, if "the true Value of the Benefices was not set forth in them; which "might put the Obtainers of them to great Charge, and many Suits: "The *Second*, was the carrying the *Greater Causes* to be judged at "*Rome*: The *Third*, was concerning Elections. The *First* of these "was given up, and was no further urged by the Court of *Rome*: "But it was not settled what those *Greater Causes* were. By the "*Pragmatick* they were restrained to Bishopricks and Monasteries; "but the *Concordats* held the Matter in general Words: So the Number "of these Causes was Indefinite; and on all Occasions it would increase "as the Canonists pleased. They condemned that Device of the Court "of *Rome*, of granting Provisions for all that was held by any who "died in the Court, considering the great Extent to which that had "been carried: They also found that by the *Concordats*, all Nun-"neries were left to the Pope's Provision; and likewise all Inferior "Dignities, such as Deanries, and Provostships. All Churches that "had special Privileges, were exempted from the King's Nomination; "and at *Rome*, Exceptions might be unjustly made to the Persons "named by the King: But above all, they stood on this, that the "Right of Electing was founded on the Law of God, and on Natu-"ral Right: That this was established by the Authority of Gene-"ral Councils, by the Civil Law, and by many Royal Edicts, "during all the Three Races of their Kings: This Right "was now taken away without hearing the Parties con-"cerned to set it forth. If there had crept in Abuses in Electi-"ons, these might be corrected: but they thought the King usurped

"that

" that which did not belong to him, on this Pretence, that the Pope 1518.
" granted it to him; which was contrary both to the Doctrine and
" Practice of the *Galican Church*. They found many leſſer Exceptions in Point of Form, to the Method of Abrogating the *Pragmatick Sanction*: One was, that the Council of the *Lateran* did forbid all Perſons that held Lands of the Church to obſerve or maintain that Sanction, under the Pain of Forfeiting thoſe Lands; which was a plain Invaſion of the King's Prerogatives, who is Supreme Lord of all thoſe Lands within his Dominions: The Pope alſo took upon him to annul that Sanction, that then ſubſiſted by the Royal Authority: This might be made a Precedent in time to come for annulling any of their Laws. They likewiſe thought the taking away the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which was made upon the Authority of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and had declared the Subjection of the Pope to the Council, did ſet aſide that Doctrine, and ſet up the Pope's Authority above the Council; tho' the *Pragmatick* was made while the Pope was reconciled to the Council: And the Breach upon which *Eugenius* was depoſed, hapned not till almoſt a Year after that; it being publiſhed in *July* 1438, and his Depoſition was not till *June* 1439: Beſides, that 10 Year after that Pope *Nicolaus* the Fifth confirmed all the Decrees made at *Baſil*. They likewiſe put the King in mind of the Oath he took at his Coronation, to Maintain all the Rights and Liberties of the *Galican Church*. So they moved the King either to prevail with the Pope to call a General Council, or that he would call a National one in *France*, to judge of the whole Matter: And as for the Threatnings given out, that the Pope would Depoſe the King, and give away his Kingdom, if he did not ſubmit to him, they ſaid the King held his Crown of God, and all ſuch Threatnings ought to be rejected with Scorn and Indignation.

To all theſe, the Chancellor made a long and flattering Anſwer; for which he had the uſual Reward of a Cardinal's Cap. He ſet forth the Danger the King was in, being engaged in the War of *Italy*; the Pope threatning him with Cenſures: for the *Pragmatick Sanction* was then condemned by the Pope, and that Cenſure was ratified by the Council in the *Lateran*; upon which he would have re-aſſumed all the old Oppreſſions, if the King had not entred into that Treaty; yielding ſome Points to ſave the reſt. He ſaid the Kings of the firſt Race nominated to Biſhopricks: for which he cited Precedents from *Gregory* of *Tours*. So the Kings of *England* did name, and the Popes upon that gave Proviſions: The Kings of *Scotland* did alſo name, but not by vertue of a Right, but rather by Connivance. He ſaid Elections had gone thro' various Forms; ſometimes Popes did Elect, ſometimes Princes with the People, ſometimes Princes took it into their own Hands, ſometimes the whole Clergy without the People, and of late the Canons choſe without the Concurrence of the Clergy. That the King being in theſe Difficulties, all thoſe about him, and all thoſe in *France* who were adviſed with in the Matter, thought the accepting the *Concordats* was juſt and neceſſary, Pope *Leo* repented that he had granted ſo much: and it was not without great difficulty that he brought the Cardinals to conſent to it: he went very copiouſly as a

Theſe were anſwered by the Chancellor.

Canoniſt

1518. Canoniſt thro' the other Heads, ſoftning ſome Abuſes, and ſhewing that others had a long Practice for them, and were obſerved in other Kingdoms.

The Matter finally ſettled.

And thus was this Matter carried in the Parliament of *Paris*, in which as the Court ſhewed great Integrity and much Courage, which deſerve the higheſt Characters, with which ſuch Noble Patriots ought to be honoured; ſo in this Inſtance, we ſee how feeble the Reſiſtance even of the Worthieſt Judges will prove to a Prince, who has poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Legiſlative Authority; when he intends to break thro' Eſtabliſhed Laws and Conſtitutions, and to Sacrifice the Rights of his Crown, and the Intereſt of his People, to ſerve particular Ends of his own. In ſuch Caſes the generous Integrity of Judges, or other Miniſters, will be reſented as an Attempt on the Sovereign Authority: And ſuch is the Nature of Arbitrary Power, that the moſt modeſt Defence of Law and Juſtice, when it croſſes the Deſigns of an inſolent and corrupt Miniſter, and an abuſed Prince, will paſs for Diſobedience and Sedition.

If the Aſſembly of the States in *France* had maintained their ſhare of the Legiſlative Power, and had not ſuffered the Right they once had to be taken from them, of being liable to no Taxes, but by their own Conſent, theſe Judges would have been better ſupported: and the Oppoſition they made upon this occaſion, would have drawn after it all the moſt ſignal Expreſſions of Honour and Eſteem, that a Nation owes to the Truſtees of their Laws and Liberties, when they maintain them reſolutely, and diſpence them equally. And the corrupt Chancellor would have received ſuch Puniſhment as all wicked Miniſters deſerve, who for their own Ends betray the Intereſt of their Country.

The Parliament ſtill judged by the *Pragmatick Sanction*.

The Court of Parliament ſhewed great Firmneſs after this: and it appeared that the Proteſtation that they made of judging ſtill according to the *Pragmatick*, was not only a Piece of Form to ſave their Credit. The Archbiſhop of *Sens* died ſoon after; and the King ſent to inhibit the Chapter to proceed to an Election. It was underſtood that he deſigned to give it to the Biſhop of *Paris*; the Chapter wrote to that Biſhop not to give ſuch a Wound to their Liberties as to take it upon the King's Nomination: But ſeeing that he had no regard to that, they Elected him, that ſo they might by this ſeem to keep up their Claim. The Biſhop of *Alby* died ſoon after that; the King named one, and the Chapter choſe another; upon that *Alby* being within the Juriſdiction of *Tholouſe*, the Court of Parliament there, judged in favour of him who was Elected by the Chapter, againſt him who had obtained Bulls, upon the King's Nomination: at which the King was highly offended. The Archbiſhoprick of *Bourges* falling void ſoon after, the King nominated one, and the Chapter elected another. The Chapter pretended a Special Privilege to Elect, ſo the

1524. Pope judged in their Favour. Some Years after this, the King carried on his Wars in *Italy*, leaving his Mother Regent of *France*; ſo the Court of Parliament made a Remonſtrance to Her, ſetting forth the Invaſions that had been made upon the Rights of the *Galican Church*, deſiring her to Interpoſe, that the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and the Liberty of Elections might again have their full Force; but that had no Effect.

Soon

Soon after this, the King was taken Priſoner by the Army of *Charles* the Fifth at the Battel of *Pavia:* and upon that his Mother declared, that ſhe look'd on her Son's Misfortunes as a Judgment of God upon him, for his Aboliſhing the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and tho' ſhe would not take it upon her to make any Alteration during her Son's Abſence, yet ſhe promiſed, that when he ſhould be ſet at Liberty, ſhe would uſe her utmoſt Endeavours with him, to ſet it up again, and to aboliſh the *Concordats*. This was Regiſtred in the Records of the Court of Parliament, yet it had no Effect upon the King's Return out of *Spain:* he finding the Parliament reſolved to maintain all Elections, ordered that Matter to be taken wholly out of their Cognizance, and he removed all Suits of that ſort from the Courts of Parliament, to the Great Council; upon ſome Diſputes that were then on Foot concerning a Biſhoprick and an Abbey given to Chancellor *Prat*, then made a Cardinal, in Recompence of the Service he had done the Court of *Rome:* ſo by that an End was put to all Diſputes. 1527.

Upon the King's being a Priſoner, the Concordat was more condemned.

The Parliament ſtrugled hard againſt this Diminution of their Juriſdiction: they wrote to the Dukes and Peers of *France*, to move the Regent not to proceed thus to leſſen their Authority: On the other hand ſhe ſaid, they were taking all things into their own hands in prejudice of the King's Prerogative. But the King confirmed that, and ſettled the Chancellor in the Poſſeſſion of the See and Abbey, and the Proceedings of the Parliament againſt him were annulled and ordered to be ſtruck out of their Regiſters: and it appearing that ſome Chapters and Abbies had Special Privileges for Free Elections; the King obtained a Bull from *Clement* the Seventh, ſuſpending all thoſe during the King's Life: The Court of *Rome* ſtood long upon this, and thought to have gained new Advantages, before it ſhould be granted: But the Pope was at that time in a Secret Treaty with the Court of *France*, which was afterwards accompliſhed at *Marſeilles:* So he was eaſier in this Matter, and the Bull was Regiſtred in Parliament in *May* there-after. And upon this the Chancellor pretending that he would ſee and examine thoſe Privileges, called for them all; and when they were brought to him, he threw them all into the Fire. 1532.

These Matters removed from the Parliament to the Great Council.

But to lay all that I have found of this Matter together, the Clergy of *France*, in a Remonſtrance that they made to King *Henry* the Third, affirmed, That *Francis* at his Death declared to his Son, that nothing troubled his Conſcience more, than his taking away Canonical Elections, and his aſſuming to himſelf the Nomination to Biſhopricks. If this was true, his Son had no regard to it, but went on as his Father had done. Upon his Death, when the Cardinal of *Lorrain* preſſed the Parliament to proceed in the vigorous Proſecution of Hereſy, they remonſtrated, that the Growth of Hereſy flowed chiefly from the Scandals that were given by bad Clergymen, and ill Biſhops: And that the ill Choice that had been made by the Court, ſince the *Concordats* were ſet up, gave more occaſion to the Progreſs that Hereſy made, than any other thing whatſoever. The Courts were ſo monſtrouſly corrupt, during that and the two former Reigns, that no other could be expected from them. 1585. 1560.

Remonſtrances made by the Clergy againſt this.

An

1560. An Aſſembly of the States was called in the Beginning of *Charles* the Ninth's Reign. In it the firſt Eſtate prayed, that the *Pragmatick Sanction* might again take place, particularly in the Point of Elections; they backed this with great Authorities of Councils, Ancient and Modern: With them the Two other Eſtates agreed. The Court tried to ſhift this off, promiſing to ſend one to *Rome* to treat about it: But that did not ſatisfy; ſo a Decree was drawn up to this Effect, That an Archbiſhop ſhould be choſen by the Biſhops of his Province, by the Chapter of his Cathedral, and 12 Perſons of the Chief of the Laity; and a Biſhop by the Metropolitan and the Chapter. The Court of Parliament oppoſed this: They thought the Laity ought to have no ſhare in Elections, ſo they preſſed the Reſtoring the *Pragmatick Sanction* without any Alteration; yet, in Concluſion, the Decree was thus amended: An Archbiſhop was to be choſen by the Biſhops of the Province, and the Chapter of the See; but a Biſhop was to be choſen by the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhops of the Province, and the Chapter, and by 24 of the Laity to be thus nominated: All the Gentry were to be Summoned to meet, and to chuſe 12 to Repreſent them at the Election, and the City was to chuſe other 12. All theſe were to make a Liſt of Three Perſons to be offered to the King, and the Man named by the King was to have the See. Thus they deſigned to bring this Matter into a Form as near the Cuſtoms mentioned in the *Roman* Law, as they could. But this Deſign vaniſhed, and was never put in Practice.

The Clergy ſtill called for Reſtoring the Elections: Preſident *Ferrier* was ſent to *Rome* to obtain it. He in a long Speech ſhewed, that neither the *Galican Church*, nor the Courts of Parliament, had ever received the *Concordats*; that Shadow of Approbation given to it by the Parliament of *Paris*, being extorted from them by Force; and he laid out all the Inconveniences that had hapned ſince the *Concordats* were ſet up: But that Court felt the Advantages they had by them too ſenſibly, to be ever prevailed with to give them up: And thus that great Affair was ſettled in the View of this Church and Nation, at the time that King *Henry* broke off all Correſpondence with it. It may be very reaſonably preſumed that Inferences were made from this, to let all People ſee what Merchandize the Court of *Rome* made of the moſt Sacred Rights of the Church, when they had their own Profits ſecured: And therefore the Wiſe Men in this Church at that time might juſtly conclude, that their Liberties were ſafer while they remained an entire Body within themſelves, under a legal Conſtitution; by which, if Princes carried their Authority too far, ſome Check might be given to it by thoſe from whom the Publick Aids were to be obtained, for Supporting the Government; than while all was believed to belong to the Popes, who would at any time make a Bargain, and divide the Spoils of the Church with Crowned Heads; taking to themſelves the gainful Part, and leaving the reſt in the Hands of Princes.

An Apology, with the Reaſons for this Digreſſion.

I hope, tho' this Relation does not belong properly to the Hiſtory of the Reformation; yet ſince it is highly probable it had a great Influence on Peoples Minds, this Digreſſion will be eaſily forgiven me. And now I turn to ſuch of our Affairs as fall within this Period.

The

The First Thing that occured to me in order of Time, was a Letter of Queen *Katharine*'s to King *Henry*, who upon his crossing the Sea, left the Regency of the Kingdom in her Hands; the Commission bears Date the 11th of *June*, 1513. King *James* the IVth of *Scotland* having invaded *England* with a great Army, was defeated and killed by the Earl of *Surrey*. The Earl gave the Queen the News, in a Letter to her, with One to the King; this She sent him with a Letter of her own; which being the only One of hers to the King that I ever saw, I have inserted it in my Collection. The Familiarities of calling him in one Place *My Husband*; and in another, *My Henry*, are not unpleasant. She sent with it a Piece of the King of *Scots* Coat to be a Banner: She was then going to visit, as She calls it, Our Lady of *Walsingham*.

Sept. 16. 1513. *Coll. Numb.* 2. Queen *Katharine*'s Letter to King *Henry*, upon the Death of the King of *Scotland*.

I will next open an Account of the Progress of Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Fortunes, and the Ascendant he had over the King. The First Step he made into the Church, was to be Rector of *Lymington* in the Diocese of *Bath* and *Wells*; then on the 30th of *July* 1508, he had a Papal Dispensation to hold the Vicarage of *Lyde*, in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, with his Rectory. There is a Grant to him as Almoner, on the 8th of *November* 1509. The next Preferment he had was to be a Prebendary of *Windsor*: He was next advanced to be Dean of *Lincoln*. A Year after that, Pope *Leo* having reserved the disposing the See of *Lincoln* to himself, gave it to *Wolsey*, designed in the Bulls Dean of St. *Stephen*'s, *Westminster*. But no mention is made of the King's Nomination. This is owned by the King in the Writ for the Restitution of the Temporalities. On the 14th of *July*, that Year, Cardinal *de Medici*, afterwards Pope *Clement* the VIIth, wrote to King *Henry*, that upon the Death of Cardinal *Bembridge*, he had prayed the Pope not to dispose of his Benefices, till he knew the King's Mind, which the Pope out of his Affection to the King granted very readily. Perhaps the King did recommend *Wolsey*, but no mention is made of that in his Bulls. The King granted the Restitution of the Temporalities of *York*, before his Installment; for in the Writ, he is only called the *Elect Archbishop*: And it is not expressed that he had the King's Nomination. He had *Tournay in Commendam*, but resigned it into the Hands of *Francis*, who for that gave him a Pension of 12000 *Livres* during Life: At the same Time Prince *Charles*, afterwards *Charles* the Vth, gave him a Pension of 3000 Pound. It seems he afterwards desired to have it better secured: So in the End of that Year Prince *Charles* lodged a Pension of 5000 *Ducats* to him, on the Bishoprick of *Pace* in *Castile*. Above a Year after that, Pope *Leo* gave him a Pension of 2000 *Ducats* out of *Palencia*, instead of that which was charged on the Bishoprick of *Pace*. Besides all this, when *Charles* the Vth was in *London*, he gave him another Pension of 9000 Crowns, dated the 8th of *June* 1522. It seems he had other Pensions from *France*; for Five Years after this, there was an Arrear stated there as due to him, of 121898 Crowns. He had also Pensions from other Princes of a lower Order. The Duke of *Milan*'s Secretary did by his Master's express Order, engage in the Year 1515, to pay *Wolsey* 10000 *Ducats* a Year, he on his Part engaging, that there should be a perpetual Friendship settled, between the Kings of *England* and *France*, with that Duke.

The Progress of *Wolsey*'s rise.

July. 14. 1514. *Rymer Tom.* 13. *August* 5. *July* 31. 1518. *Decemb.* 16. 1518. *March* 29. 1520. *Novemb.* 18. 1525. *Rymer Vol.* 12.

Decemb. 2. 1524. The *French* King being a Priſoner, his Favour was neceſſary in that Diſtreſs, ſo the Regent engaged to pay it in Seven Years Time. But whatever may be in *Wolſey*'s Proviſions, when the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury* was given to Cardinal *Campegio* by a Bull; mention is expreſsly made in it, of the King's Letters, interceeding humbly for him.

King *Henry*'s Book of the *Seven Sacraments.*

When King *Henry* wrote this Book of the *Seven Sacraments*, it ſeems it was at firſt deſigned to ſend it over in Manuſcript: For *Woolſey* ſent One to the King finely dreſſed, that was to be preſented to the Pope: And he writes that he was to ſend him more, which were to be ſent about with the Pope's Bulls to all Princes, and Univerſities: *Coll. Numb.* 3. One in particular, as he writes, was far more Excellent and Princely: He alſo ſent with it the Choice of certain Verſes, to be written in the King's own Hand, in the Book that was to be ſent to the Pope, and ſubſcribed by him, to be laid up in the Archives of the Church, to his Immortal Glory and Memory. The Matter was ſo laid, that the 1521. Book was preſented to the Pope on the 10th of *October*; and the very Day after, the Bull giving him the Title of *Defender of the Faith* bears Date: And in a private Letter that Pope *Leo* wrote to him, he runs out into copious Strains of Flattery, affirming, *That it appeared that the Holy Ghoſt aſſiſted him in Writing it.*

Ut Spiritum affuiſſe Sanctum appareat.

The King was ſo pleaſed with the Title, that *Wolſey* directed his Letters to him with it on the back, as appears in a Letter of his, that *Coll. Numb.* 4. ſets forth the low State of the Affairs of *Spain* in *Italy*. It appears it was written (for the Year is not added in the Date) after that *Luther* wrote his Anſwer to the King's Book, at leaſt after Letters came from him on the Subject; the Original of which he deſires might be ſent him, that he might ſend it to the Pope: And he intended to ſend Copies both of thoſe, and of the King's Anſwers to the Cardinal of *Mentz*, and to *George* Duke of *Saxony*.

Wolſey ſent to *Charles* the Vth, gained by him.

After the King's Interviews both with the Emperor, and the King of *France* were over, new Quarrels broke out; by which the Emperor and *Francis* engaged in Hoſtilities: But King *Henry*, pretending to be the Umpire of their Differences, ſent *Wolſey* over to compoſe 1521. them. He came to *Calais* in the beginning of *Auguſt*. From *Dover* he wrote to the King, and ſent Two Letters to him, which the King *Coll. Numb.* 5. was to write in his own Hand to the Emperor, and to the Lady Regent of *Flanders*, which he deſired the King would ſend to him: For he would move ſlowly towards him. Thus he took the Whole Miniſtry into his own Hands, and prepared even the King's Secret Letters for him. He was with the Emperor Thirteen Days, who gave him a ſingular Reception; for he came a Mile out of Town to meet him. The Town is not named, but it was *Bruges*; for in One of *Eraſmus*'s Letters, he mentions his meeting *Wolſey* in that Town, he being then with the Emperor. The Cardinal returned by the way of *Gravelin*, and from thence, beſide the Publick Letter, in which he gave the King an Account of his Negotiation, he wrote a private *Coll. Numb.* 6. One to him, with this Direction on it, *To the Kings Graceys own Hands only*. It ſeems he had no private Converſation with the Emperor formerly: "For in this he obſerves, that for his Age he was "very Wiſe, and underſtood his Affairs well. He was Cold and Temperate

" Temperate in Speech; but Spoke to very good purpoſe. He reckon- 1521.
" ed that he would prove a very Wiſe Man: He thought he was
" much inclined to Truth, and to the keeping of his Promiſes: He
" ſeemed to be inſeparably joined to the King; and was reſolved to
" follow his Advice in all his Affairs, and to truſt the Cardinal en-
" tirely. He twice or thrice in ſecret, promiſed to him by his Faith
" and Truth, to abide by this: He promiſed it alſo to all the reſt of
" the Privy-Council that were with the Cardinal, in ſuch a Manner,
" that they all believed it came from his Heart, without Artifice, or
" Diſſimulation. So *Wolſey* wrote to the King, that he had reaſon to
" bleſs God, that he was not only the Ruler of his own Realm,
" but that now by his Wiſdom, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the
" *Low-Countries*, ſhould be ruled and governed. Whether the Em-
peror did by his Prudent and Modeſt Behaviour, really impoſe upon *Wolſey*; or whether by other ſecret Practices he had ſo gained him, as to oblige him to perſuade the King to ſuch a Confidence in him, I leave it to the Reader to judge.

Wolſey's Practices to be choſen Pope.

It paſſes generally among all the Writers of that Age, that he aſpired to the Popedom: And that the Emperor then promiſed him his Aſſiſtance; in which he failing to him afterwards, *Wolſey* carried his Revenges ſo far, that all the Change of Councils, and even the Suit of the Divorce, is in a great Meaſure aſcribed to it. I went into the Stream in my Hiſtory, and ſeemed perſuaded of it; yet ſome Original Letters of *Wolſey*'s, communicated to me by Sir *William Cook* of *Norfolk*, which I go next to open, make this very doubtful. The Firſt was upon the News of Pope *Hadrian*'s Death, upon which he immediately wrote to the King, " That his Abſence from
" *Rome* was the only Obſtacle of his Advancement to that Dignity:
" There were great Factions then at *Rome*; he proteſts before God,
" that he thought himſelf unfit for it, and that he deſired much ra-
" ther to end his Days with the King; yet remembring that at the laſt
" Vacation (Nine Months before) the King was for his being prefer-
" red to it, thinking it would be for his Service, and ſuppoſing that
" he was ſtill of the ſame Mind, he would prepare ſuch Inſtructions,
" as had been before ſent to *Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, then Ambaſſa-
" dor at *Rome*, and ſend them to him by the next: With this he
alſo ſent him the Letters that he had from *Rome*. The next Day he
ſent the Letters and Inſtructions, directed to the King's Ambaſſadors,
who were the Biſhop of *Bath*, *Pace*, and *Haniball*, for procuring his
Preferment; or, that failing, for Cardinal *de Medici*: Theſe he de-
ſired the King to ſign and diſpatch. And that the Emperor might
more effectually concur, though purſuant to the Conference he had
with the King on that Behalf, he verily ſuppoſed he had not failed
to advance it, he drew a private Letter for the King to write with
his own Hand to the Emperor, putting to it the ſecret Sign and
Mark that was between them.

Coll. Numb. 7. *Septemb.* 30. *Septemb.* 14.

Coll. Numb. 8. *Octob.* 1.

The Diſpatch, that upon this, he ſent to the King's Ambaſſador at *Rome*, fell into my Hands when I was laying out for Materials for my Second Volume; but though it belong'd in the Order of Time to the Firſt, I thought it would be acceptable to the Reader to ſee it, though not in its proper Place. In it, after ſome very reſpectful

Voll. II. Coll. Records Numb. 48. *P.* 192.

1521. *Wolſey's Deſigns to be choſen Pope.*

Words of Pope *Hadrian*, which, whether he wrote out of Decency only, or that he thought ſo of him, I cannot determine, " he tells " them that before the Vacancy, both the Emperor, and the King, " had great Conferences for his Advancement, though the Em- " peror's Abſence makes that he cannot now join with them; Yet " the Regent of the *Netherlands*, who knows his Mind, has expreſ- " ſed an earneſt and hearty Concurrence for it: And by the Letters " of the Cardinals *de Medicis*, *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Campegio*, he " ſaw their Affections: He was chiefly determined by the King's " Earneſtneſs about it, tho' he could willingly have lived ſtill where " he was; his Years increaſing, and he knew himſelf unworthy of " ſo high a Dignity: Yet his Zeal for the Exaltation of the Chriſtian " Faith, and for the Honour and Safety of the King, and the Empe- " ror, made him refer himſelf to the Pleaſure of God: And in the " King's Name he ſends them double Letters; the firſt to the Cardi- " nal *de Medicis*, offering the King's Aſſiſtance to him, and if it was " probable he would carry it, they were to uſe no other Powers: But " if he thought he could not carry it, then they were to propoſe " himſelf to him, and to aſſure him, if he was choſen, the other " ſhould be as it were Pope: They were to let the other Cardinals " know what his Temper was, not auſtere, but free: He had great " Things to give; that would be void upon his Promotion: He had " no Friends nor Relations to raiſe, and he knew perfectly well the " Great Princes of *Chriſtendom*, and all their Intereſts and Secrets: " He promiſes he will be at *Rome* within Three Months, if they " chuſe him; and the King ſeems reſolved to go thither with him; " he did not doubt but, according to the many Promiſes and Exhor- " tations of the Emperor to him, that his Party will join with " them.

" The King alſo ordered them to promiſe large Rewards and Pro- " motions, and great Summs of Money to the Cardinals; and tho' " they ſaw the Cardinal *de Medici* full of Hope, yet they were not " to give over their Labour for him, if they ſaw any hope of Suc- " ceſs: But they were to manage that ſo ſecretly, that the other may " have no ſuſpicion of it. This was dated at *Hampton-Court* the 4th of *October*.

To this a Poſtſcript was added in the Cardinal's own Hand, to the Biſhop of *Bath*: He tells him " what a great Opinion the King had of " his Policy; and he orders him to ſpare no reaſonable Offers, which " perhaps might be more regarded, than the Qualities of the Perſon. " The King believed all the *Imperialiſts* would be with him, if there " was Faith in the Emperor: He believed the Young Men, who for " moſt part were neceſſitous, would give good Ear to fair Offers, " which ſhall undoubtedly be perform'd. The King willeth you " neither to ſpare his Authority, nor his good Money or Subſtance; " ſo he concludes, praying God to ſend him good Speed. But all this fine Train of Simony came too late, for it found a Pope already choſen.

Coll. Numb. 9. *Decemb.* 17. His next Letter upon that Subject tells the King, " That after great " Heat in the Conclave, the *French* Party was quite abandoned; and " the Cardinals were fully reſolved to chuſe Cardinal *de Medicis* or " Himſelf:

GUL: CECILIUS Baro de Burghley Regni Thesaur: Eques Periscelidis Obiit A.D. 1598. Ætatis 77.

" Himſelf: That this coming to the Knowledge of the City of *Rome*, 1528
" they came to the Conclave-Windows, and cried out what Danger
" it would be to chuſe a Perſon that was Abſent: So that the Cardi-
" nals were in ſuch Fear, that tho' they were principally bent on
" him, yet to avoid this Danger, they, by the Inſpiration of the Holy
" Ghoſt (ſo he writes) did on the 19th of *November* chuſe Cardi-
" nal *de Medicis*, who took the Name of *Clement* the 7th; of which
" good and fortunate News, the King had great Cauſe to thank Al-
" mighty God; ſince as he was his faithful Friend, ſo by his Means
" he had attained that Dignity: And that for his own Part he took
" God to Record, that he was much gladder, than if it had fallen on
" his own Perſon.. In theſe Letters there is no Reflection on the Emperor, as having failed in his Promiſe at the former Election: Nor is that Election any way imputed to him, but laid on a Caſualty ordinary enough in Conclaves; and more natural in that time, becauſe Pope *Hadrian*'s ſevere way had ſo diſguſted the *Romans*, that no wonder if they broke out into Diſorders upon the apprehenſion of another Foreigner being like to ſucceed. If it is ſuſpected, that tho' *Wolſey* knew this was a Practice of the Emperor's, he might diſguiſe it thus from the King, that ſo he might be leſs ſuſpected in the Revenge that he was Meditating, the Thing muſt be left as I find it; only tho' the Emperor afterwards charged *Wolſey* as acting upon private Revenge for miſſing the Popedom, yet he never pretended that he had moved himſelf in it, or had ſtudied to obtain a Promiſe from him; which would have put that general Charge of his aſpiring, and of his revenging himſelf for the diſappointment, more heavily on him.

The King and the Cardinal continued in a good Correſpondence both with that Pope and the Emperor till the Battel of *Pavy* that *Francis*'s Misfortune changed the Face of Affairs, and obliged the King according to his conſtant and true Maxim, to ſupport the weaker Side, and to balance the Emperor's growing Power, that by that Accident was like to become quickly ſuperior to all *Chriſtendom*. It has been ſuggeſted that the Emperor wrote before to *Wolſey* in Terms of Reſpect, ſcarce ſuitable to his Dignity, but that he afterwards changed both his Stile and Subſcription: But I have ſeen many of his Letters, to which the Subſcription is either your *good* or your *beſt Friend*; and he ſtill continued that way of Writing. His Letters are hardly legible, ſo that I could never read one compleat Period in any of them, otherwiſe I would have put them in my Collection. The King of *France* taken Priſoner.

But having look'd thus far into *Wolſey*'s Correſpondence with the King; I ſhall now ſet him in another Light from a very good Author the Lord *Burghly*, who in that Memorial prepared for Queen *Elizabeth* againſt Favourites, probably intended to give ſome Stop to the Favour ſhe bore the Earl of *Leiceſter*, has ſet out the Greatneſs of *Wolſey*'s Power, and the ill Uſe he made of it. " He had a Family
" equal to the Court of a Great Prince. There was in it One Earl,
" and Nine Barons, and about a Thouſand Knights, Gentlemen, and
" Inferior Officers. Beſides the vaſt Expence of ſuch a Houſhold, he
" gave great Penſions to thoſe in the Court and Conclave of *Rome*;
" by Lord *Burghleigh*'s Character of *Wolſey*.

1521. " by whoſe Services he hoped to be advanced to the Papacy. He " lent great Sums to the Emperor, whoſe Poverty was ſo well " known, that he could have no Proſpect of having them repaid; " (probably this is meant of *Maximilian.*) Thoſe conſtant Expences " put him on extraordinary Ways of providing a Fund for their con- " tinuance. He granted Commiſſions under the Great Seal to oblige " every Man upon Oath to give in the true Value of his Eſtate; " and that thoſe who had Fifty Pound, or upwards, ſhould pay Four " Shillings in the Pound. This was ſo heavy, that tho' it had been " impoſed by Authority of Parliament, it would have been thought " an Oppreſſion of the Subject: But he adds, that to have this done " by the private Authority of a Subject, was what wants a Name. " When this was repreſented to the King, he diſowned it; and ſaid, " No Neceſſities of his ſhould be ever ſo great, as to make him at- " tempt the raiſing Money any other way but by the People's Con- " ſent in Parliament. Thus his illegal Project was defeated; ſo he " betook himſelf to another not ſo odious, by the way of Benevo- " lence: And to carry that thro', he ſent for the Lord Mayor and " Aldermen of *London*, and ſaid to them, That he had prevailed " with the King to recall his Commiſſions for that heavy Tax, and to " throw himſelf on their free Gifts. But in this he was likewiſe " diſappointed; for the Statute of *Richard* the Third, was pleaded a- " gainſt all Benevolences: The People obſtinately refuſed to pay it; " and tho' the demanding it was for ſome time inſiſted on, yet the " Oppoſition made to it, being like to end in a Civil War, it was let " fall." All this I drew from that Memorial. I found alſo a Com- *Cotton* Libr.

miſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Calham* and Others, ſetting forth the great Wars that the King had in *France*, in which the Duke of *Bourbon*, called one of the greateſt Princes in *France*, was now the King's Servant: They are by it required to practiſe with all in *Kent*, whoſe Goods amounted to Four Pound, or above, and whoſe Names were given to a Schedule to anticipate the Subſidy granted in Parliament. This is all that has occurred to me with relation to *Wolſey*'s Miniſtry. I will in the next place ſet out what he attempted or did in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, with the Proceedings in Convocation during this Period. When King *Henry* called his firſt Parliament by a Writ Teſted *October* 17. 1509, to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 21ſt of *January* following, he did not intend to demand a Supply; ſo there appears no Writ for a *Convocation:* But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſummoned one, as it ſeems by his own Authority: Yet none ſate then at *York*. The Houſe of Lords was ſometimes adjourned by the Lord Treaſurer; becauſe the Chancellor (*Warham*) and the other Spiritual Lords were abſent, and engaged in Convocation: but it does not appear what was done by them.

Wolſey's Proceedings as Legate.

His Inſolence to *Warham*.

In the Year 1511, on the 28th of *November*, a Writ was ſent to *Warham* to Summon a Convocation, which met the 6th of *February*: They had ſeveral Seſſions, and gave a Subſidy of 24000 *l.* but did nothing beſides with relation to Matters of Religion. There was ſome Heat among them on the account of ſome Grievances and Exceſſes in the Archbiſhop's Courts. A Committee was appointed of Six Perſons, the Biſhops of *Norwich* and *Rocheſter*, the Prior of *Canterbury*,

bury, the Dean of St. *Pauls*, and an Archdeacon; but without addition of his Place; theſe were to examine the Encroachments made by the Archbiſhop's Courts, and the Inhibitions ſent to the Inferior Courts: But eſpecially as to the Probates of Wills, and the granting Adminiſtrations to Inteſtate Goods, when there was any to the Value of Five Pound in ſeveral Dioceſſes: An Eſtimate firſt ſettled by *Warham*, for which he had Officials and Apparitors in every Dioceſs, three or four in ſome, and five or ſix in others, which was look'd on by them as contrary to Law. Cardinal *Morton* is ſaid to be the firſt who ſet up this Pretence of Prerogative: Againſt theſe the Biſhops alledged the Conſtitutions of *Ottobonus* and of Archbiſhop *Stratford*: It is alſo ſet forth, that when *Warham* was an Advocate, he was employed by *Hill*, Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe Name he appeared againſt them, and appealed to P. *Alexander* againſt theſe Invaſions made by the Archbiſhop on the Rights of his See. And when *Warham* was promoted to the See of *London*, he maintained his Claim againſt them, and oppoſed them more than any other Biſhop of the Province, and ſent his Chancellor to *Rome* to find Relief againſt them. But when he was advanced to be Archbiſhop, he not only maintained thoſe Practices, but carried them further than his Predeceſſor had done. All this, with thirteen other Articles of Grievances, were drawn up at large in the State of the Caſe between the Archbiſhop and the Biſhops; and Propoſals were made of an Accommodation between them about the Year 1514; but the Event ſhewed that this Oppoſition came to nothing. This muſt be acknowledged to be none of the beſt Parts of *Warham*'s Character. In the Year 1514, they were again Summoned by Writ; they met and gave Subſidies, but they were not to be levied till the Terms of paying the Subſidies formerly granted were out. In the Year 1518, *Warham* Summoned a Convocation to meet at *Lambeth* to Reform ſome Abuſes; and in the Summons he affirmed that he had obtained the King's Conſent ſo to do. At this *Wolſey* was highly offended, and wrote him a very haughty Letter: In it he ſaid, "It belonged to him as *Legate à latere*, to ſee to the Reformation of "Abuſes: and he was well aſſured, that the King would not have "him to be ſo little eſteemed, that he ſhould enterprize ſuch Refor- "mation to the Derogation of the Dignity of the See Apoſtolick, "and otherwiſe than the Law will ſuffer you, without my Advice "and Conſent." And he in plain Words denies that he had any ſuch Command of the King, but that the King's Order was expreſsly to the contrary. So he orders him to come to him, to treat of ſome things concerning his Perſon. This it ſeems *Warham* was required to ſend round his *Suffragan* Biſhops: So he recalled his Monitions in expectation of a Legatine Council: The Peſtilence was then raging, ſo this was put off a Year longer; and then *Wolſey* ſummoned it by a Letter, which he tranſmitted to the Biſhops: That to the Biſhop of *Hereford* is in his Regiſter. He deſires him to come to a Council at *Weſtminſter* for the Reforming the Clergy, and *for conſulting in the moſt convenient and ſoundeſt way, of what we ſhall think may tend to the Increaſe of the Faith.* He hoped this Letter would be of as much Weight with him as Monitories in due Form would be.

1521.

Reg. Heref. Booth. fol. 37.

Wake's State of the Church, *Append.* p. 208.

Reg. Heref. Booth. fol. 41.

1521. A Legatine Synod.

It appears not by any Record I could ever hear of, what was done in the Legatine Synod thus brought together, except by the Register of *Hereford*, in which we find that the Bishop summoned his Clergy to meet in a Synod at the Chapter-house, to consult about certain Affairs, and the Articles delivered by *Wolsey* as Legate in a Council of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, to the Bishops there assembled, to be published by them. All that is mentioned in this Synod, is concerning the Habits of the Clergy, and the Lives and Manners of those who were to be ordained; which the Bishop caused to be explained to them in *English*, and ordered them to be observed by the Clergy: And these being published, they proceeded to some Heads relating to those Articles: and he gave Copies of all that passed in every one of them.

May 4. 1519.

1523. He called the Convocation of *Canterbury* to sit with him.

The next Step he made was of a Singular Nature. When the King summoned the Parliament in the 14th Year of his Reign, *Warham* had a Writ to Summon a Convocation of his Province, which did meet Five Days after, on the 20th of *April*. The Cardinal summoned his Convocation to meet at *York*, almost a Month before, on the 22d of *March*; but they were immediately prorogued to meet at *Westminster* the 22d of *April*. The Convocation of *Canterbury* was opened at St. *Paul*'s: But a Monition came from *Wolsey* to *Warham*, to appear before him, with his Clergy, at *Westminster* on the 22d: And thus both Convocations were brought together: It seems he intended that the Legatine Synod thus irregularly brought together, should give the King Supplies: But the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* said, their Powers were only directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and these would not Warrant them to act in any other Manner, than in the Provincial Way: So the Convocation of *Canterbury* returned back to St. *Paul*'s, and sate there 'till *August*, and gave the Supply apart, as did also that of *York*. But *Wolsey* finding those of *Canterbury* could not act under him, by the Powers that they had brought up with them, issued out on the 2d of *May*, Monitory Letters to the Bishops of that Province to meet at *Westminster* the 8th of *June*, to deliberate *of the Reformation of the Clergy, both of Seculars and Regulars, and of other Matters relating to it*. In this he mentions *Warham*'s summoning a Convocation, which he had brought before him; but upon some Doubts arising, because the Proctors of the Clergy had no sufficient Authority to meet in the Legatine Synod, he therefore summoned them to meet with him, and to bring sufficient Powers to that Effect, by the 2d of *June*: But it does not appear that any Assembly of the Clergy followed pursuant to this: So it seems it was let fall. This is the true Account of that Matter. I gave it indeed differently before, implicitly following some Writers that lived in that Time; more particularly that Account given of it by either Archbishop *Parker*, or *Joscelin*, a Book of such Credit, that the following it, deserved no hard Censure. The Grant of the Subsidy, is indeed, in the Name of the Province of *Canterbury*; but the other Relation of that Matter being too easily followed by me, it seemed to me, that it was a Point of Form, for each Province to give their Subsidy in an Instrument apart, though it was agreed to, they being together in One Body. It was indeed an Omission not to have explained

Reg. Hereford. Fol. 84.

Antiq. Brit.

explained that; but now upon better Evidence, the whole Matter is thus fully opened. I find no other Proceedings of *Wolſey*'s as Legate, on Record, ſave that he took on him, by his Legatine Authority, to give Inſtitutions at Pleaſure into all Benefices in the Dioceſſes of all Biſhops; without ſo much as asking the Biſhop's Conſent. In the Regiſter of *London*, an Inſtitution given by him to *South Wickington*, on the 10th of *December*, 1526, is entered, with this Addition, that the Cardinal had likewiſe given Seven other Inſtitutions in that Dioceſs, without aſking the Conſent of the Biſhop: And on the Margin it is added, that the giving and accepting ſuch Inſtitutions, by the Legate's Authority, being Papal Proviſions, involved the Clergy into the Premunire, from which they were obliged to redeem themſelves. *Wolſey* did alſo publiſh a Bull, condemning all who married in the forbidden Degrees: And he ſent Mandates to the Biſhops to publiſh it in their ſeveral Dioceſſes: He alſo publiſhed Pope *Leo*'s Bull againſt *Luther*; and ordered it to be every where publiſhed: He alſo required all Perſons, under the Pain of Excommunication, to bring in all *Luther*'s Books that were in their Hands: He enumerated 42 of *Luther*'s Errors; and required a Return of the Mandate to be made to him, together with ſuch Books as ſhould be brought in upon it, by the 1ſt of *Auguſt*. The Date of the Mandate is not ſet down; and this is all that I find in this Period, relating to *Wolſey*.

1523.

Reg. Tonſtal, Fol. 31.

Fiſher's Regiſt. Fol. 127.

Reg. Hereford Fol. 66.

This laſt ſhews the Apprehenſions they were under of the ſpreading of *Luther*'s Books and Doctrine. All People were at this Time ſo ſenſible of the Corruptions that ſeemed, by common Conſent, to be, as it were, Univerſally received, that every Motion towards a Reformation was readily hearkened to every where: Corruption was the Common Subject of Complaint: And in the Commiſſion given to thoſe whom the King ſent to repreſent Himſelf, and this Church, in the Council of the *Lateran*, the *Reformation of the Head and Members*, is mentioned as that which was expected from that Council.

This was ſo much, at that Time, in all Mens Mouths, that One of the beſt Men in that Age, *Colet*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, being to open the Convocation with a Sermon, made that the Subject of it all, and he ſet forth many of thoſe Particulars to which it ought to be applied. It was delivered, as all ſuch Sermons are, in *Latin*, and was ſoon after tranſlated into *Engliſh*. I intended once to have publiſhed it among the Papers, that I did put in the Collection; but thoſe, under whoſe Direction I compoſed that Work, thought that ſince it did not enter into Points of Doctrine, but only into Matters of Practice, it did not belong ſo properly to my Deſign in Writing: Yet ſince it has been of late publiſhed twice, by a Perſon diſtinguiſhed by his Controverſial Writings on this Subject, I will here give a Tranſlation of all that he thought fit to publiſh of it.

Colet's Sermon before a Convocation.

His Text was, *Be ye not conformed to this World, but be ye tranſformed in the renewing of your Mind.* "He told them, he came "thither that he might admoniſh them to apply their Thoughts wholly to the Reformation of the Church. He goes on thus; Moſt of "thoſe who are Dignitaries, carry themſelves with a haughty Air, "and

Rights of an *Engliſh* Convocation, in both Editions.

1523. " and Manner; ſo that they ſeem not to be in the humble Spirit of " Chriſt's Miniſters, but in an exalted State of Dominion: Not ob- " ſerving what Chriſt, the Pattern of Humility, ſaid to his Diſciples, " whom he ſet over his Church, *It ſhall not be ſo among you*; by " which he taught them, that the Government of the Church is a " Miniſtry; and that Primacy in a Clergyman, is nothing but an " humble Servitude.

" O Covetouſneſs! From thee come thoſe Epiſcopal, but charge- " able Viſitations, the Corruptions of Courts, and thoſe New Inven- " tions daily ſet on Foot, by which the poor Laity are devoured. " Oh Covetouſneſs! The Mother of all Wickedneſs; from thee " ſprings the Inſolence and Boldneſs of Officials, and that Eagerneſs " of all Ordinaries in amplifying their Juriſdiction: From thee flows " that mad and furious Contention about Wills, and unſeaſon- " able Sequeſtrations; and the Superſtitious Obſerving of thoſe Laws " that bring Gain to them, while thoſe are neglected that relate to " the Correction of Manners.

" The Church is diſgraced by the Secular Employments, in which " many Prieſts and Biſhops involve themſelves: They are the Ser- " vants of Men more than of God; and dare neither ſay, nor do any " Thing, but as they think it will be Acceptable and Pleaſant to " their Princes; out of this ſpring both Ignorance and Blindneſs: " For being blinded with the Darkneſs of this World, they only ſee " Earthly Things.

" Therefore, O ye Fathers, ye Prieſts, and all ye Clergymen! " Awaken at laſt out of the Dreams of a Lethargick World; and " hearken to *Paul* who calls upon you, *Be ye not conformed to this* " *World.* This Reformation and Reſtoration of the Eccleſiaſtical " State, muſt begin at you, who are our Fathers: And from you " muſt come down to us your Prieſts. We look on you as the " Standards, that muſt govern us: We deſire to read in you, and " in your Lives, as in living Books, how we ought to live: There- " fore if you would ſee the Motes that are in our Eyes, take the " Beams firſt out of your own.

" There is nothing amiſs among us, for which there are not good " Remedies ſet out by the Antient Fathers: There is no need of making " new Laws and Canons, but only to obſerve thoſe already made. " Therefore at this your Meeting, let the Laws already made be recited. " Firſt thoſe that admoniſh you Fathers, not to lay Hands ſuddenly " on any: Let the Laws be recited which appoint that Eccleſiaſtical " Benefices ſhould be given to deſerving Perſons, and that condemn " Simoniacal Defilement. But above all Things, let thoſe Laws be recited " that relate to you our Reverend Fathers, the Lords Biſhops, the Laws " of Juſt and Canonical Elections, after the Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt.

" Becauſe this is not done in our Days, and Biſhops are choſen, " rather by the Favour of Men, than by the Will of God; we have " ſometimes Biſhops who are not Spiritual, but Worldly, rather than " Heavenly; and who are led by the Spirit of the World, rather " than by the Spirit of Chriſt. Let the Laws be recited for Biſhops " reſiding in their Dioceſſes. Laſt of all, let thoſe Laws be recited " for frequent Councils, which appoint Provincial Councils to

" be more frequently called, for the Reformation of the Church; 1523.
" for nothing has happened more Miſchievous to the Church,
" than the not holding of Councils, both General and Provincial.

" I do therefore with all due Reverence, addreſs my ſelf to you,
" O Fathers! for the Execution of Laws muſt begin at you: If you
" obſerve the Laws, and Transform your Lives to the Rules ſet by
" the Canons, then you Shine ſo to us, that we may ſee what we
" ought to do, when we have the Light of excellent Examples ſet
" us by you: We ſeeing you obſerve the Laws, will chearfully fol-
" low your Steps. Conſider the Miſerable Face and State of the
" Church, and ſet about the Reforming it, with all your Strength.
" Do not you, O Fathers, ſuffer this Famous Meeting to end in vain,
" and in doing nothing: You do indeed meet often; but (by
" your Favour ſuffer me to ſay what is true) what Fruit has the
" Church yet had of all your Meetings? Go then with that Spirit
" which you have prayed for, that being aſſiſted by his Aid, you may
" Contrive, Eſtabliſh, and Decree ſuch Things as may tend to the
" Advantage of the Church, to your own Honour, and to the Glory
" of God.

This *Collet* had travelled through *France* and *Italy*, and upon his Return, he ſettled for ſome Time at *Oxford*, where he read Divinity Lectures, without any Obligation, or Reward for it. His Readings brought about him all the Learned and Studious Perſons in the Univerſity. He read not, according to the Cuſtom that prevailed univerſally at that Time, of commenting on *Thomas Aquinas*, or on *Scotus*, but his Readings were upon St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles. He was brought afterwards to the Deanry of St. *Paul*'s, where Old *Fitz-James*, then Biſhop of *London*, was his Enemy, but he was protected both by *Warham* and by the King himſelf. He did in One of his Sermons reflect on *Boſom-Sermons*, which *Fitz-James* took as a Reflection on himſelf, for he read all his Sermons. He did not recommend himſelf at Court by Strains of Flattery: On the contrary, he being to preach there, when the King was entring on a War, preached on Chriſtians Fighting under the Banner of Chriſt, whom they ought to make their Pattern, in all the Occaſions of Quarrel that they might have, rather than imitate a *Cæſar*, or an *Alexander*. After Sermon the King ſent for him, and told him, he thought ſuch Preaching would diſhearten his Military Men; but *Collet* explained himſelf ſo, that the King was well ſatisfied with him, and ſaid, Let every Man chuſe what Doctor he pleaſed, *Collet* ſhould be his Doctor. He Died in the Year 1519. *Collet*'s Character.

It ſeems this Sermon was preached in the Year 1513, though it is printed as preached in the Year 1511; for the mention that he made in it, of the Immunities of the Clergy, and of thoſe Words, *Touch not mine Anointed*, ſeems to relate to the Oppoſition that the Clergy made to the Act that paſſed in Parliament in the Year 1512, againſt the Immunity of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy. It is true, in the Tranſlation I have given, there are no ſuch Words; but I find them in the Reflections that I made on that Sermon, when I intended to have printed it: So I took it for granted, that the Sermon was not fully printed in the Book, out of which I was forced to make my Tranſlation, the Copy that I had of it being miſlaid, or loſt. It had

1523. been but a reaſonable Thing for that Writer, either to have printed the Whole Sermon, or to have told the Reader that only ſome Paſſages were taken out of it, ſince the Title given to it would make him think it was all printed. I could not find either the *Latin* Sermon, or the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of it, that was printed near that Time: And I cannot entirely depend on a late Impreſſion of the *Engliſh* Tranſlation; yet I will add ſome few Paſſages out of it, which deſerved to be publiſhed by him that pick'd out a few with ſome particular View that it ſeems he had. Before the Firſt Period printed by him, he has theſe Words.

" How much Greedineſs and Appetite of Honour and Dignity is " ſeen now a-days in Clergymen? How run they (yea almoſt out " of Breath) from one Benefice to another, from the Leſs to the " Greater; from the Lower to the Higher? Who ſeeth not this? " And who ſeeing Sorroweth not?

Before the next Period, theſe Words are to be found, " What " other Things ſeek we now a-days in the Church, but Fat Benefices, " and High Promotions? And it were well if we minded the Duty " of thoſe, when we have them. But he that hath many great Be- " nefices, minds not the Office of any ſmall one. And in theſe our " High Promotions, what other Things do we paſs upon, but only " our Tythes and Rents? We care not how vaſt our Charge of Souls " be: How many or how great Benefices we take, ſo they be of " large Value.

In the next Period, theſe remarkable Words are omitted. " Our " Warfare is to pray devoutly; to read and ſtudy Scriptures dili- " gently; to preach the Word of God ſincerely; to adminiſter Holy " Sacraments rightly; and to offer Sacrifices for the People.

A little before the next Period, he has theſe Words. " In this " Age we are ſenſible of the Contradiction of Lay People. But they " are not ſo much contrary to us, as we are to our ſelves. Their " *Contrarines* hurteth not us ſo much, as the *Contrarines* of our own " Evil Life, which is contrary both to God, and to Chriſt.

After *Collet* had mentioned that of laying Hands ſuddenly on none, he adds, " Here lies the Original and Spring-Head of all our Miſ- " chiefs: That the Gate of Ordination is too broad: The Entrance " too wide and open. Every Man that offers himſelf is admitted " every where, without putting back. Hence it is that we have ſuch " a multitude of Prieſts, that have little Learning, and leſs Piety. " In my Judgment it is not enough for a Prieſt to conſtrue a Col- " lect, to put forth a Queſtion, to anſwer a Sophiſm; but an ho- " neſt, a pure, and a holy Life, is much more neceſſary: Approved " Manners, competent Learning in Holy Scriptures, ſome Know- " ledge of the Sacraments; but chiefly above all Things, the Fear of " God, and Love of Heavenly Life.

A little after this, " Let the Canons be rehearſed that command " Perſonal Reſidence of Curates (Rectors) in their Churches: For " of this many Evils grow, becauſe all Offices now a-days are per- " formed by Vicars, and Pariſh Prieſts: Yea, and theſe fooliſh, and " unmeet, often times wicked.

At ſome diſtance from this, but to the ſame purpoſe, he adds, 1523.
" You might firſt ſow your Spiritual Things, and then ye ſhall reap
" plentifully their Carnal Things. For truly that Man is very hard
" and unjuſt, who will reap where he never did ſow, and deſires to
" gather where he never ſcattered.

Theſe Paſſages ſeemed proper to be added to the former, as ſetting forth the Abuſes and Diſorders that were then in this Church. I wiſh I could add that they are now quite purged out, and appear no more among us. *Collet* was a particular Friend of *Eraſmus*, as appears by many very kind Letters that paſſed between them.

Sir *Tho. More's* Thoughts of Religion in his *Utopia.*

To this account of the Senſe that *Collet* had of the State of Religion at that time, I will add an Account of Sir *Thomas More's* Thoughts of Religion. Thoſe of the Church of *Rome* look on him as one of their Glories, the Champion of their Cauſe, and their *Martyr:* He in this Period wrote his *Utopia*; the firſt Edition that I could ever ſee of it, was at *Baſil* in the Year 1518; for he wrote it in the Year 1516; at which time it may be believed that he dreſſed up that Ingenious Fable, according to his own Notions. He wrote that Book probably before he had heard of *Luther*; the *Wicklevites* and the *Lollards* being the only Hereticks then known in *England.* In that ſhort, but extraordinary Book, he gave his Mind full Scope, and conſidered Mankind and Religion with the Freedom that became a true Philoſopher. By many Hints it is very eaſy to collect, what his Thoughts were of Religion, of the Conſtitutions of the Church, and of the Clergy at that time: And therefore tho' an Obſerving Reader will find theſe in his Way, yet having read it with great Attention, when I tranſlated it into *Engliſh*, I will lay together ſuch Paſſages as give clear Indications of the Senſe he then had of thoſe Matters.

The References are to the Pages of my Tranſlation.

Page the 21ſt, when he Cenſures the incloſing of Grounds, he ranks thoſe *Holy Men* the Abbots, among thoſe *who thought it not enough to live at their own Eaſe, and to do no good to the Publick, but reſolved to do it hurt inſtead of good:* Which ſhews that he called them *Holy Men* in deriſion. This is yet more fully ſet forth P. 37. where he brings in Cardinal *Morton's* Jeſter's Advice to ſend all the Beggars to the *Benedictines* to be Lay-Brothers, and all the Female-Beggars to be Nuns, reckoning the Friars as Vagabonds that ought to be taken up and reſtrained: And the Diſcourſe that follows for two or three Pages, gives ſuch a Ridiculous View of the Want of Breeding, of the Folly and Ill Nature of the Friars, that they have taken care to ſtrike it out of the later Impreſſions. But as I did find it in the Impreſſion which I tranſlated, ſo I have copied it all from the firſt Edition, and have put in the Collection, that which the Inquiſitors have left out. From thence it is plain what Opinion he had of thoſe who were the moſt Eminent Divines and the moſt Fam'd Preachers at that time. This is yet plainer Page 56. in which he taxes the Preachers of that Age for *corrupting the Chriſtian Doctrine, and practiſing upon it: For they obſerving that the World did not ſuit their Lives to the Rules that Chriſt has given, have fitted his Doctrine as if it had been a leaden Rule to their Lives, that ſome way or other they might agree with one another.* And he does not ſoften this ſevere Cenſure, as if

Coll. Numb. 10.

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1523. it had been only the Fault of a few, but lets it go on them all, without any Diſcrimination or Limitation.

Page 83. he taxes the great Company of *idle Prieſts*, and of thoſe that are called *Religious Perſons*, that were in other Nations; againſt which he tells us in his laſt Chapter how carefully the *Utopians* had provided: But it appears there, what juſt Eſteem he paid to Men of that Character, when they anſwered the Dignity of their Profeſſion: For as he contracts the Number of the Prieſts in *Utopia*, p. 186. ſo he exalts their Dignity as high as ſo noble a Function could deſerve: Yet he repreſents the *Utopians*, *as allowing them to Marry*, p. 114. And p. 130, he exalts *a ſolid Virtue much above all rigorous Severities*, which were the moſt admired Expreſſions of Piety and Devotion in that Age. He gives a perfect Scheme of Religious Men, ſo much beyond the Monaſtick Orders, that it ſhews he was no Admirer of them.

Page 152, He commends the *Europeans* for "obſerving their "Leagues and Treaties ſo religiouſly; and aſcribes that to the good "Examples that Popes ſet other Princes, and to the Severity with "which they proſecuted ſuch as were perfidious. This looks like Reſpect; but he means it all Ironically: for he who had ſeen the Reigns of Pope *Alexander* the 6th, and *Julius* the 2d, the Two falſeſt and moſt perfidious Perſons of the Age, could not ſay this, but in the way of Satyr: So that he ſecretly accuſes both Popes and Princes for violating their Faith, to which they were induced by Diſpenſations from *Rome*. Page 192. his *putting Images out of the Churches of the Utopians*, gives no obſcure Hint of his Opinion in that Matter. The Opinion, *P.* 175, that he propoſes doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the firſt Converts to Chriſtianity in *Utopia*, who (there being no Prieſts among thoſe who inſtructed them) were inclined to chuſe Prieſts that ſhould officiate among them, ſince they could not have any that were regularly Ordained; adding, that they ſeemed reſolved to do it; this ſhews that in Caſes of Neceſſity he had a Largeneſs of Thought, far from being engaged Blindfold into the Humours or Intereſts of the Prieſts of that time; to whom this muſt have appeared one of the moſt dangerous of all Hereſies.

And whereas Perſecution and Cruelty ſeem to be the Indelible Characters of Popery; he, as he gives us the Character of the Religion of the *Utopians*, *that they offered not Divine Honours to any but to God alone*, p. 173. ſo p. 177. he makes it one of the Maxims of the *Utopians*, *that no Man ought to be puniſhed for his Religion*: The utmoſt Severity practiſed among them being Baniſhment, and that not for diſparaging their Religion, but for inflaming the People to Sedition: A Law being made among them, that *every Man might be of what Religion he pleaſed*, p. 191. And tho' there were many different Forms of Religion among them, yet they all agreed in the main Point of "Worſhipping the Divine Eſſence; ſo that there was nothing in "their Temples, in which the ſeveral Perſuaſions among them might "not agree.

"The ſeveral Sects performed the Rites that were peculiar to them "in their Private Houſes; nor was there any thing in the Publick "Worſhip that contradicted the particular Ways of the ſeveral Sects:

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By all which he carried not only *Toleration*, but even *Comprehenſion* further than the moſt Moderate of our Divines have ever pretended to do. It is true, he repreſents all this in a Fable of his *Utopians*: But this was a Scene dreſs'd up by himſelf, in which he was fully at liberty to frame every thing at pleaſure: So here we find in this a Scheme of ſome of the moſt Eſſential Parts of the Reformation: "He propoſes no Subjection of their Prieſts to any Head; he makes "them to be choſen by the People, and conſecrated by the College "of Prieſts; and he gives them no other Authority but that of ex- "cluding Men that were deſperately wicked, from joining in their "Worſhip, which was ſhort and ſimple: And tho' every Man was "ſuffered to bring over Others to his Perſuaſion, yet he was obliged "to do it by amicable and modeſt Ways; and not to mix with theſe, "either Reproaches or Violence; ſuch as did otherwiſe, were to be "condemned to Baniſhment or Slavery. 1523.

Theſe were his firſt and cooleſt Thoughts; and probably if he had died at that time, he would have been reckoned among thoſe, who tho' they lived in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, yet ſaw what were the Errors and Corruptions of that Body, and only wanted fit Opportunities of declaring themſelves more openly for a Reformation. Theſe things were not writ by him in the Heat of Youth; he was then 34 Years of Age, and was at that time employed, together with *Tonſtall*, in ſettling ſome Matters of State with (the then Prince) *Charles*; ſo that he was far advanced at that time, and knew the World well. It is not eaſy to account for the great Change that we find afterwards he was wrought up to: He not only ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Reformation in many Treatiſes, that put together, make a great Volume: But when he was raiſed up to the chief Poſt in the Miniſtry, he became a Perſecutor even to Blood; and defiled thoſe Hands, which were never polluted with Bribes, by acting in his own Perſon ſome of thoſe Cruelties, to which he was, no doubt, puſhed on by the bloody Clergy of that Age and Church.

He was not governed by Intereſt; nor did he aſpire ſo to Preferment, as to ſtick at nothing that might contribute to raiſe him; nor was he ſubject to the Vanities of Popularity. The Integrity of his whole Life, and the Severity of his Morals cover him from all theſe Suſpicions. If he had been formerly corrupted by a ſuperſtitious Education, it had been no extraordinary thing to ſee ſo good a Man grow to be miſled by the Force of Prejudice. But how a Man who had emancipated himſelf, and had got into a Scheme of free Thoughts, could be ſo entirely changed, cannot be eaſily apprehended; nor how he came to muffle up his Underſtanding, and deliver himſelf up as a Property to the blind and enraged Fury of the Prieſts. It cannot indeed be accounted for, but by charging it on the Intoxicating Charms of that Religion, that can darken the cleareſt Underſtandings, and corrupt the beſt Natures: And ſince they wrought this Effect on Sir *Thomas More*, I cannot but conclude, that *if theſe things were done in the green Tree, what ſhall be done in the dry?*

His Friend *Tonſtall* was made Biſhop of *London* by the Pope's Proviſion; but it was upon the King's Recommendation ſignified by *Hannibal*, then his Ambaſſador at *Rome*. *Tonſtall* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Reg. Tonſt. fo. 1.*

Spain,

1523. *Spain*, when *Francis* was a Priſoner there. That King grew, as may be eaſily believed, impatient to be ſo long detained in Priſon: And that began to have ſuch Effects on his Health, that the Emperor fearing it might end in his Death, which would both loſe the Benefit he had from having him in his Hands, and lay a heavy Load on him thro' all *Europe*, was induced to hearken to a Treaty, which he pretended he concluded chiefly in conſideration of the King's Mediation. The Treaty was made at *Madrid*, much to the Emperor's Advantage: But becauſe he would not truſt to the Faith of the Treaty, *Francis* was obliged to bring his two Sons as Hoſtages, for the Obſervance of it. So he had his Liberty upon that Exchange: Soon after, he came back to *France*, and then the Pope ſent him an Abſolution in full Form, from the Faith and Obligation of the Treaty. It ſeems his Conſcience reproached him for breaking ſo ſolemn an Engagement, but that was healed by the Diſpenſation from *Rome*: Of which the Original was ſent over to the King; perhaps only to be ſhewed the King, who upon that kept it ſtill in his Secret Treaſure; where *Rymer* found it. The Reaſon inſinuated in it, is the King's being bound by it to Alienate ſome Dominions that belonged to the Crown of *France*. For he had not yet learned a Secret, diſcovered, or at leaſt practiced ſince that time, of Princes declaring themſelves free from the Obligations of their Treaties, and departing from them at their Pleaſure.

THE

1525.

BOOK II.

Of Matters, *that happen'd during the Time comprehended in the Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

I Will repeat nothing ſet forth in my former Work, but ſuppoſe that my Reader remembers how *Charles* the Vth had ſworn to Marry the King's Daughter, when She ſhould be of Age, under pain of Excommunication, and the Forfeiture of One Hundred Thouſand Pounds: Yet when his Match with *Portugal* was thought more for the Intereſts of the Crown, he ſent over to the King, and deſired a Diſcharge of that Promiſe. It has been ſaid, and printed by One who lived in the Time, and out of him by the Lord *Herbert*, that Objections were made to this in *Spain*, on the Account of the Doubtfulneſs of her Mother's Marriage. From ſuch Authors I took this too eaſily, but in a Collection of Original Inſtructions, I have ſeen that Matter in a truer Light. *Hall.* Among the Manuſcripts of the Biſhop of *Ely*.

Lee, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, was ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, to ſollicit the ſetting *Francis* at Liberty, and in reckoning up the King's Merits on the Emperor, his Inſtructions mention, "the King's "late Diſcharge of the Emperor's Obligation to marry his Deareſt "Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*; whom, though his Grace could "have found in his Heart to have beſtowed upon the Empe-"ror, before any Prince living; yet for the more Security of his "Succeſſion, the Furtherance of his other Affairs, and to do unto "him a Gratuity, His Grace hath liberally, benevolently, and kindly "condeſcended unto it. There are other Letters of the 12th of *Auguſt*, but the Year is not added, which ſet forth the Emperor's earneſt Deſire, to be with all poſſible Diligence diſcharged of his Obligation to marry the Princeſs. At Firſt the King thought fit to delay the granting it, till a General Peace was fully concluded, ſince it had been agreed to by the Treaty at *Windſor*; but ſoon after, a Diſcharge in full Form under the Great Seal was ſent over by an Expreſs to *Spain*: But from ſome Hints in other Papers, it ſeems there were ſecret Orders not to deliver it; and King *Henry* continued to claim the Money due upon the Forfeiture, as a Debt ſtill owing him. The Peace was then treated, chiefly with a View to reſiſt the *Turk*, and to repreſs Hereſy, that was then much ſpread both through *Germany* and *Poland*. Many Ambaſſadors in *Spain*.

Another Original Letter was writ after *Francis* was at Liberty, "ſetting forth that the Nobles, and Courts in *France*, would not "confirm the Treaty that *Francis* had ſigned, to obtain his Liberty; "and therefore earneſt Perſuaſions were to be uſed to prevail with

1527. " the Emperor to reſtore the Hoſtages, and to come into reaſonable " Terms, to maintain the Peace, and to call his Army out of *Italy*. By theſe it appears, that the League againſt the Emperor was then made, of which the King was declared the Protector; but the King had not then accepted of that Title. He ordered his Ambaſſadors to propoſe a Million of Crowns for redeeming the Hoſtages, to be paid at different Times; yet they were forbid to own to the Emperor, that if the Offices, in which the King interpoſed, were not effectual, he would enter into the League.

Wolſey's Letter to them. There are in that Collection ſome of *Wolſey*'s Letters; by One of the 17th of *July* he claims his Penſions of 7500 *Ducats*, upon the Biſhopricks of *Palentia* and *Toledo*; beſides 9000 Crowns a Year, in Recompence for his parting with the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, and the Abbey of St. *Martins* there; for which there was an Arrear of Four Years due. On the 29th of *September* he wrote over a ſevere Charge to be laid before the Emperor for the Sack of *Rome*, the Indignities put on the Perſon of the Pope, the Spoiling the Church of St. *Peter*, and other Churches, and the Ignominious treating the Ornaments of them: All the Blame was caſt on the Cardinal *Colonna*, and *Hugo de Moncada*, they being perſuaded that it was done without the Emperor's Knowledge or Order. He propoſes the King to be Mediator, as a Thing agreed on by all ſides: He uſes in this, that bold way of joining himſelf with the King, very often ſaying, *the King and I*: And on the 20th of *October*, he preſſes with great earneſtneſs, the mediating a Peace between *France* and the Emperor; in all which, nothing appears either partial or revengeful againſt the Emperor. The true Intereſt of *England* ſeems to be purſued in that Whole Negotiation.

There was then in the Emperor's Court a very full Embaſſy from *England*: For in one or other of theſe Letters, mention is made of the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, and of *Bath*; of Dr. *Lee*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*. But ſince the diſmal Fate of *Rome*, and of Pope *Clement*, is mentioned in theſe Letters, I muſt now change the Scene.

Coll. Numb. XI. The Sack of *Rome*. Pope *Clement*, as ſoon as he could, after his Impriſonment, wrote over to *Wolſey*, an Account of the miſerable State he was in, which he ſent over by Sir *Gregory Caſſal*, who ſaw it *all*, and ſo could give a full Account of it. " The Pope's only Comfort, and Hope, " was in *Wolſey*'s Credit with the King, and in the King's own Piety " towards the Church, and himſelf, now ſo ſadly oppreſſed, that he had " no other hope, but in the Protection he expected from him. There were many other Letters written by the Cardinals, ſetting forth the Miſeries they were in, and that in the moſt doleful Strains poſſible. All their Eyes being then towards the King, as the Perſon, on whoſe Protection, they chiefly depended. Upon this, *Wolſey* went over to *France* in a moſt Splendid Manner, with a prodigious and magnificent Train, reckoned to conſiſt of a Thouſand Perſons, and he had the moſt unuſual Honours done him, that the Court of *France* could invent, to flatter his Vanity. He was to conclude a Treaty with *Francis*, for ſetting the Pope at Liberty, and to determine the Alternative of the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, either to the King of *France*, or

to

to the Duke of *Orleans* his Second Son, and to lay a Scheme for a General Peace. He came to *Compiegne* in the End of *September*, and from thence he wrote the Firſt Motion that was made about the Divorce to the Pope: For the Firſt Letter that I found relating to that Matter, begins with mentioning that which he wrote from *Compiegne*. Mr. *Le Grand* told me, he had ſeen that Diſpatch, but he has not printed it. 1527. *Sept.* 16. *Le Grand, To.* 3. *Num.* 2.

From that Place, *Wolſey*, with Four Cardinals, wrote to the Pope, "ſetting forth the Senſe that they had of the Calamity that he was "in, and their Zeal for his Service, in which they hoped for good "Succeſs: Yet fearing, leſt the Emperor ſhould take Occaſion from "his Impriſonment, to ſeize on the Territories of the Church, and "to force both him to confirm it, and the Cardinals now impriſoned "with him, to ratify it, which they hoped neither he, nor they, would "do; yet if human Infirmity ſhould ſo far prevail, they proteſted "againſt all ſuch Alienations: They alſo declare, that if he ſhould "Die, they would proceed to a new Election, and have no regard "to any Election, to which the impriſoned Cardinals might be forced. "In concluſion, they do earneſtly pray, that the Pope would grant "them a full Deputation of his Authority; in the Uſe of which, "they promiſe all Zeal and Fidelity; and that they would invite all "the other Cardinals that were at Liberty, to come and concur with "them. This was ſigned by *Wolſey*, and by the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Salviati*, *Lorrain*, and Cardinal *Prat*. *Wolſey* wrote to the King, expreſſing the Concern he had for him, with relation to his Great and Secret Affair; it ſeems expecting a General Meeting of Cardinals that was to be called together in *France*, which he reckoned would concur to the Proceſs that he intended to make; but apprehending that the Queen might decline his Juriſdiction, he would uſe all his Endeavours to bring the King of *France* to agree to the Emperor's Demands, as far as was reaſonable; hoping the Emperor would abate ſomewhat, in conſideration of the King's Mediation: But if that did not ſucceed, ſo that the Pope was ſtill kept a Priſoner, then the Cardinals muſt be brought to meet at *Avignon*, and thither he intended to go, and to ſpare no Trouble, or Charge, in doing the King Service. When he was at *Avignon*, he ſhould be within a Hundred Miles of *Perpignan*, and he would try to bring the Emperor, and the *French* King's Mother thither, if the King approved of it, to treat for the Pope's Deliverance, and for a General Peace. This is the Subſtance of the Minute of a Letter writ in the Cardinal's Hand.

The Cardinals write to the Pope for a full Deputation. *Coll. Numb.* 12.

The King at this Time intended to ſend *Knight*, then Secretary of State, to *Rome*, in point of Form to condole with the Pope, and to prevent any Application that the Queen might make by the Emperor's Means in his great Matter. So he appointed the Cardinal to give him ſuch Commiſſions and Inſtructions as ſhould ſeem requiſite, with all diligence; and he preſſed the Cardinal's Return home, with great Acknowledgements of the Services he had done him. By this Letter it appears, that the Queen then underſtood ſomewhat of the King's Uneaſineſs in his Marriage. The King of *France* ſent from *Compiegne* a great Deputation, at the Head of which, *Montmorancy*, then the Great Maſter, was put, to take the King's Oath, confirming

Knight ſent to *Rome*. *Numb.* 13.

1527. 25 *September.* the Treaties that *Wolſey* had made in his Name; one in the Commiſſion was *Bellay*, then Biſhop of *Bayonne*, afterwards of *Paris*, and Cardinal.

Pace wrote to the King of his Divorce. Tom. 3. Num. 1.

When that was done, the King's Matter that had been hitherto more ſecretly managed, began to break out. Mr. *Le Grand* has publiſhed a Letter that *Pace* wrote to the King; as he ſays in the Year 1526; but no Date is added to the Letter. The Subſtance of it is, "That the Letter and Book which was brought to the King the Day "before, was writ by him; but by the Advice and Help of Doctor "*Wakefield*, who approved it, and was ready to defend every thing "in it, either in a Verbal Diſputation, or in Writing. The King "had told him, that ſome of his Learned Counſellors had written to "him, that *Deuteronomy* abrogated *Leviticus*; but that was certainly "falſe; for the Title of that Book in *Hebrew* was the two firſt Words "of it: It is a Compend and Recapitulation of the *Moſaical* Law; "and that was all that was imported by the word *Deuteronomy*. He "tells the King, that after he left him, *Wakefield* prayed him to let "him know, if the King deſired to know the Truth in that Matter, "whether it ſtood for him or againſt him. To whom *Pace* anſwered, "That the King deſired nothing but what became a Noble and a "Vertuous Prince; ſo he would do him a moſt acceptable thing, if "he would ſet the plain Truth before him. After that, *Wakefield* ſaid, "he would not meddle in the Matter, unleſs he were commanded by "the King to do it; but that when he received his Commands, he "would ſet forth ſuch things both for and againſt him, that no other "Perſon in his Kingdom could do the like. The Letter is dated from *Sion*, but I have reaſon to believe it was written in the Year 1527; for this *Wakefield* (who ſeems to have been the firſt Perſon of this Nation, that was learned in the Oriental Tongues, not only in the *Hebrew*, the *Caldaick*, and the *Syriac*, but in the *Arabick*) wrote a Book for the Divorce: He was at firſt againſt it, before he knew that Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was conſummated: But when he underſtood what Grounds there were to believe that was done, he changed his Mind, and wrote a Book on the Subject: And in his own Book, he with his own Hand inſerts the Copy of his Letter to King *Henry*, dated from *Sion* 1527; which it ſeems was written at the ſame time that *Pace* wrote his: For theſe are his Words (as the Author of *Ath. Oxon* relates, (who ſays he ſaw it) *He will defend his Cauſe or Queſtion in all the Univerſities of Chriſtendom:* But adds, "That if the People ſhould know that he, who began to defend the "Queen's Cauſe, not knowing that ſhe was carnally known of Prince "*Arthur*, his Brother, ſhould now write againſt it, ſurely he ſhould "be ſtoned of them to Death, or elſe have ſuch a Slander and Obloquy raiſed upon him, that he would die a thouſand times rather "than ſuffer it.

Kot'er Codicis. He was prevailed on to Print his Book in *Latin*, with an *Hebrew* Title; in which he undertook to prove, that the Marrying the Brother's Wife, ſhe being carnally known of him, was contrary to the Decrees of Holy Church, utterly unlawful, and forbidden both by the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, the Laws of the Goſpel, and the Cuſtoms of the Catholick and Orthodox Church.

It

1528.

A Bull ſent to *Wolſey* to Judge the Marriage.

It appears from the Letters writ in Anſwer to thoſe that *Knight* carried to *Rome*, that the Pope granted all that was deſired. This was never well underſtood till Mr. *Rymer* in his diligent Search, found the firſt Original Bull, with the Seal in Lead hanging to it: He has printed it in his 14th Volume, p. 237. and therefore I ſhall only give a ſhort Abſtract of it. It is directed to Cardinal *Wolſey*, and bears Date the Ides of *April*, or the 13th Day, in the Year 1528. "It "empowers him, together with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or any "other *Engliſh* Biſhop, to hear, examine, pronounce and declare con- "cerning the Validity of the Marriage of King *Henry* and Queen "*Katherine*, and of the Efficacy and Validity of all Apoſtolical Diſ- "penſations in that Matter, and to declare the Marriage juſt and "lawful, or unjuſt and unlawful, and to give a plenary Sentence "upon the whole Matter; with Licenſe to the Parties to Marry "again, and to admit no Appeal from them: For which End he "creates *Wolſey* his Vicegerent, to do in the Premiſes all that he him- "ſelf could do, with Power to declare the Iſſue of the firſt as well as "of any ſubſequent Marriage legitimate: All concludes with a *Non* "*obſtante* to all General Councils and Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.

It was not made uſe of.

This rare Diſcovery was to us all a great Surprize, as ſoon as it was known: But it does not yet appear how it came about, that no uſe was ever made of it. I am not Lawyer enough to diſcover whether it was, that ſo full a Deputation was thought null of it ſelf; ſince by this the Pope determined nothing, but left all to *Wolſey*; or whether *Wolſey* having no Mind to carry the Load of the Judgment on himſelf, made the King apprehend that it would bring a Diſreputation on his Cauſe, if none but his own Subjects judged it; or whether it was that *Wolſey* would not act in Conjunction with *Warham*, or any under the Degree of a Cardinal. I leave the Reaſons of their not making uſe of the Bull, as a Secret, as great as the Bull it ſelf was, till it was found out by *Rymer*. Another Bull was after that deſired and obtained, which bears Date the 8th of *June* (*6to Idus*) from *Viterbo*. This I take from the Licenſe granted under the Great Seal to the Legates to execute the Commiſſion of that Date; but it ſeems they did not think they had the Pope faſt enough tied by this: And therefore they obtained from him, on the 23d of *July* following, a ſolemn Promiſe, called in their Letters *Policitatio*, by which he promiſed in *the Word of a Pope*, that he would never, neither at any Perſons Deſire, nor of his own Motion, inhibit or revoke the Commiſſion he had granted to the Legates to judge the Matter of the King's Marriage. This I did not publiſh in my former Work; becauſe the Lord *Herbert* had publiſhed it: But ſince that Hiſtory is like to be confined to our own Nation, and this may probably go further, I put it in the Collection; and the rather, becauſe the Lord *Herbert* taking it from a Copy as I do, ſeems in ſome doubt concerning it: But probably he had not ſeen the Letter that *Wolſey* wrote to *Gardiner*, in which he mentions the *Pollicitation* that he had in his Hands, with ſeveral other Letters that mention it, very frequently. The Copy that I publiſh was taken from a Tranſcript, atteſted by a Notary, which is the Reaſon of the Oddneſs of the Subſcription.

Coll. Numb. 14.

In

1528. In the mean time *Warham* called ſuch Biſhops as were in Town to him, and propoſed to them the King's Scruples; which being weighed by them, a Writing was drawn up to this purpoſe: That having heard the Grounds of the King's Scruples, relating to his Marriage, they all made this Anſwer, That the Cauſes which gave the King the preſent Agitation, and Diſturbance of Conſcience, were great and weighty; and that it did ſeem neceſſary to them all, for him to conſult the Judgment of their Holy Father the Pope in that Matter. This was ſigned by *Warham*, *Tonſtall*, *Fiſher*, and the Biſhops of *Carliſle*, *Ely*, St. *Aſaph*, *Lincoln* and *Bath* on the Firſt of *July* 1529. And I incline to think, that this was the Paper of which *Cavendiſh*, whom I followed too implicitly in my former Work, gave a wrong Account, as brought out when the Legates were ſitting on the King's Cauſe. There is no Reaſon to doubt of *Fiſher*'s ſigning this; and *Cavendiſh*, who wrote upon Memory almoſt 30 Years after, might be miſtaken in the Story; for the falſe Account that he gives of the Battel of *Pavy* ſhews how little he is to be depended on. At this time the Pope in a Letter to *Wolſey* offered to go in Perſon to *Spain*, or to any Place where an Interview ſhould be agreed on, to Mediate a General Peace. This *Wolſey* wrote over to the King's Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, on the 19th of *December*; and in the ſame Letter he orders them to offer the Guard to the Pope in the Name of the Two Kings; and adds, that *Turenne* ſhould Command that Part of it which was to have their Pay ſent from *France*, and Sir *Gregory Caſſal* that which the King was to pay.

The Biſhops think the Kings Scruples reaſonable.. *Rymer.*

1529. Life of *Wolſey*.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 11.

In proſecuting the Hiſtory of the Divorce, I muſt add a great deal out of ſome *French* Authors. *Bellay*, the Sieur *de Langey*, has writ Memoirs of that Time with great Judgment, and very ſincerely. I find alſo many Letters relating to thoſe Tranſactions both in the *Melanges Hiſtoriques* and in *Le Grand*'s 3d Tome. Theſe I ſhall follow in the Series in which Things were tranſacted, which will be found to give no ſmall Confirmation, as well as large Additions to what I formerly publiſhed in my Hiſtory. The firſt of theſe was much employed in Embaſſies, and was well informed of the Affairs of *England*, both his Brothers being at different Times employed to negotiate Affairs in that Court. *John* in particular, then Biſhop of *Bayonne*, afterwards of *Paris*; and Cardinal *Le Grand*, as Lord *Herbert* had done before, has given the Relation of the Anſwer that the Emperor gave by Word of Mouth, and afterwards in Writing, to *Clarencieux*, when he came with a *French* King at Arms, to denounce War in the Name of the Two Kings to the Emperor.

page 38.

27 *Jan.* 1528. The Emperor's Anſwer to the King by *Clarencieux.*

Demand was made of great Debts, that the Emperor owed the King; among theſe, the Sum forfeited for his not Marrying the Princeſs *Mary* is one. To that the Emperor anſwered, That before he was Married, he required the King to ſend her to him, which was not done: And by Letters that he intercepted, he ſaw that the King was Treating a Marriage for her with the King of *Scotland*, long before the Emperor was Married. It was farther ſaid to that Herald, That a Report went current, that the King deſigned a Divorce, and upon that to Marry another Wife. "The Emperor ſaid, he had in "his Hands ample Diſpenſations for the Marriage; nor could the "King

" King go on in that Deſign, without ſtriking at the Pope's Autho- 1529.
" rity; which would give great Scandal, and occaſion much Diſtur-
" bance, and give the Emperor juſt Cauſe of War. This would ſhew
" what Faith, what Religion, what Conſcience, and what Honour
" the King had before his Eyes. He had offered his Daughter to
" him in Marriage, and was now going to get her declared a *Ba-*
" *ſtard*; he aſcribed all this to the ill Offices done by the Cardinal
" of *York*, who was puſh'd on by his Ambition and Avarice, be-
" cauſe he would not order his Army in *Italy* to force the Electing
" him to the Popedom; which, he ſaid, both the King and the Car-
" dinal deſir'd of him in Letters, that they wrote to him on that
" Occaſion: And becauſe he had not in that ſatisfied his Pride, he
" had boaſted that he would ſo embroil the Emperor's Affairs, tho'
" *England* ſhould be ruined by it, that he ſhould repent his Uſing
" him ſo. This ſeems to be much aggravated; for it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that the King and *Wolſey* might, in the Letters that they wrote to the Emperor at the laſt Conclave, deſire him to order his Troops to draw near *Rome*, to keep all quiet, till, if he was choſen, he might get thither. Yet it is not probable, that they could deſire ſo barefac'd a thing, as the Emperor here faſtned on them. He in that, perhaps, was no truer, than when he ſaid he had in his Hands ample Diſpenſations for the King's Marriage; tho' it appears theſe were forged. For the Date of the Breve being the ſame with the Bull, both bearing Date the 26th of *December* 1503, it was plainly falſe. For *Rymer* has printed One Atteſtation from *Rome*, that the Year in the Breves begins on *Chriſtmaſs-day*; ſo if it had been a true Piece, it muſt have had the Date of 1504. He has likewiſe publiſh'd an Authentick Atteſtation, ſigned by the Cardinal Chamberlain, that in the Regiſter of the Breves, there was none to be found relating to the King's Diſpenſation for his Marriage, but one dated the 6th of *July* 1504, and another the 22d of *February* 1505.

The Biſhop of *Bayonne* made a bold Propoſition to *Wolſey*: He thought it might be a proper Method, to engage the Pope to depoſe the Emperor for ſuch enormous Felony, as he had committed againſt him; which would ſecure that See from all ſuch Attempts for the future. The Cardinal, after a little Reflection on it, ſwore to him that he would purſue that Thought; but, it ſeems, it was let fall. *Le Grand*, p. 64. *Jan.* 2. 1528. A Propoſition to Depoſe the Emperor.

When *Gardiner* and *Fox* were ſent to *Rome*, they paſſed thro' *France*, with Letters from *Wolſey* to *Montmorancy*, for his Aſſiſting them. It ſeems, the People were expreſſing their Uneaſineſs upon theſe Steps made in order to the Divorce; of which the Biſhop of *Bayonne* wrote to the Court of *France*; which was, upon his Letters, ſo talked of at *Paris*, that *Wolſey* reprimanded him for it; tho' in his own Excuſe he writes, that the Biſhop of *Bath* had ſaid it more openly, than he had written it. *Le Grand*, p. 102. *May* 24.

On the 8th of *June*, it ſeems, Matters went not well at *Rome*; for *Wolſey* complained to the Biſhop of *Bayonne* of the Pope, for not doing them Juſtice; who had ſerved him ſo well, both before his Advancement, and ever ſince. They alſo apprehended, that *Cam-* *Le Grand*, p. 129.

pegio,

1529. *pegio*, then named to come over as Legate, who was ſubject to the Gout, would, by that Pretence, manage Matters ſo as to keep them long in Suſpenſe.

Le Grand, p. 148. *June* 30. At that time the Sweating-Sickneſs raged ſo, that the Court was in dread of it. It broke out in the Legate's Houſe; ſome died of it: He, upon that, ſtole away privately, without giving Notice whither he went. The King made his Laſt Will, and received all the Sacraments. He confeſſed himſelf every Day, and received the Sacrament every Holy-Day. The Queen did the ſame; and ſo did *Wolſey*.

Le Grand, p. 164. In another Letter, without Date, *Bayonne* gives an Account of a Free Conference he had with *Wolſey*; who told him, "he had done ma-"ny Things againſt the Opinion of all *England*; upon which, ma-"ny took Occaſion to reproach him, as being wholly *French*; ſo he "muſt proceed warily: The *French* would feel their Loſs, if his "Credit were leſſened; therefore it was neceſſary, that the Biſhop "ſhould make the King, and his Council here, apprehend, that this "Alliance was not to their Prejudice. The King had of late (as "*Bayonne* had from good Hands) ſaid ſome terrible Words to the "Cardinal, apprehending that he was cold in his Matter. *Wolſey* "ſaid to him, that if God gave him the Grace once to ſee the Ha-"tred of the Two Nations extinguiſhed, and a firm Friendſhip ſet-"tled between the Two Kings; and that he could get the Laws "and Cuſtoms of the Nation a little changed, the Succeſſion ſecu-"red, and upon the King's Second Marriage an Heir Male born, he "would immediately retire, and ſerve God all the reſt of his Life. Here were many Things to be done before his Retirement: Yet the Biſhop did believe he indeed intended, upon the firſt good Occaſi-on, to retire from all Affairs; for he could not but ſee, that his Cre-dit muſt leſſen upon the King's Second Marriage. He was alſo ma-king haſte to furniſh his Epiſcopal Palaces, and to finiſh his Col-leges; and he ſeemed to him to prepare for a Storm. *Gardiner* was at this time advancing the King's Buſineſs all that was poſſible at *Rome*. I did, in my Second Volume, publiſh among the Records,

Vol. 2. Coll. Rec. Numb. 26. p. 297. a Letter of his that was written in *April*, after his Coming to *Rome*. The Subſtance of it is; "He had acquainted the Pope with "the Secret Meſſage that the Princes of *Germany* had ſent the King, "to ſee if that would work on his Fears; for he ſays, the Pope was "a Man of ſuch a Nature, that he is never reſolved in any Thing, "but as he is compelled by ſome violent Affection. He aſſures the "King, the Pope will do nothing that may offend the Emperor; "nor was it reaſonable for him to do it, except he would remove "his See to ſome other Place: For while he was at *Rome*, he was "in the Emperor's Power. By his Words and Manner, the Pope "ſeemed to Favour the King; but he was confident he would do "nothing. He believed if the Cauſe were determined by the Legates, "they at *Rome* would be glad of it: And if the Emperor ſhould be-"gin a Suit againſt that, they would ſerve him, as they now did "the King, and drive off the Time by delays: So he put the King "on getting *Campegio* to judge for him, which ſhould be a ſhort Work, "and he aſſures him nothing was to be expected from *Rome*, but

" Delays. They had put the King's Cauſe, if it ſhould be brought to 1529.
" *Rome*, in the Hands of Two Advocates, (the ſame that pleaded for
" the King afterwards in the Excuſatory Plea.) The Pope would hear
" no Diſputation about his Power of Diſpenſing: But ſo the Pope did
" not decide upon that Ground, he would not care whether the King's
" Cauſe were decided upon it, or not: And he believed the Pope
" was reſolved to meddle no more in the King's Matter, but to leave
" it with the Legates. He deſired his Letter might not be ſhewed
" to either of the Legates. With that Bearer he ſent over the Pope's
" Promiſe, in which he had got ſome Words to be put, that he
" thought favoured the King's Cauſe, as much, and more, than if
" the Decretal Commiſſion, that was in *Campegio*'s Hands, ſhould
" be ſhewed; ſo he thought the Pope ought to be no more moved
" in that Matter. The Words he mentions are, *cum nos juſtitiam ejus Cauſæ perpendentes, we conſidering the Juſtice of his Cauſe.* Theſe are in the Promiſe, or Pollicitation, which I do now publiſh, and they prove this to be a true Copy, ſince we have an Authentick Proof of the very Words that ſeemed the greateſt Ground to doubt of its Truth.

About a Fortnight after this, *Gardiner* wrote another Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection. A Motion was then made at *Rome* for recalling the Powers ſent to the Legates; but he did not think it was made in Earneſt, but only to ſtop the Ambaſſadors in their other Suits. The Pope told them that the Emperor had advertiſed him that the Queen would do nothing in the Matter, but as the King ſhould command her; therefore he would look after the Cauſe the more earneſtly. This the Pope ſeemed to tell them, that they ſhould not enquire who was the Queen's Proctor. The Ambaſſadors were amazed to ſee by *Campegio*'s Letters that were ſhewed them, that neither he, nor *Campanus*, had made any Promiſe in the Pope's Name to the King, but only in general Terms: conſidering that they had mentioned the *Plenitude of the Pope's Power*, which they truſted he would uſe in that Cauſe. He writes he did not ſucceed in that which he was ordered to move, which he did indeed apprehend could not be obtained: He lays the Blame on the Pope, or ſome other, but it became not him to faſten that on any (perhaps this pointed at *Wolſey*); the reſt relates to the Bulls, probably demanded by the Cardinal for his Colleges: This was dated the 4th of *May*; he had a Letter writ to him a Month before this, by *Anne Bullen*, in which ſhe expreſſes a great Senſe of the Service he was doing her: It ſeems by it, that at his Firſt coming to *Rome*, he had great Hopes of Succeſs, but theſe were then much abated. *Coll. Numb.* 15.

At this Time King *Henry* was writing every Day Letters full of Paſſion to that Lady. Some way or other, they fell into the Hands of thoſe who carried them to *Rome*, where they lie in the Library of the *Vatican*. I ſaw them there, and knew King *Henry*'s Hand too well, not to be convinced at firſt ſight, that they were writ by him. I did not think it fit for me to Copy them out, but I prevailed with my Worthy Friend Dr. *Fall* to do it for me. They were very ill writ, the Hand is ſcarce legible, and the *French* ſeems faulty: But ſince our Travellers are encouraged to look on them, I gave a Copy King *Henry*'s Letters to *Anne Bullen*.

1529. of them to the Printer, to be printed apart; for I could not think it proper to put them in the Collection. Objections lay in my way, even as to this; they were trifling Letters; ſome Inſinuations are not very decent, and little Wit occurred in them, to ſeaſon them in any ſort; yet they carry the Characters of an Honourable Love, directed all to Marriage: And they evidently ſhew that there was nothing amiſs, as to the main Point, in their Commerce: So ſince thoſe at *Rome* make ſo ill an Uſe of them, as to pretend that they are full of Defilement; and in Deriſion, call them the true Original of our Reformation; all theſe Conſiderations prevailed on me to ſuffer them to be printed apart, for I did not think it fitting that ſuch Stuff ſhould be mixed with graver Matters. So I ordered them to be printed exactly from the Copy, and to take no other Care about them, but to give them as I had them. But ſince I mention that Lady, I muſt add

Ex M. V. Gul. Petyt. ſome Paſſages out of a Relation made by a Son of Sir *Thomas Wyat*'s, of his Father's Concerns, marked on the Back by a Hand very like Lord *Burleigh*'s. He ſhews how falſe that Story muſt be, of his Father's pretending to King *Henry* that he had corrupted her. He was then Eſquire of the Body, and did continue ſtill about his Perſon in that Poſt, except when he was employed in Embaſſies abroad. This ſhews how incredible that Fiction of *Sanders* was; ſince if he had pretended to make any ſuch Diſcovery, he muſt have fallen either under the King's Jealouſy, or the Queen's Power; or to avoid both, he would have withdrawn himſelf: And probably he would have been afterwards ſet up a Witneſs to diſgrace her at her Tryal. That Relation adds that ſhe was ſecretly tried in the *Tower*. Some of the Lords declared that her Defence did fully clear her; none of the Women that ſerved her, were brought to Witneſs the leaſt Circumſtance againſt her: And all the Evidence upon which ſhe was convicted was kept ſo ſecret, that it was never known. This I know is put here out of its Place, but the Thread of other Things led me into it: I ſhall have occaſion to mention this Paper again in Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

Le Grand p. 169. 16 *Oct.* The King and Queen ſeemed to live well together.

The Biſhop of *Bayonne* writes, that even after *Campegio* came into *England*, both King and Queen did eat at one Table, and lodged in one Bed. The Queen put on ſo good a Countenance, that to ſee them together, one could diſcern no Breach between them: He tells in that Letter, that the Earl of *Angus*, who was married to the Queen of *Scotland*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, was come up, being baniſhed out of *Scotland*, becauſe the Queen had taken another Husband,

Le Grand p. 175. 21 *Oct.* who was a Handſomer Man than he was, (*plus beau compagnon que luy*). In his next Letter he writes that *Wolſey* ſaid to him, that the General of the *Cordeliers*, that good Prophet, then a Cardinal, had capitulated with the Pope in the Emperor's Name, when the Pope was ſet at Liberty. That *Cordelier* Cardinal was then to ſail to *Spain*, he wiſhed the *French* would ſet out ſome Veſſels to ſeize on him, and draw from him the Particulars of that Treaty: For they knew that in the Articles of that Treaty, the Reaſon that obſtructed the King's Matter, would appear. Upon this, after ſome Expoſtulation that the King of *France* did not help them in it as he might, *Wolſey* added, that the Firſt Project of the Divorce, was ſet on Foot by himſelf, to create a perpetual Separation between *England*, and the Houſe of *Burgundy*:

Burgunday: And he had told the King's Mother at *Compiegne*, that if ſhe lived a Year to an End, ſhe would ſee as great a Union with them, and as great a Diſunion from the other, as ſhe could deſire, and bid her lay that up in her Memory. 1529.

In his next he writes, that both the Legates had been with the King and Queen. In *Campegio*'s Speech to the King, he ſet forth his Merits upon the Apoſtolick See with great Pomp. *Fox* anſwered him decently in the King's Name: The Queen anſwered them more roundly: She ſpoke with reſpect to *Campegio*, but ſaid, "She thank-
"ed the Cardinal of *York* for the Trouble ſhe was put to: She had
"always wondered at his Pride and Vain-Glory; ſhe abhorred his
"Voluptuous Life, and Abominable Lewdneſs, and little regarded his
"Power and Tyranny: All this roſe from his Malice to her Nephew,
"the Emperor, whom he hated worſe than a Scorpion, becauſe he
"would not ſatisfy his Ambition, and make him Pope. She blamed
"him, both for the War, in which the King was engaged, and for
"the Trouble he put her to, by this new-found Doubt. The Car-
dinal bluſhed, and ſeemed confounded: He ſaid, "he was not the
"Beginner, nor the Mover of the Doubt; and that it was ſore a-
"gainſt his Will, that the Marriage was brought into Queſtion;
"but ſince the Pope had deputed him as a Judge to hear the Cauſe,
"he ſwore upon his Profeſſion, he would hear it indifferently.

Le Grand p. 188. The Legates go to the King and Queen. The Queen treats *Wolſey* very ſeverely. *Vitellius*, B. 12.

On the Firſt of *November*, the Biſhop writes that the Queen had choſen for her Council the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Bath*, *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *Exeter*, with the Dean of the Chappel: But of theſe, the Biſhops of *London* and *Rocheſter*, and the Dean of the Chappel, were the only Perſons, that in their Opinion, were of the Queen's ſide. She expected an Advocate, a Proctor, and a Councellor from *Flanders*. It was not allowed her to bring any over from *Spain*; for there was then War between *England* and *Spain*, but the *Netherlands* had a Neutrality granted them. "The
"Biſhop reckoned that the Marriage muſt be condemned; for tho'
"the Pope and all the Cardinals had approved it, they could not
"maintain it, if it was proved, as he was told it would be, that her
"former Marriage was conſummated: For in that Caſe, God himſelf
"had determined the Matter.

Le Grand p. 192.

On the 8th of *November* he writes, "that *Wolſey* had aſked him
"if he could ſay nothing to invalidate the Pope's Diſpenſation, and
"to prove the Marriage unlawful, ſo that the Pope could not diſpenſe
"in that Caſe; ſince nothing could unite the Two Kings ſo entirely,
"as the carrying on the Divorce muſt do: He heard he was a great
"Divine, ſo he prayed him to ſpeak his Mind freely. The Biſhop
"excuſed himſelf; but being very earneſtly preſſed, he put his Thoughts
"in Writing, referring for theſe to his laſt Letter: He ſent over
"a Copy of it to *Montmorancy*, and deſired he would ſhew it to the
"Biſhop of *Bourges*, who would explain it to him. *Wolſey* deſired
"that the King's Mother would write earneſtly to *Campegio*, in Fa-
"vour of the King's Cauſe. The Biſhop makes great Excuſes for
"giving his Opinion in the Matter; he did not ſign it: And he
"gave it only as a private Perſon, and not as an Ambaſſador.

Le Grand p. 197. The Biſhop of *Bayonne*'s Opinion of the Pope's Diſpenſation.

1529.

Le Grand, p. 209. Apprehenſions of Diſorders on the Queen's Account.

On the 27th of *November*, the Biſhop writes that he had been with *Campegio*, and had talked of the Pope's Diſpenſation. *Campegio* would not bear to have the Pope's Power brought into Debate: He thought his Power had no Limits, and ſo was unwilling to let that be touched, but he was willing to hear it proved, that the Diſpenſation was ill founded. He gives in that Letter a Relation of the King's ſending for the Lord Mayor of *London*, to give the Citizens an Account of the Scruples he had concerning his Marriage: And he writes, that he had ſaid, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, was the Firſt Perſon that made him entertain them; nor does the Biſhop of *Bayonne* pretend to call the Truth of that in queſtion.

Le Grand, p. 230.

The ſame Biſhop in his Letter of the 9th of *December*, writes, "That *Anne Bolleyn* was then come to Court, and was more waited "on than the Queen had been for ſome Years: by this they prepared "all People for what was to follow. The People were uneaſy, and "ſeemed diſpoſed to revolt. It was reſolved to ſend all the Strangers "out of the Kingdom; and it was reckoned there were above 15000 "*Flemings* in *London*. So the driving all theſe away would not be "eaſily brought about: Care was taken to Search for Arms, and to "keep all quiet. *Wolſey* in a great Company, above an hundred Per-"ſons of Quality being preſent, reported that the Emperor had ſaid "he would drive the King out of his Kingdom by his own Subjects; "one only of all that Company expreſſed an Indignation at it: The "Advocates that the Queen expected from *Flanders* were come, but "had not yet their Audience.

Le Grand, p. 245.

In one of the 20th of *December*, the Biſhop writes, "That the "King had ſhewed him what Preſumptions there were of the Forgery "of the Breve, that they pretended was in *Spain*; and upon that he "went through the whole Matter ſo copiouſly with him, that he ſaw "he underſtood it well, and indeed needed no Advocate: He deſi-"red that ſome Opinions of learned Men in *France* might be got, and "be ſigned by them, if it could be obtained.

Le Grand, p. 259. Endeavours to gain *Campegio*.

By the Letter of the 25th of *December*, it appears there was an Argument of more Weight laid before *Campegio*, for he was offered *Dureſme* inſtead of *Saliſbury*. He ſaid to them who offered it, that the Pope was about to give him a Biſhoprick of that Value in *Spain*; but the Emperor would not conſent to it. The Lawyers that came from the *Netherlands*, had an Audience of the King, in which they took great Liberties: For they ſaid to him, They wondred to ſee him forſake his ancient Friends, and to unite himſelf to his mortal Enemies. They were anſwered very ſharply. They applied themſelves to *Campegio* with reſpect, but neglected *Wolſey*; and after that they had lodged ſuch Advices as were ſent by them, with the Queen, they returned home.

Le Grand, p. 295. *Wolſey*'s Credit is ſhaken.

On the 25th of *January* the Biſhop of *Bayonne* writes, "That the "Court apprehending the Pope was changing his Meaſures with rela-"tion to the King's Affair, had ſent *Gardiner* to *Rome*, to let the "Pope know, That if he did not order *Campegio* to proceed in the "Divorce, the King would withdraw himſelf from his Obedience: "He perceived *Wolſey* was in great Fear; for he ſaw, that if the "thing was not done, the Blame would be caſt wholly on him, and

"there

" there it would end. Sir *Thomas Cheyney* had ſome way offended 1529.
" him, and was for that diſmiſſed the Court; but by *Anne Boleyn*'s
" means he was brought back; and ſhe had upon that occaſion ſent
" *Wolſey* a ſevere Meſſage. The Biſhop had in a Letter ſent him P. 299.
" from *Paris* a Liſt of the College of the Cardinals, by which they
" reckoned Fifteen of them were *Imperialiſts*; and *Campegio* is rec-
" koned among theſe: Eighteen were of the contrary Party: Three
" had not declared themſelves, but might be gained to either ſide,
" and Six were abſent. This Canvaſing was occaſioned by the Pope's
" Sickneſs, and it was writ as News from *France*, that an *Engliſhman*
" paſſing through, and going to *Spain*, had reported with Joy, that
" there would be no Divorce: That *Campegio* ſerved the Pope well;
" that this was very acceptable to all the Great Men of *England*;
" and that the Blame of all was laid on *Wolſey*, whoſe Credit with
" the King was ſinking: That he was not at the Feaſt of St. *George*,
" for which the King had chid him ſeverely, he being the Chancel-
" lor of the Order.

In a Letter of the 22d of *May* he writes, " That *Wolſey* was P. 313.
" extreme uneaſy. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and others, The Dukes of *Norfolk* and
" made the King believe, that he did not advance his Affair ſo *Suffolk* his E-
" much as he could: He wiſhes, that the King of *France* and his nemies.
" Mother would make the Duke of *Suffolk* deſiſt; for he did not
" believe, that He, or the other Duke, could be able to manage the
" King as *Wolſey* had done. They at Court were alarmed at the laſt
" News from *Rome*, for the Pope ſeemed inclined to recal the Com-
" miſſion: Upon which, *Benet* was ſent thither, to uſe either Pro-
" miſes or Threatnings, as he ſhould ſee Cauſe. They preſſed the
" Pope to declare the Breve from *Spain* Null; but he refuſed to do
" it. He adds, that in the Breve lay one of the moſt important
" Points of the whole Matter: (Probably that was, that the Con-
ſummation of the former Marriage, was expreſsly affirmed in it.)
" *Wolſey* had preſſed the Biſhop very earneſtly, to move his Maſter
" to concur zealouſly to promote the King's Cauſe; upon which
" he preſſed on *Montmorancy*, that the King of *France* ſhould ſend
" One to the Pope, to let him know, that he believed the King's
" Cauſe was juſt, and that both Kingdoms would withdraw from
" his Obedience, if Juſtice was denied on this Occaſion. To this
" were to be added, all Sorts of Promiſes when it ſhould be done;
" which *Wolſey* proteſted, ſuch was his Love to the King, he would
" value much more, than if they made him Pope. The Point then
" to be inſiſted on, was to hinder the Recalling the Commiſ-
" ſion.

By Letters of the 30th of *June*, it appears, that *Gardiner* was P. 333.
return'd from *Rome*, with the Proofs of the Breves being a Forgery. *Campegio* was then forced to delay the Matter no longer. The Biſhop of *Bayonne* had preſſed *Campegio* to it, by Authority from the Court of *France*. On the 13th of *July*, *Caſſali* wrote from *Rome*, that the Pope had recalled the King's Cauſe, at the Emperor's Suit.

But I come now to give an Account of the Proceedings of the Two Legates; in which I muſt correct the Errors of all the

1529. Writers of that Time, whom I had too implicitly followed. I go upon ſure Grounds; for I have before me the Original Regiſter of their Proceedings, made up with ſuch Exactneſs, that, at the End, the Regiſter and Clerk of the Court do not only atteſt it with their Hands and Marks, but reckon up the Number of the Leaves, with the Interlinings that are in every Page; and every Leaf is likewiſe ſigned by the Clerk, all in Parchment. This Noble Record was lent me, by my Reverend and Learned Brother, Dr. *More*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who has gather'd together a moſt Invaluable Treaſure, both of Printed Books and Manuſcripts, beyond what one can think that the Life and Labour of one Man could have compaſſed, and which he is as ready to Communicate, as he has been careful to Collect it.

The Proceedings of the Legates.

The Legates ſat in a Room called *the Parliament Chamber*, near the Church of the *Black Friars*. Their Firſt Seſſion was on the 31ſt of *May*. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* preſented to them the Bull, by which the Pope empowered them to Try and Judge the Cauſe concerning the King and Queen's Marriage, whether it was good or not, and whether the Iſſue by it was legitimate or not. The Legates, after the Reading of the Bull, took it into their Hands, and ſaw it was a true and untouched Bull, ſo they took upon them to execute it: And they ordered the King and Queen to be cited to appear before them on the 18th of *June*; and appointed, that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſhould Cite the King, and the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* the Queen.

On the 18th the Form of the Citation was brought before them, in which the Bull was inſerted at full length, and the Two Biſhops certified, that they had ſerved the Citation both on the King and Queen on the 15th; and *Sampſon*, Dean of the Chapel, and Dr. *Bell* appeared, with a Proxy from the King in due Form: But the Queen appeared perſonally, and read an Inſtrument, by which She declined the Legates, as not competent Judges, and adhered to an Appeal She had made to the Pope: Upon Reading this She withdrew; and tho' She was required to return, She had no Regard to it. Upon which they pronounced her contumacious; and on the 21ſt of *June*, they order'd the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* to ſerve her with a Monition and a Peremptory Citation, certifying, that if She did not appear, they would proceed in the Cauſe. And on the 25th of *June*, the Biſhop certified upon Oath, that he had ſerved the Citation; but that the Queen adhered to her Proteſtation, ſo She was again judged contumacious: And as She never came more into the Court, ſo the King was never in it. And from this it is clear, that the Speeches that the Hiſtorians have made for them, are all plain Falſities.

The next Step made, was, that the Legates exhibited 12 Articles, ſetting forth the whole Progreſs of the Queen's Firſt and Second Marriage, and of the Diſpenſations obtain'd from *Rome*, all grounded upon publick Fame; and the Queen was ordered to be cited again on the 28th of *June*. The Biſhop certified upon Oath, that he had ſerved the Queen with the Citation; but She not appearing, was again judged contumacious, and Witneſſes were ſworn to prove

prove the Articles. The King's Anſwer to the Articles was laid before them; in which, by his Anſwer to the 7th, it appeared, that he was Married to the Queen, by Virtue of a Papal Diſpenſation. 1529.

On the 5th of *July*, the King's Proctors brought the Bull of Pope *Julius*, Diſpenſing with the Impediments in the Marriage, as likewiſe the Copy of the Breve, of which the Original was in *Spain*, but atteſted very ſolemnly from thence. The Legates ordered more Witneſſes to be ſworn on the 9th of *July*. In another Seſſion, Additional Articles were offered; in which it was ſet forth, that Impediments lay againſt the Marriage, as being prohibited both by the Divine and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; ſo that it could not be maintained by the Diſpenſations, and that they were of no Force, but were Null and Void. Then they ſet forth all the Objections formerly made againſt the Bull; by which it appeared, that the Pope was ſurprized by the falſe Suggeſtions made to him, on which he had granted it; and in particular, that there was no War, nor Appearance of War, between *England* and *Spain*, at that Time. They did alſo ſet forth the Preſumptions, on which they concluded that the Breve was not a Genuine, but a Forged Piece. On the 12th of *July*, Commiſſion was given to Examine the Witneſſes. On the 14th, Additional Articles were brought in; and on the 16th of *July*, the King's Proctors were required to bring all Inſtruments whatſoever, relating to the Articles, before the Legates; and another Commiſſion was given, to Examine ſome abſent Witneſſes.

On the 19th of *July*, Publication was made of the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes: By which it appears, that *Warham* in his Examination ſaid, He referred the Matter of the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, to Divines; but that he himſelf believed, that it was contrary both to the Laws of God, and to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and that otherwiſe, there was no need of a Diſpenſation from the Pope. He confeſſes, there were great Murmurings againſt the Marriage; for nothing of that Sort had ever been heard of in this Kingdom before; and that he himſelf murmured againſt it, and thought it deteſtable and unnatural; and that he had expoſtulated with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* for his Adviſing it, but he acquieſced when the Pope's Diſpenſation was obtained. The Biſhop of *Ely* depoſed, That he doubted concerning the Conſummation of the Queen's Marriage with Prince *Arthur*; for the Queen had often, upon her Conſcience, denied it to him: Yet many Witneſſes were brought to prove the Conſummation; Some, becauſe the Prince and the Queen conſtantly lodged in the ſame Bed; and that Prince *Arthur* continued in a State of good Health, till the Beginning of *Lent*: Some inferred it, from what they themſelves had done, when they were of his Age. Some ſwore to Words that he ſpake next Morning after his Marriage, not decent enough to be repeated. Other Witneſſes were brought to prove, that there was no War between *England* and *Spain*, when the Diſpenſation was granted; but that a Free Intercourſe had been kept up between theſe Nations for many Years. It was likewiſe proved, that the Matter ſet

1529. forth in the Preamble of the Bull, was falſe; and that the Breve was a Forgery. On the 21ſt, the Proteſtation the King had made, that he did not intend to Marry the Queen, was read and proved. With that, the King's Council cloſed their Evidence, and demanded a Final Sentence: So the 23d of *July* was aſſigned for Concluding the Cauſe.

On that Day, the King's Proctor moved, that Judgment ſhould be given; but Cardinal *Campegio* did affirm, on the Faith of a true Prelate, that the Harveſt Vacation was then begun in *Rome*; and that they were bound to follow the Practice of the Conſiſtory; ſo he adjourned the Court to the 28th of *September*.

At the End of every Seſſion, ſome of the Men of Quality then preſent are named; and at this Time, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, are only named; which ſeems to contradict what is commonly reported of the Duke of *Suffolk*'s being there, and of what paſſed between him and Cardinal *Wolſey*. This Record is atteſted by *Clayberg* the Regiſter, and *Watkins* the Clerk of the Court. And Four Year after that, on the 1ſt of *October*, *Anno* 1533, it is alſo atteſted by Dr. *Wootton*; which, he ſays, he does, being required to atteſt it by *Clayberg* and *Watkins*. How this came to be deſired, or done at that Time, is that of which I can give no other Account, but that this is affixed to the Regiſter. By this Extract that I have made of this great Record, it appears, that *Campegio* carried on this Cauſe with ſuch a trifling Slowneſs, that if the King had not thought he was ſure of him, he could never have ſuffered ſuch Delays to be made; by which the Cardinal had a Colour from the Vacation, then begun in the Conſiſtory in *Rome*, to put off the Cauſe, on the Day in which a preſent Sentence was expected. It is very Natural to think, that as the King was much ſurprized, ſo he was offended out of Meaſure, when he found he was treated with ſo much Scorn and Falſehood.

P. 136. On the 23d of *Auguſt* a ſad Embroilment happened upon the Duke of *Suffolk*'s returning from *France*. *Wolſey* complained to the King that he had done him ill Offices at that Court. *Suffolk* denied it; the Cardinal ſaid he knew it by the Biſhop of *Bayonne*: Upon which *Suffolk* came and challenged him: The Biſhop denied he had ſaid it. *Suffolk* confeſſed indeed he had ſaid ſome Things to his Diſadvantage; but the Biſhop prayed him that the Matter might be carried no further: Yet he offered to deny in *Wolſey*'s Preſence, that which was charged on him. But he ſaw the Duke of *Suffolk* intended to oblige him to deny it in the King's Preſence. The Biſhop apprehending the ill Effects this might have, reſolved to keep out of the King's way for ſome Time, and he hoped to avoid the being further queſtioned in the Matter: He found both the King and *Wolſey* deſired that he might make a Journey to *Paris*, to get the Opinions of the Learned Men in the King's Cauſe: He would not undertake it, 'till he knew whether the King of *France* approved of it or not: He deſired an Anſwer might be quickly ſent him; adding, that if it was not agreed to by *France*, it would increaſe the Jealouſies the King had of that Court. He ſaw they deſigned to hold a Parliament in *England*, and they hoped by that to make the Pope feel the Effects of his Injuſtice.

By the Biſhop's Letter of the 18th of *September*, it appears that *Campegio* having got his Revocation, "reſolved to go to Court that he "might have his Audience of Leave; where it was thought beſt to "diſmiſs him civilly: In the mean while, *Wolſey*, who ſeemed full "of Fear, preſſed the Biſhop to get the Matter to be examin'd by the "Divines: And though he diſguiſed his Fears, yet he could not "quite cover them. Some had left him whom he had raiſed; pro- "bably this was *Gardiner*: For he united himſelf to the Duke of "*Norfolk* in all Things. The Biſhop of *Bayonne* deſired Leave to go "over, on the Pretence of his Father's Old Age and Weakneſs; but "really to know the Senſe of the *French* Divines; and alſo deſired, "that his Brother *William de Bellay*, might be ſent to the Court of "*England*, during his Abſence. 1529. P. 354.

"On the 4th of *October*, he writes, that he ſaw the Parliament "was ſet to ruin *Wolſey*. *Campegio* was well treated by the King, "and had good Preſents at Parting; and the King deſired that they "would uſe him well, as he paſſed thro' *France*; and particularly, "that they would ſuffer him to reſign an Abbey he had there, in "Favour of his Son. He was ſtopt at *Dover*; for it was ſuſpected "that he was Carrying over *Wolſey*'s Treaſure. P. 364.

On the 17th of *October*, he deſcribes the Cardinal's Fall: "The "Biſhop thought it was the greateſt Example of Fortune that "could be ſeen: Both Heart and Voice failed him; he wept, "and prayed that the King of *France* and his Mother would pity "him, if they found that he had been true in all that he had pro- "miſed to them: His Viſage was quite altered; and the Diſgrace "was ſo ſudden and heavy, that even his Enemies pitied him: The "Biſhop ſaw he would be hotly purſued, and that nothing but Inter- "ceſſions from *France* could ſave him: He did not pretend to conti- "nue either *Legate* or *Chancellor*; he ſeemed ready to quit all to his "Shirt, ſo he might recover the King's Favour again. He was capa- "ble of no Comfort. He propoſed, that the *French* King and his "Mother ſhould write to the King, to this Purpoſe; That they "heard of his Diſgrace, and of the Deſign to ruin him: That they "pray'd him not to proceed too ſuddenly: He had been a good "Inſtrument between them; if there was juſt Cauſe for it, his "Power might be leſſened; but that they prayed, the King would "not carry Things to Extremity. The Biſhop lays this before "*Montmorancy*, without preſuming to give Advice in it; only he "thought this could do no hurt. Whatſoever was done, muſt ſeem "to be of their own Motion, and not as coming from a Deſire of "the Cardinal; for that would precipitate his Ruin. It ſeems, he "had receiv'd great Preſents from the King's Mother, of which he "hoped She would ſay nothing, that might hurt him. It was in- "tended, as he thought, on his Ruin, to deſtroy the State of the "Church, and ſeize on their Lands, which had been openly talk'd "at ſome Tables. If the King of *France* intended to interpoſe in "his Favour, no Time was to be loſt. *Anne Boleyn*, as it was be- "lieved, had got a Promiſe of the King, that he would not ad- "mit him to a Private Audience, leſt that might beget ſome Pity in "him. P. 370. The Cardinal's Diſgrace.

1529. P. 377. All his Goods ſeized on, P. 379.

" On the 22d of *October*, he wrote, that all his Goods were " ſeized on, and that his Spirit was quite ſunk. It was not known, " who ſhould have the Great Seal; it was believed, it would no " more be put into a Prieſt's Hands; but he ſaw, *Gardiner* was like " to have a great Share in Affairs. The Cardinal's Goods that were " ſeized on, were valued at 500000 Crowns. *More*, who had been " Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, was made Lord Chan- " cellor. The See of *York* was to be left in his Hands; and ſome " of his Goods were to be ſent back to him. The Biſhop did ap- " prehend, that if the New Miniſtry did not agree, which he be- " lieved they would not do long, he might be brought back to " Court again.

I have given the Relation of this great Tranſaction more particularly than was perhaps neceſſary; but finding ſo clear a Thread in thoſe Letters, I thought it not improper to follow them cloſely; the rather, to ſhew, that none of the Papers that Mr. *Le Grand* has publiſhed, do in the leaſt contradict, but rather eſtabliſh all that I had written: And ſo punctual a Relation being laid before me, by thoſe who bore no good Will to me, nor to my Work, ſeemed an Invitation to me to enlarge further than perhaps was neceſſary. I will end therefore all that relates to Cardinal *Wolſey*, at once.

Wolſey's good Conduct in his Dioceſe.

Upon his going to *York*, he behaved himſelf much better than he had done in the former Parts of his Life. In a Book that was printed in the Year 1536, entitled *A Remedy for Sedition*, writ by One that was no Friend to Popery, this Character is given of the laſt Part of *Wolſey*'s Life. " None was better beloved than he, after " he had been there a while. He gave Biſhops a Good Example, " how they might win Mens Hearts. There was few Holy-Days, " but he would ride Five or Six Miles from his Houſe; now to " this Pariſh-Church, now to that; and there, cauſe one of his Do- " ctors to make a Sermon unto the People: He ſat among them, " and ſaid Maſs before all the Pariſh. He ſaw why Churches were " made, and began to reſtore them to their right and proper Uſe. " If our Biſhops had done ſo, we ſhould have ſeen, that Preach- " ing the Goſpel is not the Cauſe of Sedition, but rather Lack of " Preaching it. He brought his Dinner with him, and bad di- " vers of the Pariſh to it. He enquired if there was any Debate, " or Grudge between any of them; if there were, after Din- " ner he ſent for the Parties to the Church, and made them all " one.

I had, in my Work, mentioned the Concluding Character that I found *Cavendiſh* gave of him, that was left out in the Printed Editions; which made me vouch the Manuſcript, from which I had it: But the laſt Edition agreeing with that Copy, I need ſay no more to juſtify my Quotation, for it will be found in it.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that when the Biſhop of *Bayonne* firſt ſuggeſted to *Wolſey*, that if the King's Marriage was againſt the Law of God, the Pope's Diſpenſation could be of no Force; yet no Inferences were made from this. All our Writers give *Cranmer* the Honour of having ſtarted that firſt; and they make that the Foundation of his Advancement. I can ſee no other way to reconcile all this, but that

that it may be ſuppoſed *Wolſey* as true to the Intereſts of the Papacy, was unwilling to let it be moved in Publick; and that he kept this between the Biſhop of *Bayonne* and himſelf, without communicating it to the King. Now the Cauſe was called away to *Rome*, and to a new Proceſs followed with a very ſlow Progreſs: Delays upon Delays were granted, and yet all was precipitated in Concluſion. 1529.

The King conſults the Univerſities.

In the mean while, the King ſent his Queſtion to the Faculties of Law and Divinity, in the ſeveral Univerſities of *Europe*: And underſtanding that *Martin de Bellay*, the Elder Brother of the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, diſtinguiſhed by the Title of Sieur *de Langey*, had great Credit in the Univerſities, both in *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*; he engaged him to procure their Opinions upon the Point of the Unlawfulneſs of his Marriage: Who in the View of this Service, prevailed with the King, to lend the King of *France* 150000 Crowns, being to be advanced as a Part of the Two Millions, that he was to pay for the Redemption of his Sons; which was to be repaid to King *Henry* in Five Years. Beſides, he aſſigned over to him the Forfeiture due by the Emperor, for not Marrying his Daughter: And he ſent in a Preſent to his Godſon *Henry*, afterwards King of *France*, a Jewel, with ſome of that which was believed to be the True Croſs, that had been left in Pawn with the King, by *Philip*, *Charles*'s Father, for 50000 Crowns: So ready was the King to engage the King of *France* into his Intereſt, at no ſmall Charge to himſelf.

Mart. de Bellage's Memoirs, p. 282.

Proceedings in Convocation.

I come next to open the Tranſactions in the Convocation that was ſummoned to meet on the 5th of *November* 1529, Two Days after the opening of the Parliament. At their Firſt Meeting, a Reformation of Abuſes was propoſed: And with that an Enquiry was made concerning Heretical Books. A Committee of Biſhops was appointed with relation to Hereticks. On the 19th of *December* Secreſy was enjoyned, and that was again a Second Time enjoyned under the Pain of Excommunication: Then the Prolocutor came up, and had ſecret Conference with the Upper-Houſe. They remitted to the King the Loan that they had made him; and they put an End to that Work on *Chriſtmaſs*-Eve, a Week after the Parliament was riſen.

May 24. Tranſlation of the Scriptures condemned.

The Biſhops were much offended at the Tranſlations of the New Teſtament by *Tindall*, *Joyce*, and others; and proceeded ſeverely againſt thoſe who read them: Yet it was not eaſy to put a ſtop to the Curioſity and Zeal of the People. The King came to the Star-Chamber, and conferred with the Biſhops and other learned Men on this Subject: The Biſhops ſaid theſe Tranſlations were not true, and complained of the Prologues ſet before them. So the King commanded by a Proclamation, iſſued and printed in *June* 1530, that theſe Tranſlations ſhould be called in, and promiſed that a New One ſhould be made. On this Occaſion it is not unfit to mention what Doctor *Fulk* writes, that he heard *Miles Coverdale* ſay in a Sermon he preached at *Paul*'s Croſs. After he had finiſhed his Tranſlation, ſome cenſured it: Upon which King *Henry* ordered divers Biſhops to peruſe it: After they had it long in their Hands, he aſked their Judgment of it; they ſaid there were many Faults in it: But he aſked upon that, if there were any Hereſies in it; they ſaid they found none: Then ſaid the King, in God's Name, let it go

1530. abroad among my People. The Time is not marked when this was ſaid, therefore I inſert it here: For in the beginning of the following Year, the King ordered a Bible of the largeſt Volume to be had in every Church, but it does not appear to me by whom it was tranſlated.

On the 19th of *September* 1530, another Proclamation was made, againſt all who ſhould purchaſe any Thing from the Court of *Rome*, contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to hinder his intended Purpoſes. The Convocation was again brought together, about the 7th of *January*; their greateſt Buſineſs was to purchaſe their Pardon; for as the Cardinal had fallen under a Premunire, by the Act of the 16th of *Richard* the IId; ſo they were generally involved, more or leſs, in the ſame Guilt: The Sum was ſoon agreed to, with the Conſent of the Lower-Houſe, One Hundred Thouſand Pound was to be their Ranſom.

The Steps in carrying the King's being declared Head of the Church.

On the 7th of *February*, ſome of the King's Councellors and Judges came and conferred with them about ſome Words that were propoſed to be put in the Preamble of the Bill of Subſidy, which were theſe, *The King who is the Protector, and the only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of* England. Upon this the Prolocutor and Clergy were called up to confer about it: The Lord Chief Juſtice with others, came into the Convocation, and conferred with the Archbiſhop and his Brethren: The next Day the Prolocutor deſired a further Time, and the Archbiſhop aſſigned them One a Clock: Then the Archbiſhop had ſome Diſcourſe with them concerning the King's Pardon: Some of the Judges came and communicated to them a Copy of the Exceptions in the Act of Grace: This was in the 23d Seſſion: In the 24th Seſſion, there was yet further Talk about the King's Supremacy.

The Judges came and aſked them whether they were agreed upon the Exceptions; and added, that the King would admit of no Qualifications: When theſe were gone, the Prolocutor came up and aſked yet more Time; the Archbiſhop appointed Two a Clock the ſame Day: A long Debate followed. The next Day the Archbiſhop had a ſecret Conference with the Biſhops, and *Cromwell* came and had ſome Diſcourſe with him; when he went away, the Biſhops reſolved to ſend the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Exeter* to the King; it ſeems, to ſoften him: But they came back, and reported that the King would not ſpeak with them. The Judges told them, they had no Orders to ſettle the King's Pardon, till they did agree to the Supremacy. They were prorogued till the Afternoon, and then there was ſo great a Variety of Opinions, that no Agreement was like to follow. The Lord *Rochford*, *Anne Bullen*'s Father, was ſent by the King with ſome Expedients: The Archbiſhop directed them to conſider of theſe, and that when they were come to a Reſolution upon them, that they ſhould ſend Three or Four of each Houſe to treat with the King's Council, and with the Judges: But the King would admit of no Treaty, and aſked a clear Anſwer. It was put off a Day longer, and on the 11th of *February*, the Article was thus conceived in Latin, *Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani ſingularem Protectorem & unicum & Supremum Dominum, & quantum per Chriſti legem licet, etiam*

Rymer.

Supremum Caput, ipſius Majeſtatem Recognoſcimus. In *Engliſh* thus, *We Recognize the King's Majeſty to be our only Sovereign Lord, the ſingular Protector of the Church and Clergy of* England, *and as far as is to be allowed by the Law of Chriſt, likewiſe our SUPREME HEAD.* 1530.

The Form being thus agreed on, the Archbiſhop offered it to the Whole Body: All were ſilent; upon which he ſaid, whoſoever is ſilent ſeems to conſent: To this one anſwered, then we are all ſilent. The Meeting was put off till the Afternoon; and then after a long Conference, all of the Upper-Houſe agreed to it, none excepted: *Fiſher* is expreſsly named as preſent; And in the Evening the Prolocutor came and ſignified to the Archbiſhop, that the Lower-Houſe had alſo conſented to it: And thus the Bill of Subſidy was prepared and offered to the King on the Firſt of *April*. Thus this Matter was carried, by adding this Limitation, which all Parties underſtood, according to their different Notions. The Limitation added to it:

Though theſe Words of Limitation had not been added, the Nature of Things required that they ſhould have been ſuppoſed; ſince among Chriſtians, all Authority muſt be underſtood to be limited by the Laws that Chriſt has given: But thoſe who adhered to their former Notions, underſtood this *Headſhip* to be only a Temporal Authority, in Temporal Matters: And they thought that by the Laws of Chriſt, the Secular Authority ought not to meddle in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; whereas others of the New Learning, as it was then called, thought that the Magiſtrate had a full Authority, even in Eccleſiaſtical Matters: But that the Adminiſtration of this, was ſo limited to the Laws of the Goſpel, that it did not warrant him to command any Thing, but what was conform to theſe. So that theſe Words were Equivocal, and differently underſtood by thoſe who ſubſcribed, and afterwards ſwore them.

It ſeems the King thought it was of great Advantage to him, to have this Matter ſettled with any Limitation: For that in Time would be dropt and forgotten, as indeed it was: This, no doubt, was intended to terrify the Court of *Rome*; ſince it was publiſhed over all *Europe*, that it went Unanimouſly in the Convocation of this Province. And accepted by the King.

Tonſtall was now tranſlated to *Dureſme*; and being a Man of great Probity, he could not at firſt approve of a Thing in which he ſaw a fraudulent Management, and an ill Deſign; ſo he proteſted againſt it: He acknowledged the King's Headſhip in Temporal Matters, but did not allow it in Spirituals: But the King who had a particular Friendſhip for him, wrote him a Letter, which from the printed Title to it, I too haſtily thought was directed to the Convocation at *York*; but it was writ only to *Tonſtall*; and it ſeems it ſo far ſatisfied him, that he took the Oath afterwards, without any Limitation.

I ſhall now go through the reſt of the Abſtract of that Convocation, by which it will appear what was the Spirit that prevailed among them. In the 49th Seſſion, after all had agreed to the Preamble of the Bill of Subſidy, the Biſhop of *London* laid before them a Libel againſt the Clergy: In the next Seſſion, *Crome*, *Latimer*, and *Bilney*, were The Proceedings of the Clergy againſt Hereticks.

1530. were examined upon ſome Articles: It does not appear whether the Libel was laid to their Charge, or not; only their Examination following the other Motion ſo ſoon, gives ground to apprehend that it might be the Matter under Examination. In the 55th Seſſion, the King's Pardon was read to them; and it ſeems Exceptions being taken to ſome Things in it, in the 58th Seſſion, the Emendations that the King's Council had made, were read to them, in which it ſeems they acquieſced, for we hear no more of it.

Complaints of *Tracy*'s Teſtament.

After that, there was a long Conference, with Relation to *Crome*'s Errors: But the Matter was referred to the Prolocutor and the Clergy. The Prolocutor had in the 45th Seſſion, complained of *Tracy*'s Teſtament, but no Anſwer being made, he renewed his Complaint in the 62d Seſſion, and deſired that it might be condemned, and that *Crome* ſhould be proceeded againſt; as alſo that *Bilney* and *Latimer* might be cited: But for ſome Reaſons not expreſſed, the Archbiſhop thought fit to delay it. In the 64th Seſſion, the Prolocutor repeated his Motion for condemning *Tracy*'s Teſtament; ſo in the 66th Seſſion, on the 23d of *March*, the Archbiſhop gave Judgment againſt it. *Tracy*'s Son was examined about it: He ſaid it was all written in his Father's own Hand; and that he had never given a Copy of it to any Perſon, except to one only. In the 69th Seſſion, the Archbiſhop examined *Lambert*, (alias *Nicolſon*, who was afterwards burnt) before Two Notaries; and in the 70th Seſſion, the Sentence condemning *Tracy*'s Teſtament was publickly read; and, after Two other Seſſions, the Convocation was prorogued to *October*.

It appears from all this, that the Convocation was made up of Men violently ſet againſt our Reformation. But I turn now to another Scene. The King ſeeing no Hope left of ſucceeding in his Suit at the Court of *Rome*, reſolved to try the Faculties of Divinity in
P. 383. the ſeveral Univerſities: His chief Reliance was upon *France*, and on thoſe Three Brothers formerly mentioned: He began to ſuſpect there was ſome ſecret Negotiation between the Court of *Rome*, and the King of *France*; yet though he opened this to the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, he did on all other Occaſions expreſs an entire Confidence in that King: And the New Miniſtry ſeemed Zealous in the Intereſts of *France*, and ſtudied to remove all the Jealouſies that they apprehended *Wolſey* might have given of them.

The King's Proceedings at *Rome*.

At this Time the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, then Cardinal *Grandiment*, was with the Pope, and had a particular Charge ſent to him to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors: He wrote to the *French* King on the 27th of
P. 399. *March*, "that he had ſerved *Bullen*, then Lord *Rochfort*, all he "could; that he had preſſed the Pope to ſhew the Regard he had "to the King of *France*, as well as to the King of *England*: He "writes that the Pope had Three ſeveral Times ſaid to him in ſecret, "that he wiſh'd that the Marriage had been already made in *England*, "either by the Legate's Diſpenſation, or otherwiſe, provided it was "not done by him, nor in diminution of his Authority, under the "Pretence of the Laws of God. He alſo wrote that the Emperor "had preſſed the Pope to create ſome New Cardinals upon his Re-"commendation: But that the Pope complained, that when he was "a Priſoner, he had made ſome Cardinals who were a Diſgrace to the

"College: The Emperor ſaid, he was ſorry for it; but it was not "by his Order. The Pope ſaid, he knew the contrary; for he "ſaw the Inſtructions ſent to the Cardinal *Cordelier*, ſigned by the "Emperor, in which they were named: So the Pope refuſed to "give the Two Caps that he deſired. 1530.

There was then an *Italian*, *Joachim* Sieur *de Veaux*, at the Court of *England*, who was an Agent of *France*: He, in a Letter to the King of *France*, *March* the 15th, writes, That the King thought, that by his Means he might have the Opinion of the Faculty at *Paris*, in his Cauſe. On the 4th of *April* he writes, that the King expected no good from the Pope, and ſeemed reſolved to ſettle his Matter at Home, with the Advice of his Council and Parliament. He looked on the Pope as Simoniacal, and as an Ignorant Man, and not fit to be the Univerſal Paſtor; and reſolved not to ſuffer the Court of *Rome* to have any Advantage from the Benefices in his Kingdom, but to Govern it by a Provincial Authority, and by a Patriarch; and he hoped other Kingdoms would do the ſame. P. 411. Applications made to Divines and Lawyers. P. 418.

After ſome Interval, the Biſhop of *Bayonne*'s Letters are again continued. In one of the 29th of *December*, he writes, "That "the King was marvelouſly well pleaſed with the Account his Am- "baſſadors wrote to him, of what the Divines of *Paris* had done; "tho' he underſtands there is one *Beda*, a dangerous Perſon among "them. That Declaration which their Divines had made, was "ſuch, that all other Things were forgiven, in Conſideration "of it. An Opinion given by ſome in *Paris*, p. 421.

The next Letter is from his Brother *William*; who writes, "That "the good Anſwer that came from the Doctors and Univerſities of "*Italy*, made the King wonder that thoſe of *Paris* were ſo back- "ward. It was ſuſpected in *England*, that the King of *France*, or "his Counſellors, had not recommended the Matter effectually to "them. He had a Letter from one *Gervais*, a Doctor there, who "had much advanced the King's Affairs, for which *Montmorancy* "had made him great Acknowledgments. He ſhew'd this Letter to "King *Henry*; who, upon that, carried him to his Cloſet where his "Books lay, and there he entertain'd him Four Hours: He told him, "he was in ſuch Perplexity, that it was not poſſible for him to live "longer in it.

This *de Bellay* was to go to *Paris*, to talk with the Doctors; therefore he prayed *Montmorancy*, that he might find a Letter from the King, empowering him ſo to do; that ſo he might not ſeem to act without his Orders: And he promiſed to manage the Matter with Diſcretion. Biſhop of *Bayonne* ſent to *Paris*.

In a Letter that the Biſhop of *Bayonne* wrote from *Luſignon*, on the 13th of *April*, where he was then with the *French* King, he writes, That the Matter of the Divorce was entirely diſpatch'd at *Paris*, as it had been before that done at *Orleans*, by his Brother's Means. But he adds, Some repreſented to the King, that he had ſhewed too much Diligence in Procuring it, as if he was Serving Two Maſters. *Joachim* had before that, on the 15th of *February*, written to the King, that King *Henry* thanked him for his Commands to the Doctors in *Paris* in his Matter, which he laid to Heart more P. 427. P. 442.

1530. more than all other Things; and deſir'd they would give their Opinions in Writing, that they might be laid before the Pope.

Cardinal *Cajetan*'s Opinion againſt the King.

It does not appear, that the Pope took any other Pains to be well informed in the Matter, but by conſulting Cardinal *Cajetan*, who was then juſtly eſteemed the Learnedeſt Man of the College. He, when he wrote Commentaries upon *Thomas*'s Summ, tho' that Father of the Schoolmen thought, that the Laws in *Leviticus*, concerning the Degrees of Marriage that are prohibited, were Moral, and of Eternal Obligation; *Cajetan*, in his Commentary, declares himſelf to be of another Mind, but takes a very odd Method to prove it: For inſtead of any Argument to evince it, he goes only on this Ground; That they cannot be Moral, ſince the Popes diſpenſed with them; whereas they cannot diſpenſe with a Moral Law. And for that he gives an Inſtance of the Marriage of the King of *Portugal*; to which he adds, The preſent Queen of *England* had likewiſe conſummated her Marriage, with the late Brother of the King of *England* her Huſband. By which, as it appears that they took it then for granted at *Rome*, that her firſt Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was conſummated, ſo he departed only from *Aquinas*'s Opinion, becauſe the Pope's Practice of Diſpenſing in ſuch Caſes, could not be juſtified, unleſs he had forſaken his Maſter in that Particular. And here he offers neither Reaſon nor Authority, to maintain his Opinion, but only the Practice of the Court of *Rome*. Which is, in plain Words to ſay, that what Opinion ſoever is contrary to the Practice of the Popes, muſt for that Reaſon be laid aſide: For he offers no other Argument, but Three modern Inſtances, of which this of the Queen of *England* is one, of Popes Diſpenſing with thoſe Laws. But now being required by the Pope to conſider the preſent Caſe more particularly, he, on the 13th of *March* this Year, gave his Opinion in Writing to him. *Raynaldus* has inſerted it in his Annals. In it, after he had compared the Laws in *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* together, he concludes, "That the Marrying a Brother's Wife was ſimply unlawful; but that in ſome Circumſtances it might have been "good, if a much greater Good ſhould follow on ſuch a Marriage, "than that provided for in *Deuteronomy*, of continuing the Name of a "Brother dead without Children. Now he argues, that the Reaſon of a Proviſion made in a private Caſe, would be much "ſtronger in a Caſe of a publick Nature: So that a Marriage being made to keep Peace between Two Nations, muſt be held Lawful, ſince a Diſpenſation was obtained for it. This was not only "good in it ſelf, but it was warranted by the Apoſtolical Authority. He confeſſes, that the Pope cannot in the leaſt alter or derogate from the Laws of God, or of Nature. But in doubtful "Caſes, he may determine with Relation to the Laws of God, and "of Nature. He inſiſts chiefly upon *England*'s being deliver'd "from a War by the Marriage. He acknowledges that both Councils, Popes, and Holy Doctors, have condemned ſuch Marriages, "as contrary to the Laws of God and of Nature; but they do not "condemn them, when other Circumſtances accompany them, "when it is for the Good of both Parties, and for a common "Good; and therefore he juſtifies Pope *Julius*'s Diſpenſation.

Ad An. 1530. *Num.* 194.

Who,

Who, as the ſame *Raynaldus* tells us, did it with the View of the Advantages that *Spain* and *England* would have; but chiefly, becauſe it was hoped, that by this Conjunction of Force, they would be able to depreſs the *French*. 1536. *Ad An.* 1503. N. 22.

This Opinion of ſo Great a Man, was ſent over to King *Henry*, ſigned by himſelf, bearing Date the 27th of *January* 1534; but this Date is perhaps only the Date of his Signing that Copy. It had not the Effect they expected from it; eſpecially becauſe it was defective in that way of Writing, that was then the moſt cried up againſt Hereticks. For he brought no Authority from any Ancienter Writer, to confirm his Opinion: So that he argued, from his private way of Commenting on Scripture, againſt the Streams of Tradition; which was called the Heretick's Way of Writing. *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14.

The Pope made a new Step on the 7th of *March*; for he ſent a Breve to the King, ſetting forth a Complaint made by Queen *Katherine*, "that King *Henry* intended to proceed to a Second Marriage; "he therefore prohibited that, under the Pain of the ſevereſt Cen- "ſures, threatning to put the whole Kingdom under an Interdict; "and charged the King, in the ſolemneſt manner, to live with the "Queen as formerly. This was granted at *Bologne*, upon the Emperor's preſſing Inſtances. This had been attempted before, but was afterwards diſowned by the Pope. For when the Avocation was ſent over to *England*, there was ſent with it an Inhibition, to proceed further in the Matter; threatning Cenſures and Puniſhments, in Caſe of Diſobedience. But Complaint being made of this, the Pope did by a Bull, dated the 5th of *October* 1529, declare, that the Cenſures threatned in the Inhibition, were added againſt his Mind, ſo he annuls them, and ſuſpends the Cauſe to the 25th of *December*. The Pope's 1ſt Breve againſt the Divorce. *Rymer*, Vol. XIV.

In a Letter that the Cardinal *Grandmont* wrote to *Montmorancy*, he tells him, that the Emperor ſaid he would have the Matter of the Marriage carry'd thro': If it was judged unlawful, he would not ſupport his Aunt; but if otherwiſe, he would ſupport Her. And when *Boleyn* once offer'd to anſwer him, he ſtopt him, and ſaid, He was a Party, and ought not to ſpeak in the Matter. The Cardinal told *Boleyn*, he had Orders from the King of *France* to ſollicit that Matter as if it was his own; but *Boleyn* thought it was beſt to look on for ſome time, to ſee how Matters went; for if the Pope and the Emperor ſhould fall into new Quarrels, then they might hope to be better heard. P. 454.

On the 12th of *June*, *Bellay* wrote to the King a long Account of his Proceedings with the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*; by which, it ſeems, what is formerly mentioned of their giving Opinion in the King's Favour, was only as Private Doctors, and not in a Body, as a Faculty. "The young Princes of *France* were yet detained in "*Spain*; ſo it was neceſſary to proceed with ſuch Caution, as not "to irritate the Emperor. He had delay'd moving in it for ſome Days; "but the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were impatient. He complains, that "there were few Honeſt Men in the Faculty, but apprehending the "Inconvenience of Delaying the Matter any longer, he preſented "the King's Letters to them. The Aſſembly was great; the Biſhop P. 458. The Proceedings of the *Sorbonne*.

1530. " of *Senlis*, ſeveral Abbots and Deans, the Guardians of the Four " Mendicant Orders, and many others, were preſent; ſo that of a " great while there had not been ſo Numerous an Aſſembly. The " Propoſition was made on King *Henry*'s Part, with great Advan- " tage: An Expreſs Law in the Scripture was quoted; the Four " Great Doctors of the Church, Eight Councils, and as many Fa- " culties or Univerſities were of his Side: So, in Reſpect to them, " the King deſired they would determine the Matter in the Doctri- " nal way. The Emperor, on the other Hand, who was likewiſe " the King's Ally, oppoſed the Divorce; the Queen of *England* be- " ing his Aunt: For he thought himſelf bound to interpoſe on her " Account. So the King being preſſed by Two Allies, who both " were reſolved to be govern'd by the Laws of God, and of Right " Reaſon, laid the whole Matter before them, who were now aſſem- " bled in an extraordinary manner, and enjoined them to recom- " mend themſelves to God, and, after a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, " to conſider that which was to be laid out to them, without Fear " or Favour; and after full Conſideration, to determine it, as God " ſhould inſpire their Conſciences. This was the Subſtance of *Bel-* " *lay*'s Speech. *Beda* ſpoke next: He ſaid, They all knew how " much the King ſtudied to pleaſe the King of *England*. Many " Strangers that were of the Faculty ſeemed to applaud this. *Bel-* " *lay* replied, There was certainly a great Friendſhip between the " Two Kings: The Emperor was likewiſe the King's Ally. But " they ought to have God only before their Eyes, and to ſearch for " the Truth. And having ſaid that, he withdrew.

Great Heat in their Debates. " Thoſe who ſpoke firſt, thought the King's Deſire was reaſona- " ble, and that therefore they ought to Examine the Matter: This " could not be refuſed, if asked on the behalf of the meaneſt Per- " ſon. Others ſaid, the Faculty was ſubject to the Pope, from whom " they had their Privileges: And ſince this Queſtion related to his " Power, they ought not to ſpeak to it, till they ſent to know his " Mind; or at leaſt, till they ſent to know how the King appro- " ved of it, and if he would ask the Pope's Leave, to ſuffer them " to debate about it. Another Party moved, that while their " Letters were diſpatched to that Purpoſe, they ſhould proceed " to Examine the Queſtion, but ſuſpend the coming to a final Re- " ſolution, till an Anſwer was brought them. They ſaid, they " thought, that they had their Privileges from the King, as well as " from the Pope; and that it was a Reflection on the Pope, to ima- " gine he would be offended, if they ſhould examine a Caſe, in " which the Conſcience of a Chriſtian was diſquieted; and that even " an Order from the Pope to the contrary, ought not to reſtrain " them from Examining the Matter. Upon theſe different Opini- " ons, the Beadle began to gather their Votes; whether they ought " to proceed to Examine the Queſtion, or not. But One of the " Doctors roſe from his Place, and plucked the Scroll out of the " Beadle's Hands, and tore it in pieces: And ſo they all roſe up in " a Tumult, crying out, that nothing ought to be done, without " writing firſt to the King, and to the Pope. Thus the Meeting " broke up in Confuſion. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were near enough

to

" to ſee and hear all this. They ſaid, they knew this was laid by *Beda* 1530.
" and his Party: *Bellay* did not then think ſo, and prevailed with
" them not to write to *England* till he tried what might be done.
" He went to *Lizet*, the Firſt Preſident of the Court of Parliament,
" to whom the King in eſpecial Manner, had recommended the Ma-
" naging of that Affair. *Lizet* ſent for *Beda*, and other his Com-
" plices, and prevailed with them to meet again the next Day, and
" to proceed according to the Third Opinion; which was, to diſcuſs
" the Queſtion proviſionally, and to Seal up their Concluſion, and
" ſend it to the King: So next Morning they met, and appointed to
" begin the *Monday* following, to examine the Queſtion.

" This did not ſatisfy the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors; they thought this The Jealouſy
" was only an Artifice to gain Time; and indeed they had juſt of the Court
" ground of Suſpicion from what ſeveral of the Doctors did openly of *France*;
" talk. *Bellay* therefore deſired the King would write to the Dean,
" that he would cut off impertinent Digreſſions, and bring the Mat-
" ter to as ſpeedy a Concluſion as was poſſible; for ſome ſaid they
" would make it laſt a Year. *Beda* did give it out that he knew
" that what he did was for the King's Service: Of this he made no
" Secret. *Bellay* complaining of this to *Lizet*, he ſent for *Beda*, and
" ſpake ſo earneſtly to him, that he ſwore very poſitively he would
" be ſo far from hindring the Doctors from Obeying the King's Com-
" mands, that he would employ himſelf, as if it were for the ſaving
" of his Life, to get the Matter to paſs without Noiſe or Scandal:
" But *Bellay* ſaw that the Preſident truſted him, ſo he did acquieſce,
" though he knew that by the Noiſe he had already made, he had
" broke a Promiſe which he had made to *Montmorency*. The Biſhop of
" *Senlis* was very ſenſible of the Diſorder of that Body: It appearing
" that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors did ſuſpect the Court of *France* was
" dealing doubly in the Matter; the Biſhop of *Senlis* was reſolved
" to go to the King, and to let him ſee how Matters were managed
" in that Faculty, and to ſhew him the Neceſſity of reforming
" them.

At this Time the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote to *Montmorency*, that P. 471. Upon the changing the Divines Opinions.
they wondred to find the Faculty was ſo much altered, that before this Time 56 Doctors were in their Opinion on the King's ſide, and there were only Seven againſt him: But that in the late Congregation, 36 were againſt it, and 22 only were for it. The King of *England* had reaſon upon this, to ſuſpect ſome underhand Dealing; therefore he hoped they would ſo manage the Matter, as to clear all Suſpicions.

The next Letters of *de Bellay* did certainly give the Progreſs of the P. 473.
Deliberations of the *Sorbonne*; but we find nothing of that in *Le Grand*'s Collection. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, and may be liable to Suſpicion, that after ſo cloſe a Series of Letters concerning that Affair, no Letter is produced from the 12th of *June* to the 15th of *Auguſt*: Thus we have no Account given us of the Deliberations of the *Sorbonne*, and yet it is not to be doubted, but that a very particular Relation was written to the Court of every Step that was made in it. The producing no Letters for theſe Two Months, muſt leave a very heavy Suſpicion of unfair Dealing ſomewhere; for the Firſt Letter

1530. of *de Bellay*'s, that is publiſhed by him, after that of the 12th of *June*, is of the 15th of *Auguſt*.

The Deciſion of the *Sorbonne*.

Rymer has publiſhed the Original Deciſion of the *Sorbonne*, on the 2d of *July* 1530, but he adds *avulſo ſigillo*; yet after that, he publiſhes an Atteſtation of the Notaries of the Court of *Paris* (*Curiæ Pariſienſis*) of the Authenticalneſs of this Original Deciſion. The Atteſtation of the Notaries, dated the 6th of *July*, mentions both Seal and Subſcription, free from all blemiſh, and liable to no Suſpicion. It is probable this Precaution was thought neceſſary, in caſe the Meſſenger that was to carry it to *England*, had fallen into the Hands of any of the Emperor's Parties in their way to *Calais*, who, no doubt would have deſtroyed this Inſtrument: But this Notorial Atteſtation would have been a full Proof of it; for the Difficulties in obtaining it, might make thoſe who had conducted the Matter, think it would be no eaſy Thing to procure a New Inſtrument from the *Sorbonne* it ſelf. How it came that the Seal was pulled from the Inſtrument it ſelf, muſt be left to Conjecture, perhaps it was pulled from it in Queen *Mary*'s Time.

Rymer Vol. 14.

Lizet the Preſident, ſeemed to work againſt it.

" *Bellay*, in his Letter of the 15th of *Auguſt*, writes, that he " had moved *Lizet* to ſend for *Beda*, and to let him know the " King's Intentions: *Beda* talked as a Fool, he would not ſay as an " ill Man: But the Preſident was poſſeſſed with a good Opinion of him; " The King of *France*, had at the Earl of *Wiltſhire*'s Deſire, order- " ed an Examination to be made of his Behaviour: He had alſo or- " dered the Preſident to demand of the Beadle an Authentick Copy " of an Act that *Beda* had once ſigned; but then wiſhed he had not " ſigned it: But *Lizet* would not command the Beadle to do this, " till he had the Conſent of the Faculty to give it, though he had " an Order from the King to require it. So *Bellay* having got the " King's Letter, went to the Preſident and delivered it to him: He " promiſed he would execute it, and get the Authentick Copy into " his Hands: Towards the Evening he went to the Preſident to ſee " what he had done: He ſaid the Beadle told him, he could not " give it without the Conſent of the Faculty: Upon which, *Bellay* " ſaid, that might be a Rule, in caſe a private Perſon aſked it; but " when the Prince demanded it, he thought it was no juſt Excuſe. " The Act which was demanded, was approved by the Faculty, by " the Dean, and the Students, and by all concerned in it: The Bea- " dle pretended that it might be ſaid, that he had falſified the Act: " *Bellay* anſwered, that was the Reaſon why they deſired the Act: " He was preſent when it paſſed, and had minuted it: But ſince " *Beda* and his Complices repented that they had ſigned it, and that " the Minute they had ſigned was in ſome Places daſhed and inter- " lined, they might make new Daſhings and Interliniations, there- " fore he prayed the Preſident to command the Beadle to bring him " the Minute, that he ſaid was conform to the Original: For " an Hour together, the Preſident would do no more but deſire the " Beadle to do it; at laſt he commanded him, but ſo mildly, that " the Beadle did not think fit to obey him; upon which *Bellay* " ſaid to him, if he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo treated, he was unwor- " thy of the Character that he bore: This quickened *Lizet* ſo, that he

" he commanded the Beadle, all Excuſes ſet aſide, to obey him. The " Act was brought and read, and he promiſed to bring him a Copy " of it by the next Morning: The Preſident thought that *Bellay* had " ſpoken too boldly to him, and he would not let him have it, but " ſent it directly to the King: *Lizet* had that Eſteem for *Beda*, that " he thought him a Saint, and he would not believe him capable of " the Faults that he ſaw him guilty of, which were ſuch, that *Bellay* " wrote, that if he had been to be charged with them, and had a " dozen of Heads, he had deſerved to loſe them all. He writes that " *Beda* was not the only bad Man of the Faculty, he had many " Companions, who ſeemed to deſire an Occaſion to provoke the King " to do that to them, which would make them paſs for Martyrs " among the People. He had often heard of their wicked Deſigns, " under the Hypocritical Diſguiſe of Sincerity, but could not have " believed the Tenth Part, if he had not ſeen it. 1530.

Next to this we have in *Le Grand*'s Collection, the Letter that *Lizet* wrote to *Montmorency* of the ſame Date, " mentioning, that " according to the King's Letters to him, he had procured the Copy " of the Act, which the King of *England* deſired: For though the " Biſhop of *Bayonne* aſked it of him, that he might carry it to that " King, yet that not being ordered in the King's Letters to him, " he therefore thought it his Duty to ſend it directly to the King " himſelf: And as touching the Examination that the King had " ordered to be made of the Conduct of that Matter; he deſired it " may be delayed, 'till he was heard give an Account of it: For " that Information would perhaps be a Prejudice, rather than a Ser- " vice, to the King of *England*: In it he deſires to know the King's " Pleaſure, that he might follow it as carefully, as was poſſible. P. 480. His Letter of that Whole Matter.

The Biſhop of *Bayonne*, gives a further Account of this Matter; " and writes, " That after the Aſſembly of the *Sorbonne* was diſ- " miſſed by the Dean, and that the Biſhop of *Senlis*, with " many Abbots, and Nine or Ten, either Generals, Provincials, " Guardians, or Priors of the Chief Convents of the Kingdom, and " others of great Rank and Credit were gone, *Beda* and his Com- " plices did by their own private Authority meet, and ſtudy to over- " turn that which had been ſettled in ſo great an Aſſembly. He " writes that this Diſeaſe was of a long continuance, and was ſtill " increaſing. This Company pretending they were a Capitular " Congregation, ſent an Order to the Biſhop of *Senlis*, who was " gone into his Dioceſe, and had carried the Original Act of the " Determination with him, requiring him under the Pain of Diſ- " obedience, to ſend it to them: He wrote in anſwer to them, that " he had Orders to deliver it to none but to the King; he was re- " ſolved to Obey the King's Orders, and adviſed them to do the ſame: " Upon which, they moved to deprive him as a Rebel to the Faculty: " He was not fright'ned with this, but wrote to them, that he was " bound to obey the Faculty as his Mother, but to Obey the King " as his Father: Yet they reſolved to proceed further after the Feaſts. " In this Letter he tells what Pains his Brother had taken to prevent " the Scandal that ſuch Proceedings would give, which were better " hindred than puniſhed: But he complains that thoſe who had A Deſign to make a contrary Decree.

1530. " Authority to reſtrain ſuch Inſolencies, did ſecretly encourage them. By which it is clear, he means *Lizet*. The Date of this Letter, is printed the 14th of *Auguſt*: But it is more probable it was the 14th of *July*, ſome Days after the Determination was made: For this Matter has no Relation to the Buſineſs of the former Letter, that was written by his Brother a Day after this, if it is the true Date.

It is plain from this, that there were Two Inſtruments: The One was the Act of the Determination, which at the Time of the Writing this Letter, was in the Biſhop of *Senlis* Hands: The other was a Minute ſigned by them all; to which the former Letter relates, and that might have had Raſures and Gloſſes in it, which are not to be imagined could be in the Authentick Act: It ſeems the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors deſired both.

P. 500. There is another Letter on the 15th of *Auguſt*, of the Biſhop of *Bayonne*'s to *Montmorency*; in which, " he complains that the Faction " was going to make a Determination contrary to the Former; and " had made an Order that none of the Faculty might ſign againſt the " Marriage, but left it free for any to ſign for it. But that the " King had ordered that the Determination already made ſhould re- " main entire. The Biſhop had preſſed the Preſident to Obey the " King's Orders: He had promiſed him to do it; but *Beda* pro- " miſed the contrary to his Party. *Bellay* feared the King of *Eng-* " *land* would ſuſpect that the King did not act ſincerely. He confeſſed " that from the Appearances of Things, he ſhould do ſo himſelf, if " he had not ſeen the Concern that the King was in, upon this Oc- " caſion. When he preſſed *Lizet* to Obey the King's Orders, he " ſpoke Two or Three Hours to him in bad *Latin* (he calls it the " *Latin* of *Auvergne*) but he could not underſtand what he meant. " He ſays the Beadle pretended there was One little Fault in the Act, " upon which he might be accuſed of Forgery. Upon this the Bi- " ſhop ſuſpected *Beda*'s Practice more than he had done, and he " had required the Preſident to Obey the King's Orders, otherwiſe " he would Proteſt, if he did not: And he ſecretly told him, he " did ſay that, to juſtify him at their Hands, whom he ſaw he was " reſolved not to offend. The Preſident then promiſed him the Act " that Night; but then delayed it 'till next Morning at Five: When " he ſent for it, ſometimes the Gate was not opened, and the Key " was loſt; ſometimes the Preſident was aſleep; and then it was ſaid " that he had taken Phyſick, and that the Biſhop muſt have Patience: " But he underſtood that he had gone out by a Back-Door, to the " Abbey of St. *Germains*; thither he followed him, and aſked for " the Act: But he ſaid he had ſent it to the King. He reckons " many other Impertinencies, that gave a mean Character of " *Lizet*.

P. 507. *Angiers* divided, the Univerſity for the Divorce, and the Divines againſt it

But while this Matter was tranſacted thus at *Paris*, though the Univerſity of *Angiers* had determined againſt the Marriage, yet the Faculty of Divinity there did on the 7th of *May* 1530, determine " that it was Lawful for a Chriſtian to Marry his Brother's Widow, " he dying without Children; but having conſummated the Mar- " riage, that ſuch Marriage was not contrary to the Laws of God, " and of Nature, and therefore the Pope might upon reaſonable

" Grounds diſpenſe in that Caſe. This was the Judgment of the Faculty; but that Univerſity did, in a Body, on that ſame Day, decree the quite contrary, without any mention of this Opinion of the Divines; ſo, it ſeems, that was kept ſecret. 1530. P. 508.

Thus I have fully opened all that Mr. *Le Grand* has thought fit to publiſh concerning the Divines of *France*. By the Relation given of the Proceedings in the *Sorbonne*, it appears, that in the Opinion of the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, and his Brother, that Body was then much corrupted; that a few Incendiaries influenced many there, ſo that it was far from Deſerving the High Character that it had in the World. It is highly probable, they apprehended, that the carrying on the Divorce, might open a Door to let in that which they called Hereſy into *England*; which, conſidering the Heat of that Time, was enough to biaſs them in all their Deliberations.

I turn next Homeward, to give a more particular Account of the Proceedings both in *Cambridge* and *Oxford*. I begin with the former, becauſe it was firſt ended there; and I have a ſure Ground to go on. A Worthy Perſon found among the Manuſcripts of *Bennet*-College, a Manuſcript of Dr. *Buckmaſter*, then the Vicechancellor; in which there is a very particular Relation of that Affair. It was procured to that Houſe, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, by Dr. *Jegon*, then Head of that Houſe, and was by him given to that College: For there is nothing remaining in the Regiſters of the Univerſity relating to it, as that Learned Perſon has informed me. *Coll. Numb.* 16. The King's Letters to the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

The Vicechancellor was then a Fellow of *Peterhouſe*, of which Dr. *Edmonds* was Head, who was then a Vicar and Prebendary in the Dioceſe and Cathedral-Church of *Salisbury*. The whole will be found in the Collection. " It begins with a ſhort Introductory Speech " of the Vicechancellor's, upon which he read the King's Letter to " them. It ſet forth, That many of the greateſt Clerks in *Chriſten-* " *dom*, both within and without the Realms, had affirmed in Wri- " ting, That the Marrying the Brother's Wife, he dying without " Children, was forbidden both by the Law of God, and by the " Natural Law: The King therefore being deſirous to have their " Minds, to whom he had ſhewed a Benevolent Affection, did not " doubt but they would declare the Truth, in a Caſe of ſuch Im- " portance, both to Himſelf, and to the whole Kingdom. For this " End, he ſent *Gardiner* and *Fox*, to inform them particularly of " the Circumſtances of the Matter; and he expected their Anſwer, " under the Seal of the Univerſity. The King's Letter is dated the 16th of *February*. *Coll. Numb.* 16.

" After this was read, the Vicechancellor told them, they ſaw " what the King deſired of them. They were Men of free and " ingenuous Tempers; every one of their Conſciences would dictate " to them what was moſt expedient. After this, follows the Form " of the Grace that was propoſed and granted, that the Vicechan- " cellor and Ten Doctors, and the Two Proctors with Seventeen " Maſters of Arts, ſhould have full Authority to determine the " Queſtion propoſed, and to anſwer it in the Name of the whole " Univerſity. And whatſoever Two Parts in Three of theſe Per- " ſons ſhould agree in, that, without any New Order, ſhould be re-

1530. " turned to the King, as the Anſwer of the Univerſity: Only the " Queſtion was to be diſputed publickly; and the Determinati- " on that they ſhould make, was to be read in the Hearing of the " Univerſity.

" On the 9th of *March*, at a Meeting of the Univerſity, the " Vicechancellor told them, that the Perſons deputed by them, had " with great Care and Diligence examined the Queſtion; and had " conſider'd both the Paſſages in the Scriptures, and the Opinions of " the Interpreters; upon which they had a Publick Diſputation, " which was well known to them all; So now, after great Labours, " and all poſſible Induſtry, they came to the Determination then to " be read to them. Then follows the Determination; in which " they add to the Queſtion propoſed to them, theſe Words, after " *Brother's Wife, She being Carnally known by her former Husband:* So, after above a Fortnight's Study or Practice, this was obtained of them. The Vicechancellor came to *Windſor*, and on the Se- " cond *Sunday* of *Lent*, after *Veſpers*, he deliver'd it to the King. " Of this he gave an Account to Dr. *Edmonds*, in a Letter; in " which he tells him, He came to Court while *Latymer* was Preaching: " The King gave him great Thanks for the Determination; and was much " pleaſed with the Method in which they had managed it with ſuch " Quietneſs. The King praiſed *Latymer's* Sermon; and he was or- " der'd to wait on the King the next Day. Dr. *Butts* brought 20 " Nobles from the King to him, and 5 Marks to the Junior Proctor " that came with him; ſcarce enough to bear their Charges, and far from the Price of Corruption; and gave him Leave to go when he pleaſed. But after Dinner, the King came to a Gallery, where *Gardiner*, and *Fox*, with the Vicechancellor, *Latymer*, and the Proctor were, and no more; and talked ſome Hours with them. He was not pleaſed with *Gardiner* and *Fox*, becauſe the other Queſtion, *Whether the Pope had Power to diſpenſe with ſuch a Marriage?* was not likewiſe determined. But the Vicechancellor ſaid, He believed, that could not have been obtained. But the King ſaid, He would have that determined after *Eaſter*. It appears by his Letter, that there was a great Outcry raiſed againſt *Cambridge*, for that which they had done. The Vicechancellor was particularly cenſured for it; and he had loſt a Benefice, that the Patron had promiſed him, but had upon this changed his Mind. Thoſe who did not like *Latymer*, were not pleaſed with his Preaching.

He heard, thoſe of *Oxford* had appointed a ſelect Number to determine the King's Queſtion; and that *Fox*, when he was there, was in great Danger. But a more particular Account of the Proceedings in that Univerſity, I take from Three of King *Henry's* Letters to them, communicated to me by my Learned Friend, Dr. *Kennet*; which, ſince they have not yet been printed, will be found in the Collection. *Collect. Numb. 17.*

In the firſt Letter that the King wrote to the Univerſity, he ſets forth, " That upon certain Conſiderations moving his Conſcience, " he had already conſulted many Learned Men, both within the " Kingdom, and without it; but he deſired to feel the Minds of " thoſe among them, who were Learned in Divinity, to ſee how " they

" they agreed with others: Therefore he hoped, they would ſin- 1530.
" cerely and truly declare their Conſciences in that Matter, and not
" give Credit to Miſreports. He requires them, as their Sovereign
" Lord, to declare their true and juſt Learning in that Cauſe:
" Therefore, in a great Variety of Expreſſions, mixing Threatnings
" with Promiſes, if they ſhould not uprightly, according to Divine
" Learning, handle themſelves, he leaves the declaring the Parti-
" culars to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, his Confeſſor, to whom they were
" to give entire Credit.

" By the Second Letter, the King tells them, he underſtood that
" a great Part of the Youth of the Univerſity, did in a Factious Man-
" ner combine together, in Oppoſition to the Wiſe and Learned Men
" of that Body, to have a great Number of Regents and Non-Re-
" gents to be joined in a Committee of the Doctors, Proctors, and
" Batchellors of Divinity, for the Determination of the King's
" Queſtion: This he believed had not been often ſeen, that ſuch a
" Number of Men of ſmall Learning, ſhould be joined with ſo Fa-
" mous a Sort, to ſtay their Seniors in ſo weighty a Cauſe. The
" King took that in very ill Part, ſince they ſhewed themſelves
" more unkind and wilful than all other Univerſities had done:
" He hoped they would bring thoſe Young Men into better Order,
" otherwiſe they ſhould feel what it was to provoke him ſo hei-
" nouſly.

" By his Third Letter, he complains, that they delay'd to ſend
" him their Determination. He tells them, the Univerſity of *Cam-*
" *bridge* had in a much ſhorter Time agreed upon the Manner
" of Sending their Anſwer; and had ſent their Anſwer under their
" Common Seal. He would have more eaſily born with a Delay in
" making the Anſwer, if they had ſo far obey'd him, as to put the
" Matter in a Method. He therefore being unwilling to proceed to
" Extremities, had ſent his Counſellor, *Fox*, to them; hoping that
" the Heads and Rulers would conſider their Duty, in Granting his
" Requeſt; which was only, that they would *ſearch the Truth*,
" in a Cauſe that ſo nearly concern'd both Himſelf, and his People.
" And therefore he deſired, that the Numbers of private Suffrages
" might not prevail againſt their Heads, their Rulers, and Sage Fa-
" thers; but that they would ſo try the Opinions of the Multitude, as the
" Importance of the Matter did require. Hoping that their Conſtitution
" was ſuch, that there were Ways left to eſchew ſuch Inconvenien-
" ces, when they ſhould happen: as he truſted they would not fail
" to do, and ſo to redeem the Errors and Delays that were paſt. In
Concluſion, the Matter was brought into the Method ſet forth in my Hiſtory.

Here is no Threatning them, by Reaſon of any Determination they might give; but, on the contrary, all the Vehemence in thoſe Letters, is only with Relation to the Method of Proceeding: And it was certainly a very irregular one, to join a great Number of Perſons, who had not ſtudied Divinity, with Men of the Profeſſion, who could only by a Majority carry the Point againſt Reaſon and Argument.

1530. Here I ſhall inſert ſome Marginal Notes, that Dr. *Creech* wrote in his own Book of my Hiſtory, which is now in my Hands. He ſays, that in the Determination of *Oxford*, they added the Words of the Brother's Wife, (*ab eadem carnaliter cognitam*) *that the firſt Marriage was conſummated*; tho' this was not in the Queſtion ſent to the Univerſity, by their Chancellor, Archbiſhop *Warham*. He ſays further, that they mention the King's Letters, in which it is written, that an Anſwer was already made by the Univerſities of *Paris* and *Cambridge*. This of *Paris*, tho' not in the King's Letter, might have been written to them by their Chancellor; for it has apppear'd, from the Letters publiſhed by *Le Grand*, that tho' the Deciſion of the *Sorbonne* was not made till *July*, yet ſeveral Months before, the Doctors of *Paris* had given their Opinions for the Divorce. He alſo writes, that a Letter came from their Chancellor *Warham*, to remove all the Maſters of Arts out of the Convocation, as unfit to determine ſo weighty a Queſtion. *Warham* alſo, as he ſays, made the Propoſal of Chuſing 30, to whom the Queſtion might be referred. In another Place, he quotes the Book that was publiſhed for the Divorce; which affirms, that the Determinations of the Univerſities were made, without any Corruption. The Queſtions were not propoſed to all the Univerſities in the ſame Terms: For, to ſome, as to the Faculty of the Canon-Law at *Paris*, and to thoſe of *Augiers* and *Bourges*, the Conſummation of the Marriage is expreſsly aſſerted in it. And in the Book, in which the Determinations of the Univerſities are printed, thoſe of the Univerſities in *England*, are not mentioned. Theſe are all the Strictures he wrote on this Part of my Hiſtory.

Tom. XIV. The Deciſion made at *Bologna*,

Some more Particulars are given us by *Rymer*, concerning the Determination of the Foreign Univerſities. A Copy of that made at *Bologna*, was carried to the Governor: Upon which, Five Doctors ſwore before *Crook*, that they had not carried it to him; and that they had kept no Copy of it. This is atteſted by a Notary; and the Clerks and Notaries ſwore the ſame, and that they did not know who carried it. By this, it ſeems, *Crook* had engaged them to Secreſy; and that the Matter coming ſome way to the Governor's Knowledge, they took theſe Oaths to aſſure him, that they had not broken their Word to him.

And at *Padua*. The Decree in *Padua* was made *July* the 1ſt, and was atteſted by the *Podeſta*, and afterwards by the Doge of *Venice*, on the 20th of *September*; who affirm, that Eleven Doctors were preſent; and that the Determination was made with the Unanimous Conſent of the whole Body. And this is atteſted by Notaries.

But now the Scene muſt be removed to *Rome* for ſome Time. The Pope had order'd a Citation to be made of the King, to appear before him, to hear his Cauſe judged. The King would not ſuffer any ſuch Citation to be intimated to him; ſo it was affixed at ſome Churches in *Flanders*, at *Tournay* and *Bruges*. The King treated this with Contempt; while the Emperor, and his Miniſters, were preſſing the Pope to proceed to Cenſures. The King of *France* interpoſed, to obtain Delays; in Conſideration of whom,

ſeve-

ſeveral Delays were granted, and the Pope ſaid if King *Henry* would proceed no further in the Matter of the Supremacy, he would yet grant a further Delay: And whereas the *French* King preſſed for a Delay of Four Months, the Pope ſaid if the King of *England* would own him as his Judge, he would give not only the Time that was aſked, but a Year, or more. 1530.

Here I ſhall give an Account of a long Letter that the King wrote to the Pope; there is no Date put to it in the Copy from which I took it, but the Subſtance of it makes me conclude, it was writ about this Time. It will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 18. Among *Rymer's* MSS. The King writes fully to the Pope.

" In it he complains that no Regard was had neither to his juſt " Deſires, nor to the Interceſſion of the Moſt *Chriſtian King*: That " the Prayers of his Nobility were not only deſpiſed, but laughed " at. All this was far contrary to what he expected; and was in- " deed ſo ſtrange, that he could ſcarce think the Pope was capable of " doing ſuch Things, as he certainly knew he was doing. The Pope, " againſt what all Men thought juſt, refuſed to ſend Judges to come " to the Place where the Cauſe lay. The Holy Councils of old had " decreed, that all Cauſes ſhould be determined there where they " had their beginning: For this he quotes St. *Cyprian*, among the " Antients, and St. *Bernard* among Moderns; who were of that " Mind. The Truth would be both ſooner, and more certainly " found out, if examined on the Place, than could poſſibly be at a " Diſtance. The Pope had once ſent Legates to *England*, and what " Reaſon could be given why this ſhould not be done again? But he " ſaw the Pope was ſo devoted to the Emperor, that every thing " was done as he dictated. The Queen's Allegation, that *England* " was a Place ſo ſuſpected by her, that ſhe could not expect to have " Juſtice done her in it, muſt be believed, againſt the cleareſt Evi- " dence poſſible to the contrary. The King bore with the Liberties " that many took who eſpouſed her Cauſe, more than was fitting; nor " did he threaten any, or grow leſs kind than formerly, to thoſe " who declared for the Marriage; and yet the Pope pretended he " muſt give Credit to this, and he offered no other Reaſon for his not " ſending Judges to *England*. This was to faſten a baſe Reflection upon " the King, and an Injuſtice, which he muſt look on as a great In- " dignity done him.

" He further complains, that the Pope took all poſſible Methods to " hinder Learned Men from delivering their Opinion in his Cauſe; " and tho' after long and earneſt Applications, he did give leave by " his Breves to all Perſons to give their Opinion in it; yet his own " Magiſtrates did, in his Name, threaten thoſe that were againſt the " Power of Diſpenſing with the Laws of God: This was particu- " larly done at *Bologna*. The Emperor's Miniſters every where, in " Contempt of the Permiſſion granted by the Pope, terrified all " who gave their Opinion for the King; at which the Pope conni- " ved, if he did not conſent to it. The Pope's Nuntio did in *France* " openly, and to the King himſelf, declare againſt the King's Cauſe, " as being founded neither on Juſtice nor on Reaſon: He ſtill " expected, that the Pope would have regard to the Prerogative of " his Crown, and to the Laws of *England*, which are as Ancient as

1530. " the Pope's Laws are; and that he will not cite him to anſwer out " of his Kingdom, nor ſend any Inhibitions into it: For he will " ſuffer no Breach to be made on the Laws, during his Reign. He " was reſolved to maintain that which was his own, as he would " not invade that which belonged to another: He did not deſire " Contention, he knew the ill effects ſuch Diſputes would have: " Upon all which, he expected the Pope's Anſwer. This had no Effect on the Pope, ſo far from it, that upon a Repreſentation made to him in Queen *Katherine*'s Name, that King *Henry* ſeemed reſolved to proceed to a Second Marriage, the Pope ſent out a Second *Breve* on the 5th of *January* 1531, declaring any ſuch Marriage to be Null, and the Iſſue by it to be Illegitimate, denouncing the ſevereſt Cenſures poſſible, againſt all that ſhould be any ways Aſſiſting in it; and requiring the King to live with the Queen in all conjugal Affection, 'till the Suit was brought to a Concluſion.

The Pope's Second *Breve* againſt the King's marrying another Wife.

Something was to be done to ſtop Proceedings at *Rome*; or upon this an immediate Rupture muſt follow. This brought on the ſending an *Excuſator* in the Name of the King and Kingdom, to ſhew that the King was not bound to appear upon the Citation; nor yet to ſend a Proctor to appear in his Name. *Sigiſmund Dondalus*, and *Michael de Conrades*, Two Eminent Advocates, were brought to *Rome*, to maintain the Plea of the *Excuſator*. They ſent over the Subſtance of their Pleadings, which was printed at *London* by *Berthelet*. The Sum of it was, *Capiſuchi*, Dean of the *Rota*, had cited the King to *Rome* to Anſwer to the Queen's Appeal: The Chief Inſtructions ſent by *Carn*, were to inſiſt on the Indignity done the King, to cite him to come out of his Kingdom: But it ſeems that was a Point that the Advocates thought fit to leave to the Ambaſſadors; they thought it not ſafe for them to debate it, ſo they pleaded on other Heads.

Pleadings by an *Excuſator*.

They inſiſted much on that (*de loco tuto*) that no Man ought to be cited to a Place where he was not in full Safety. It could not be ſafe neither for the King, nor the Kingdom, that he ſhould go ſo far from it. They ſhewed likewiſe, that to make a Place ſafe, all the intermediate Places through which one muſt paſs to it, muſt be likewiſe ſafe. The Pope therefore ought to ſend Delegates to a ſafe Place, either (*in partibus*) where the Cauſe lay, or in the Neighbourhood of it. It was ſaid againſt them, that a Cauſe once received in the Court of *Rome*, could never be ſent out of it: But they replied, the Pope had once ſent Delegates into *England* in this Cauſe, and upon the ſame Reaſon, he might do it again: Indeed, the Cauſe was never in the Court, for the King was never in it. But it was ſaid the King might appear by a Proctor: They anſwered, he was not bound to ſend a Proxy, where he was not bound to appear in Perſon, but was hindred by a juſt Impediment: Nor was the Place ſafe for a Proxy. In a Matter of Conſcience, ſuch as Marriage was, he could not conſtitute a Proctor; for by the Forms, he was to impower him fully, and to be bound by all that he ſhould do in his Name. It is true, in a perpetual Impediment, a Proctor muſt be made; but this was not perpetual: For the Pope might ſend Delegates.

An

An *Excuſator* was to be admitted in the Name of the King, and Kingdom, when the Impediment was clear and laſting: They confeſſed if it was only Probable, a Proctor muſt be conſtituted. There was no Danger to be apprehended in the King's Dominions: The Queen's Oath was offered that ſhe could not expect Juſtice in that Caſe. They ſhewed this ought not to be taken, and could not be well grounded; but was only the Effect of weak Fear: It appearing evidently, that not only the Queen her ſelf, but that all who declared for her, were ſafe in *England*. They did not inſiſt on this, that the Court ought to ſit (*in partibus*) in the Place where the Cauſe lay: It ſeems they found that would not be born at *Rome*: But they inſiſted on a Court being to ſit in the Neighbourhood. They ſhewed, that though the *Excuſator*'s Powers were not ſo full, as to make him a *Proxy*; yet they were not defective in that which was neceſſary for excuſing the King's Appearance, and for offering the juſt Impediments, in order to the remanding of the Matter. The Book is full of the Subtilties of the Canon Law, and of Quotations from Canoniſts. 1530.

Thus this Matter was pleaded, and by a Succeſſion of many Delays, was kept on Foot in the Court of *Rome* above Three Years; chiefly by the Interpoſition of *Francis*: For *Langey* tells us, that the King of *France* wrote once or twice a Week to *Rome*, not to precipitate Matters. That Court on the other Hand, preſſed him to prevail with King *Henry* not to give New Provocations. He wrote to *Rome* from *Arques* in the beginning of *June* 1531, and complained of citing the King to *Rome*: He ſaid Learned Perſons had aſſured him that this was contrary to Law, and to the Privilege of Kings, who could not be obliged to leave their Kingdom; adding, that he would take all that was done for or againſt King *Henry*, as done to himſelf. The *French* King obtains many Delays. P. 319. *Melange Hiſt. Lettres de Roy* P. 1.

There is a Letter writ from the Cardinal of *Tournon* to King *Francis*, but without a Date, by which it appears, "that the Mo- "tion of an Interview between the Pope, and the King of *France*, "was then ſet on foot: And he aſſures the King, that the Pope was "reſolved to ſatisfy him at their Meeting; that he would conduct "King *Henry*'s Affair ſo dextrouſly, that nothing ſhould be ſpoiled: "He muſt in point of Form, give way to ſome Things that would "not be acceptable to him, that ſo he might not ſeem too partial to King "*Henry*; for whom out of the Love that he bore to King *Francis*, "he would do all that was in his Power, but deſired that might "not be talked of. P. 8.

On the 4th of *May* he wrote to him, that the Emperor threat'ned, that if King *Henry* went on to do that Injury to his Aunt, he would make War on him by the King of *Scotland*: But they believed he would neither Employ his Purſe, nor draw his Sword in the Quarrel. *Langey* reports the Subſtance of King *Henry*'s Letters to *Francis*; he complained of the Pope's citing him to anſwer at *Rome*, or to ſend a *Proxy* thither. In all former Times upon ſuch Occaſions, Judges were ſent to the Place where the Cauſe lay. Kings could not be required to go out of their Dominions: He alſo complained of the Papal Exactions.

Now

1530. Now there were Two Interviews ſet on Foot, in hopes to make up this Matter, that ſeemed very near a Breach. *Francis* had ſecretly begun a Negotiation with the Pope for the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards King *Henry* the Second, and the Famous *Katherine de Medicis*: *Francis*, whoſe Heart was ſet on getting the Dutchy of *Milan* above all other Things, hoped by this means to compaſs it for his Second Son. He likewiſe pretended that by gaining the Pope entirely to his Intereſts, he ſhould be able to make up all Matters between King *Henry* and Him. But to lay all this Matter the better, the Two Kings were to have an Interview firſt, in the Neighbourhood of *Calais*, which the Biſhop of *Bayonne* who was now again in *England*, was concerting. King *Henry* preſſed the doing it ſo, that he might come back by *All-Saints*, to hold his Parliament. The Biſhop ſaw King *Henry* would be much pleaſed, if *Francis* would deſire him to bring *Anne Bullen* over with him, and if he would bring on his Part the Queen of *Navarre*. The Queen of *France* was a *Spaniard*, ſo it was deſired ſhe might not come; he alſo deſired that the King of *France* would bring his Sons with him, and that no *Imperialiſts* might be brought, nor any of the *Raillieurs* (*Gaudiſeurs*) for the Nation hated that ſort of People. *Bayonne* writes he had ſworn not to tell from whom he had this hint of *Anne Bullen*: It was no hard Thing to engage *Francis* into any Thing that looked like Gallantry; for he had writ to her a Letter in his own Hand, which *Montmorency* had ſent over. At the Interview of the Two Kings, a perpetual Friendſhip was vowed between them: And King *Henry* afterwards reproached *Francis*, for Kiſſing the Pope's Foot at *Marſeilles*, which, he affirms, he promiſed not to do; nor to proceed to marry his Son to the Pope's Niece, 'till he gave the King of *England* full Satisfaction; and added, that he promiſed, that if the Pope did proceed to final Cenſures againſt *Henry*, he would likewiſe withdraw himſelf from his Obedience; and that both the Kings would join in an Appeal to a General Council.

Le Grand. P. 553.

An Interview between the Two Kings.

The King Marries *Anne Bullen.*

Soon after, that the King return'd from this Interview, He married *Anne Boleyn*; but ſo ſecretly, that none were preſent at it, but her Father and Mother, and her Brother, with the Duke of *Norfolk*. It went generally among our Hiſtorians, that *Cranmer* was preſent at the Marriage; and I reported it ſo in my Hiſtory: But Mr. *Strype* ſaw a Letter of *Cranmer*'s, to *Hawkins*, then the King's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court; in which he writes, *Notwithſtanding it hath been reported throughout a great Part of the Realm, that I married Her, which was plainly falſe; for I my ſelf knew not thereof a Fortnight after it was done: And many other Things he reported of me, which be mere Lyes and Tales.* In the ſame Letter, he ſays it was about St. *Paul*'s Day. This confirms *Stow*'s Relation. But to write with the Impartial Freedom of an Hiſtorian: It ſeems, the Day of the Marriage was given out wrong on Deſign. The Account that *Cranmer* gives of it, cannot be called in Queſtion. But Queen *Elizabeth* was born, not, as I put it, on the 7th, but as *Cranmer* writes in another Letter to *Hawkins*, on the 13th or 14th of *September*: So there not being full Eight Months between the Marriage and that Birth; which would have opened a Scene of Raillery to the Court of *Rome*; it ſeems, the Day of the Marriage was then

then ſaid to be in *November*. And in a Matter that was ſo ſecretly managed, it was no hard thing, to oblige thoſe who were in the Secret to Silence. This ſeems to be the only way to Reconcile *Cranmer*'s Letter, to the Reports commonly given out of the Day of the Marriage. 1531.

The News of this was ſoon carried to *Rome*. Cardinal *Ghinnuccius* wrote to the King, "That he had a long Converſation with the Pope, when the News was firſt brought thither. "The Pope reſolv'd to take no Notice of it; but he did not know "how he ſhould be able to reſiſt the Inſtances that the Emperor would "make. He conſider'd well the Effects that his Cenſures would "probably have. He ſaw, the Emperor intended to put Things paſt "Reconciliation; but it was not reaſonable for the Pope to paſs "Cenſures, when it did not appear how they could be executed. "He could not do any thing prejudicial to the King, unleſs he reſolved to lay out a Vaſt Sum of Money; which he believed he "would not do, the Succeſs being ſo doubtful. And he concludes, "That they might depend upon it, that the Emperor could not "eaſily bring the Pope to paſs thoſe Cenſures that he deſired. *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14.

At this Time, the Third Breve was publiſhed againſt the King, on the 15th of *November*: But, it ſeems, it was for ſome Time ſuppreſſed; for it has a Second Date added to it, of the 23d of *December* in the Year 1532: "In which, after a long Expoſtulation upon "his Taking *Anne* as his Wife, and his Putting away the Queen, "while the Suit was yet depending; the Pope exhorts him, to "bring back the Queen, and to put *Anne* away, within a Month "after this was brought to him; otherwiſe he Excommunicates "both Him, and *Anne*: But the Execution of this was ſuſpended. Soon after this, *Benet* wrote a Letter to the King, all in Cypher; but the Deciphering is interlined. He writes, "The Pope "did approve the King's Cauſe as juſt and good; and did it "in a manner openly. For that Reaſon, he did not deliver the ſevere Letter, that the King wrote upon this Breve, leſt that ſhould "too much provoke him. The Emperor was then at *Bologna*, "and preſſed for the ſpeedy Calling a General Council; and among "other Reaſons, he gave the Proceeding againſt the King, for one. "The King's Ambaſſadors urged the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, "that the Biſhops of the Province ſhould ſettle all Things that belonged to it; ſo by this, he ſaid, the Pope might put the Matter "out of his Hands. But the Pope would not hear of that. He "writes further, That an Old and Famous Man who died lately, "had left his Opinion in Writing, for the King's Cauſe, with "his Nephew, who was in High Favour with the Pope. The Emperor was taking Pains to engage him in his Intereſts, and had offer'd him a Biſhoprick of 6000 Ducats a Year, likely ſoon to be "void. The King's Ambaſſadors had promiſed him, on the other "Hand, a great Sum from the King: They, upon that, ask Orders about it ſpeedily, leſt too long a Delay might alienate him "from the King.

There is alſo a long Letter, but without a Date, written by one who was born in *Rome*, but was employed to Sollicit the King's

1531. Cauſe. He told the Pope, and was willing to declare it to all the Cardinals in the Conſiſtory, " That if they proceeded further in " the King's Cauſe, it would prove fatal to the See. They had al- " ready loſt the *Hungarians*, with a great Part of *Germany*; and " would they now venture to loſe *England*, and perhaps *France* " with it? The King thought his Marriage with Queen *Anne* was " Firm and Holy, and was reſolv'd to proſecute his Cauſe in that " Court no more. The King ſaid, He was ſatisfied in his own Con- " ſcience; but yet, if the Pope would judge for his preſent Mar- " riage, both He and his Miniſters ſaid, it would be agreeable to " him.

Langey, p. 317. The Cardinals of *France* preſſed the King of *France*, to uſe all Endeavours to bring King *Henry* with him to the Interview at *Marſeilles*, or one fully empower'd to put an End to the Matter of the Divorce. *Langey* was ſent to propoſe it to King *Henry*; but that King told him, ſince he ſaw ſuch a Train of Diſſimulation in the Pope's Proceedings, and Delays upon Delays, that had quite diſguſted him. He had now obtained a Sentence in *England*, of the Nullity of his Marriage, in which he acquieſced: And upon that He was Married, tho' ſecretly. He was reſolv'd to keep it Secret, 'till he ſaw what Effects the Interview had: If the Pope would not do Him Juſtice, He would deliver the Nation from that Servitude.

P. 338.

Rymer, *June* 22. 1531. He had obtained the Judgment of ſome Univerſities, concerning the Citation to *Rome*. The Univerſity of *Orleans* gave their Opinion, That He was not bound to appear at *Rome*, neither in Perſon, nor by Proxy; and that the Citation was Null; but that there ought to be a Delegation of Judges, in the Place where the Cauſe lay. Many Advocates in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, gave their Opinions to the ſame Purpoſe. The Canoniſts in *Paris* thought, that the King could not be cited to go to *Rome*; but that Judges ought to be ſent to determine the Matter, in ſome ſafe Place.

June 14. 1531.

Aug. 19. 1531.

K. *Henry* oppoſes the Interview with the Pope in vain. *Rymer*, MS. King *Henry* wrote to his Ambaſſadors with the King of *France*, to divert him from the Interview with the Pope, as a Thing too much to the Pope's Honour. And whereas the King of *France* wrote, that his Chief Deſign in it was to ſerve the King: He wrote upon it, That He was ſo ſure of his Nobility and Commons, that he had no Apprehenſion of any Thing the Pope could do. He therefore deſired him to write to the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandimont*, and to his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, to preſs the admitting the Excuſator's Plea; for that was a Point, in which all Princes were concerned.

King *Francis* pretended, that the Breaking off the Project of the Interview could not be done: It had now gone too far, and his Honour was engaged. He was very ſorry that the Excuſators Plea was rejected; yet he did not deſpair, but that all Things might be yet ſet right; which made him ſtill more earneſt for the Interview. And he was confident, if the King would come to the Meeting, all would be happily made up: But ſince he ſaw no Hope of Prevailing with the King for that, he deſired that the Duke of *Norfolk* might be

be ſent over, with ſome Learned Perſons, who ſhould ſee the good Offices he would do. 1531.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent over upon this, and he found the King of *France* at *Montpelier* in the End of *Auguſt*, but told him, that upon the laſt Sentence that was given at *Rome*, the King looked on the Pope as his Enemy, and he would reſent his Uſage of him by all poſſible Methods. He ſtudied to divert the Interview, otherwiſe he ſaid he muſt return immediately. King *Francis* anſwered, that the Sentence was not definitive; but though he could not break the Interview, that was concerted by King *Henry*'s own Conſent, he promiſed he would eſpouſe the King's Affair as his own. He preſſed the Duke of *Norfolk* ſo earneſtly to go along with him, that once he ſeemed convinced, that it might be of good Uſe in the King's Cauſe, and a Memorial was given him of the Method of ſettling it: He upon this ſent the Lord *Rochford* to the King, to ſee if he would change the Orders he had given him; and he ſtayed only a few Days after he had diſpatched him. But he ſaid his Orders for his Return were poſitive: If a Change of Orders ſhould come, he would quickly return; if not, he would get ſome Learned Men to be ſent, to ſee what might be deviſed at *Marſeilles*. The Duke of *Norfolk* ſent to *France*.

The King of *France* wrote to his Ambaſſador with King *Henry*, that if the Duke of *Norfolk* could have been allowed to go with him to *Marſeilles*, much might have been done; and he ſent with that, a Part of the Cardinal of *Tournon*'s laſt Letter to him of the 17th of *Auguſt*, in which he wrote, "that he had ſpoke fully to the Pope, as the "King had ordered him, about the King of *England*'s Affair: The "Pope complained that King *Henry* had not only proceeded to mar- "ry contrary to the *Breve* he had received, but that he was ſtill "publiſhing Laws in Contempt of his See; and that *Cranmer* had "pronounced the Sentence of Divorce as *Legate*. This gave the "Cardinals ſuch diſtaſte, that they would have been highly offended "with the Pope, if he had done nothing upon it: He therefore "adviſed the King to carry the Duke of *Norfolk* with him to *Mar-* "*ſeilles*: For if King *Henry* would but ſeem to repair the Steps he "had made in the *Attentates*, as they called them, and do that "which might ſave the Pope's Honour, he aſſured him ſuch was "his Love to him, that for his ſake he would do all that was de- "ſired, with all his Heart. But he feared Expedients would not be "readily found, if the Duke of *Norfolk* went not to *Marſeilles*. But ſoon recalled.

The King of *France* ſent ſuch Meſſages to King *Henry* by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſuch Compliments to Queen *Anne*, as highly pleaſed them: For his Ambaſſador wrote to him, that ſince the Duke of *Norfolk*'s coming, King *Henry* expreſſed his Confidence and Friendſhip for him in a very particular Manner: King *Henry* had aſked him if he had no Order to ſtand Godfather in the King of *France*'s Name, in Caſe the Queen ſhould be delivered of a Son: He anſwered he had none, but he would write to the King upon the Subject: The Duke of *Norfolk* ſaid, he had ſpoke to the King of *France* about it, who agreed to it, that either the Ambaſſador, or ſome other ſent Expreſs, ſhould do it. The Child's Name was to be *Edward* or *Henry* (but the Birth proving a Daughter, this went no further). He The King of *France* was to have been Godfather if Queen *Anne* had brought a Son.

1531. adds in his Letter, that *Gardiner* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was ſent to *Marſeilles*. The King of *France* ſent from *Arles* on the 17th of *September*, an Order for the Chriſt'ning.

The Interview at *Marſeilles*.

But now the next Scene is at *Marſeilles*: Where after the Ceremonies were over, the King of *France* ſet himſelf, as he writes, with great Zeal to bring the Pope to be eaſy in the King's Matter: He proteſted he minded no Buſineſs of his own, 'till he ſhould ſee what could be done in the Matter of the King's Divorce. The Pope ſaid he left the Proceſs at *Rome*, ſo that nothing could be done in it. The *French* Ambaſſador wrote to his Maſter, that King *Henry* charged him with this, that he himſelf brought over Inſtructions, with Promiſes that *Francis* would not proceed to the Marriage of his Son, 'till the King's Matter was done: The Ambaſſador denied this, and offered to ſhew his Inſtructions, that it might appear that no ſuch Article was in them. King *Henry* inſiſted that the *French* King had promiſed it both to himſelf, and to the Queen; and if he failed him in this, he could depend no more on his Friendſhip. When the Ambaſſador told the Duke of *Norfolk* how uneaſy this would be to the King of *France*, who had the King's Concerns ſo much at Heart, and that all the Intereſt that he could gain in the Pope, would be employed in the King's Service; for if he ſhould break with the Pope, that muſt throw him entirely into the Emperor's Hands: The Duke of *Norfolk* confeſſed all that was true.: But ſaid that the King's Head was ſo embroiled with this Matter, that he truſted no living Man, and that both He and the Queen ſuſpected himſelf.

Mel. Hiſt. P. 142.

Mel. Hiſt. P. 174. Great Promiſes made by the Pope.

The Biſhop of *Auxerre*, the *French* Ambaſſador, had wrote from *Rome*, "that the Pope would do all that they aſked, and more if he "durſt or could: But he was ſo preſſed by the Emperor's People, "that though it was againſt God and Reaſon, and the Opinion, even "of ſome of the Imperial Cardinals, he was forced to do whatſoever "Cardinal *Doſme* demanded: In a Letter to Cardinal *Tournon*, the Biſhop of *Auxerre* complains, that the King of *England* was ill uſed, and in a Letter to the Pope's Legate in *France*, he writes, "that "the Pope was diſpoſed to grant King *Henry*'s Deſire, yet he was "ſo preſſed by the *Imperialiſts*, that he expected no good from him, "unleſs in the way of Diſſembling: He firmly believed he would "do well if he durſt: His Anſwer to the King of *France* was as good "as could be wiſhed for, he hoped the Effects would agree to it: "Cardinal *Farneſe*, the Antienteſt Cardinal (afterwards Pope *Paul* "the Third) was wholly for them: The Cardinal of *Ancona*, next "to him in Seniority, was wholly *Imperialiſt*: He writes that the "Ambaſſadors had an Audience of Three Hours of the Pope, when "they delivered the King of *France*'s Letters on the King of *Eng-*

Mel. Hiſt. P. 175.

"*land*'s Behalf: The Pope ſaid he was ſorry that he muſt determine "the Matter; for he ſhould have ſmall Thanks on both Sides. The "Thing had been now Four Years in his Hands, he had yet done "nothing, if he could do as he wiſhed, he wiſhed as they all wiſhed: "And he ſpake this in ſuch a Manner, that they were much miſtaken "if he ſpoke not as he Thought. The Pope aſked them what made "the King of *France* to be ſo earneſt in this Matter; they anſwered, "that the Two Kings were ſo united, that they were both more

" touched with the Affairs each of the other, than with their " own. 1531.

In another Letter to *Montmorancy*, he writes, " That there was " a new Delay granted for Four Months. The Pope, upon his " granting it, preſſed him to write to the King, to prevail with " King *Henry* to ſend a Proxy. He anſwered, He believed that " would not be done, unleſs Aſſurance was given, that the Cauſe " ſhould be remitted. If the Matter had been then put to the Vote, " the Ancient and Learned Cardinals would have judged for the " King of *England*; but they were few, and the Number of the " others was great; ſo that the Cauſe would have been quite " loſt.

At the ſame Time, the Cardinal of *Ancoma* propoſed to *Bennet*, and to *Caſſali*, that if a Proxy were ſent to *Rome*, they ſhould have not only Juſtice, but all manner of Favour: For both the Pope and the Cardinals did very poſitively promiſe, that a Commiſſion ſhould be made to Delegates, to hear the Witneſſes in *England*, reſerving only the Final Sentence to the Pope. *Caſſali* was, upon this, ſent to *England*; but his Negotiation had no Effect: Only he ſeems to have known well the Secret Method of Practiſing with the Cardinals. For, upon his Return, he met the King of *France* at *Compiegne*, with whom he had much Diſcourſe about Managing the Cardinals; particularly Cardinal *de Monte* (afterwards Pope *Julius* the Third). The King of *France* had ſent 40000 Crowns, to be diſtributed in the Court of *Rome*; upon which, he offers ſome very prudent Suggeſtions. The Letter to the King from thence, ſeemed ſo conſiderable, that I have put it in the Collection.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 12. Practices upon Cardinals.

Collect. Numb. 19.

Theſe were the Preparations on all Hands for the Meeting at *Marſeilles*; where *Francis* proteſted that he ſet himſelf ſo earneſtly to get Satisfaction to be given to *Henry*, that he minded no Buſineſs of his own, till he ſhould ſee what could be done in that. The Pope ſaid indeed, that he had left the Proceſs at *Rome*; but they wrote over, that they knew this was falſe: Yet, by that, they ſaw the Pope intended to do nothing in it. *Francis* indeed complained, that there was no Proxy from the King ſent to *Marſeilles*: If there had been one, he ſaid, the Buſineſs had been ended. It was alſo reported, that the King of *France* had ſaid to the Duke of *Norfolk*, he would be the King's Proxy; (Here, in the Margin, it is ſet down, *The Duke of* Norfolk *denies he ſaid this*;) but the King of *France* knew, that the King would never Conſtitute a Proxy, that being contrary to the Laws of his Kingdom. The Pope confeſſed that his Cauſe was juſt: All the Lawyers in *France* were of that Mind. But the Pope complained of the Injuries done the *See* by King *Henry*. *Francis* anſwered, The Pope begun doing Injuries: But King *Henry* moved, that ſetting aſide what was paſt, without asking Reparation of either Side, Juſtice might be done him; and if it was not done, he would trouble himſelf no more about it.

Mel. Hiſt. P. 19.

He afterwards charged King *Francis*, " That in ſeveral Particu- " lars he had not kept his Promiſes to him. He believed, that " if he had preſſed the Pope more, he would have yielded. It was

Ibid.

1531. " ſaid, King *Henry* was governed by his Council; whereas, he ſaid, " He governed Them, and not They Him. Upon this Audience, " the Duke of *Norfolk* ſeemed troubled that the King was ſo Paſ- " ſionate: He had adviſed the King, but in vain, to let the Annats " go ſtill to *Rome*. This is put in the Margin.

P. 21. In another Memorial ſet next to the former, and, as it ſeems, writ ſoon after it, it is ſaid, That the Emperor had ſent word to the Queen and her Daughter, not to come to *Spain*, till he had firſt got Right to be done them: And that the People were in a Diſpoſition, to join with any Prince that would eſpouſe their Quarrel. This is ſaid to be the General Inclination of all Sorts of People: For they apprehended a Change of Religion, and a War that would cut off their Trade with the *Netherlands*; ſo that the New Queen was little beloved.

The Convocation meets. But now I muſt return, and ſet out the Progreſs of Matters, that provoked the Pope and Court of *Rome* ſo much. I ſhall give firſt the ſeveral Proceedings of the Convocation.

The Parliament had complained of the *Oath ex Officio*, by which the Ordinaries obliged Perſons to anſwer to ſuch Accuſations as were laid to their Charge, upon Oath: And as they anſwered, charging themſelves, they were obliged either to Abjure, or to Burn. To this they added ſome other Grievances. When they preſented them to the King, He told them he could give no Anſwer, till he heard what the Clergy would ſay to them. They alſo paſſed Acts, about ſome Points that the Clergy thought belonged to them; as Mortuaries, Plurality of Benefices, and Clergymen taking Farms.

The Firſt Motion made by the Lower-Houſe, was, concerning *Tracy*'s Teſtament; who had left his Soul to God thro' Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe Interceſſion alone he truſted, without the Help of any other Saint: Therefore he left no Part of his Goods to any that ſhould Pray for his Soul. This touching the Clergy very ſenſibly, they begun with it; and a Commiſſion was given for the Raiſing his Body.

In a following Seſſion, the Prolocutor complained of another Teſtament, made by one *Brown* of *Briſtol*, in the ſame Strain. So, to prevent the Spreading of ſuch an Example, it was ordered, that *Tracy*'s Body ſhould be dug up, and burnt. In the 84th Seſſion, the Houſe being thin, an Order was made, that all the Members ſhould attend, for ſome Conſtitutions were at that time to be treated of.

They treat concerning Reſidence. In the 91ſt Seſſion, which was in the End of *February*, the Prolocutor came up with a Motion, that thoſe who were preſented to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, ſhould not be obliged by their Biſhops, to give any Bond obliging them under Temporal Puniſhment to Reſidence: But to this no Anſwer was given, nor was any Rule made againſt it. There had been Complaints made, of Clerks Non-Reſidents in the former Seſſion of Parliament; and it ſeems, ſome Biſhops thought, the ſureſt way to ſtop that Clamour, was, to take Bonds for Reſidence. And tho' this Complaint ſhews the Ill Temper of the Lower-Houſe, ſince they did not offer any other better Reme-

HUGO LATIMERUS Epus Vigorniensis
1535 depulsus 1539 Martirio Coronatus A.D. 1555.

Remedy; yet the Upper-Houſe offering no Anſwer to it, ſeems to imply their approving of it. 1531.

In the 93d Seſſion, *Latymer*, who had been thrice required to Subſcribe ſome Articles, refuſed to do it: He was excommunicated, and appointed to be kept in Safe Cuſtody in *Lambeth*. Seſſion 96, it was reſolved, that if *Latymer* would ſubſcribe ſome of the Articles, he ſhould be abſolved. Upon that he ſubmitted, confeſſed his Error, and ſubſcribed all the Articles except Two.

An Anſwer to the Complaints of the Commons.

In the 97th Seſſion, on the 12th of *April*, 1532, the Archbiſhop propoſed to them the Preparing an Anſwer to the Complaints that the Commons had made to the King, againſt the Proceedings in their Courts.

In the 98th Seſſion, the Preamble of that Complaint was read by *Gardiner*, with an Anſwer that he had prepared to it. Then the Two Clauſes of the Firſt Article, with Anſwers to them, were alſo read and agreed to, and ſent down to the Lower-Houſe. *Latymer* was alſo brought again before them, upon Complaint of a Letter that he had written to one *Greenwood*, in *Cambridge*.

In the 99th Seſſion, an Anſwer to the Complaint of the Commons was read and agreed to, and order'd to be laid before the King; with which He was not ſatisfied. *Latymer* being called to anſwer upon Oath, he appealed to the King, and ſaid, he would ſtand to his Appeal.

Proceedings againſt Heretics.

Peyto and *Elſton*, Two Brethren of the Houſe of the Obſervants in *Greenwich*, accuſed Dr. *Curren*, for a Sermon preached there: But the Archbiſhop ordered them to be kept in Cuſtody, with the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, till they ſhould be diſmiſſed.

In the 100th Seſſion, the King ſent a Meſſage by *Gardiner*, intimating, that he remitted *Latymer* to the Archbiſhop: And upon his Submiſſion, he was received to the Sacraments. This was done at the King's Deſire: But ſome Biſhops proteſted; becauſe this Submiſſion did not import a Renunciation uſual in ſuch Caſes. After this, Four Seſſions were employ'd, in a further Conſideration of the Anſwer to the Complaints of the Houſe of Commons.

In the 105th Seſſion, the Prolocutor brought up Four Draughts, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, for making Laws in order to the Suppreſſing of Hereſy; but declared, that he did not bring them up as approved by the Houſe; he only offered them to the Biſhops, as Draughts prepared by Learned Men. He deſired they would read them, and chuſe what was true out of them: But added, that he prayed, that if they prepared any thing on the Subject, it might be communicated to the Lower-Houſe. Some of theſe are printed: I ſhall therefore only inſert one in my Collection, becauſe it is the ſhorteſt of them, and yet does fully ſet forth their Deſign. It was formed in the Upper-Houſe, and agreed to in the Lower, with Two Alterations. In it they promiſe the King, that "for the future, ſuch was the Truſt that they put in his Wiſ- "dom, Goodneſs and Zeal, and his Incomparable Learning, far "exceeding the Learning of all other Princes that they had "read of, that *during his Natural Life*, they ſhould not en- "act, promulge, or put in Execution, any Conſtitution to

Rights of an Engliſh *Convocation.* *Coll. Num.* 20.

The Petition to the King.

1531. "be made by them, unleſs the King by his Royal Aſſent did "licenſe them ſo to do. And as for the Conſtitutions already "made, of which the Commons complained, they would readily "ſubmit the Conſideration of theſe *to the King only*: And ſuch of "theſe, as the King ſhould judge prejudicial and burthenſome, they "offered to moderate or annul them according to his Judgment. Sa-"ving to themſelves all the Immunities and Liberties granted to the "Church, by the King and his Progenitors, with all ſuch Provincial "Conſtitutions as ſtand with the Laws of God, and *Holy Church*, "and of the Realm, which they pray'd the King to ratify: Provi-"ding that till the King's Pleaſure ſhould be made known to them, "all Ordinaries might go on to execute their Juriſdiction as formerly. This did not paſs eaſily; there was great debating upon it: But upon adding the Words, *during the King's natural Life*, which made it a Temporary Law; and by adding the Words, *Holy Church*, after the Laws of God, which had a great Extent, this Form was agreed to: But what Effect this had, or whether it was offered to the King, does not appear. The Alterations that were afterwards made will appear to any who compares this with the Submiſſion; of which a particular Account will be found in my Hiſtory.

The Biſhop of *London*, preſiding in the Abſence of the Archbiſhop, told them, that the Duke of *Norfolk* had ſignified to him, that the Houſe of Commons had granted the King a Fifteenth to be raiſed in Two Years; ſo he adviſed the Clergy to be as ready as the Laity had been to ſupply the King. The Prolocutor was ſent down with this Intimation; he immediately returned back, and propoſed that they ſhould conſider of an Anſwer to be made to the King, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Authority; and that ſome might be ſent to the King, to pray him that he would maintain the Liberties of the Church, which he and his Progenitors had confirmed to them: And they deſired, that the Biſhops of *London* and *Lincoln*, with ſome Abbots, the Dean of the King's Chapel, and *Fox* his Almoner, would intercede in Behalf of the Clergy; which they undertook to do.

The Submiſſion made to the King, one Biſhop only diſſenting.

In the 106th Seſſion, which was on the 10th of *May*, the Archbiſhop appointed a Committee to go and treat with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* at his Houſe upon that Matter. In the 107th Seſſion, the 13th of *May*, the Archbiſhop appointed the Chancellor of *Worceſter* to raiſe *Tracy*'s Body: Then they agreed to the Anſwer they were to make to the King. In the 108th Seſſion, on the 15th of *May*, the Writ for Proroguing the Convocation was brought to the Archbiſhop: At the ſame time, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Sands*, Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Bullen*, and Lord *Rochford*, were in a ſecret Conference with the Archbiſhop and Biſhops for the Space of an Hour; when they withdrew, the Prolocutor and Clergy came up. The Archbiſhop asked, how they had agreed to the Schedule, which, as appears, was the Form of the Submiſſion. The Prolocutor told him, how many were for the Affirmative, how many for the Negative, and how many were for putting off the Three Articles (of the Submiſſion). The Archbiſhop ſaid, he expected thoſe Lords would come back to him from the King, and ſo ſent them back to their Houſe. Theſe

Lords

Lords came back to the Chapter-Houſe, and after ſome Diſcourſe with the Biſhops, they retired. After Dinner, the Schedule was read in *Engliſh*; and the Archbiſhop asked, if they agreed to it; they all anſwered they did agree to it, only the Biſhop of *Bath* diſſented. Then he ſent it down by his Chancellor, to propoſe it to the Lower-Houſe. After that, on the 15th of *May*, it ſeems, the Schedule was ſent back by the Lower-Houſe, tho' that is not mentioned in the Abſtract that we have remaining. For that Day the Convocation was Prorogued, and the next Day the Archbiſhop delivered it to the King, as enacted and concluded by himſelf and others. The Convocation was Prorogued to the 5th of *November*. 1531.

And thus this great Tranſaction was brought about, in little more than a Month's Time: The firſt Motion towards it being made on the 12th of *April*, and it was concluded on the 15th of *May*. It appears by their Heat againſt *Tracy*'s Teſtament, and againſt *Latimer*, that they who managed the Oppoſition that was made to it, were Enemies to every thing that looked towards a Reformation. It ſeems, *Fiſher* did not proteſt; for tho' by their ſending a Committee to his Houſe, it may be ſuppoſed he was ſick at that time; yet he might have ſent a Proxy, and ordered a Diſſent to be entred in his Name: And that not being done, gives ground to ſuppoſe that he did not vehemently oppoſe this Submiſſion, By it, all the Oppoſition that the Convocations would probably have given to every Step that was made afterwards in the Reformation, was ſo entirely reſtrained, that the quiet Progreſs of that Work was owing chiefly to the Reſtraint under which the Clergy put themſelves by their Submiſſion: And in this the whole Body of this Reformed Church has chearfully acquieſced, till within theſe few Years, that great Endeavours have been uſed to blacken and diſgrace it.

I have ſeen no particular Account, how this Matter went in the Convocation at *York*, nor how Matters went there; ſave only that it was agreed, to give a Tenth. I have ſeen a Letter of *Magnus*, one of the King's Chaplains, who was required by *Cromwel* to go thither, where Dr. *Lee* was to meet him. There is no Year added in the Date of the Letter; but ſince he mentions the laſt Convocation, that had given a great Sum of Money, and owned the King to be the *Supreme*, that fixes it to this Seſſion. He dates it from *Marybone* the 21ſt of *April*, as it will be ſeen in the Collection. "He was then in "in an ill State of Health, but promiſes to be at *York* ſoon after the "Beginning of their Convocation. He complains, that he had no "Aſſiſtance at the laſt Meeting; and that the Books, which the King "had promiſed ſhould be ſent after him, were not ſent: Which "made the King's Cauſe to be the longer in treating, before it came "to a good Concluſion. The Prelates and Clergy there, would not "believe any Report of the Acts paſſed at *London*, unleſs they were "ſhewed them Authentically, either under Seal, or by the King's "Letters. He hopes both theſe things which had been neglected "formerly, would be now done; otherwiſe the Clergy in thoſe Parts "would not proceed to any ſtrange Acts: So he warns him that all "things may be put in Order.

The Proceedings at *York*.

Coll. Numb. 21.

What-

1531. Whatſoever it was that paſſed either in the one or the other Convocation, the King kept it within himſelf for Two Years: For, ſo long he was in treating Terms with *Rome*: And if that had gone on, all this muſt have been given up: But when the final Breach came on, which was after Two Years, it was ratified in Parliament.

Before the next Meeting, *Warham* died. He had all along concurred in the King's Proceedings, and had promoted them in Convocation; yet in the laſt Year of his Life, ſix Months before his Death, on the 9th of *February* 1531. he made a Proteſtation of a ſingular Nature, not in the Houſe of Lords, but at *Lambeth*; and ſo ſecretly, that Mention is only made of Three Notaries and Four Witneſſes preſent at the making of it. It is to this Effect; That *what Statutes ſoever had paſſed, or were to paſs in this preſent Parliament, to the Prejudice of the Pope, or the Apoſtolick See, or that derogated from, or leſſened the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, or the Liberties of his See of* Canterbury, *he did not conſent to them; but did diſown and diſſent from them.* This was found in the *Longueville* Library, and was communicated to me by Dr. *Wake*, the preſent Biſhop of *Lincoln*. I leave it with the Reader, to conſider what Conſtruction can be made upon this; whether it was, in the Decline of his Life, put on him by his Confeſſor about the Time of *Lent*, as a Penance for what he had done; or if he muſt be looked on as a deceitful Man, that while he ſeemed openly to concur in thoſe things, he proteſted againſt them ſecretly. The Inſtrument will be found in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 22.

Upon his Death, the Prior and Convent of *Chriſt's-Church* of *Canterbury*, deputed the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* to preſide in the Convocation. On the 20th of *February*, in the 4th Seſſion, the Biſhop of *London* moved, that the Two Univerſities ſhould be exempted from paying any Part of the Subſidy: The ſame was alſo deſired for ſome Religious Orders, and it was agreed to, *Gardiner* only diſſenting, as to the Exemption of the Religious Orders. It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that his oppoſing this was in Compliance with the King, who began to ſhew an Averſion both to the Monks and Friars; ſeeing they were generally in the Intereſts of Queen *Katharine*; and *Gardiner* was the moſt forward in his Compliances of all the Clergy, *Boner* only excepted, tho' the old Leaven of Popery was deep in them both. Proceedings during the Vacancy of *Canterbury*.

In the 11th Seſſion, on the 26th of *March*, *Latimer* was again brought before them: And it was laid to his Charge, that he had preached, contrary to his Promiſe. *Gardiner* inveighed ſeverely againſt him; and to him all the reſt agreed. When the Prolocutor came up, the Preſident ſpoke to him of the Subſidy: Then the Matter of the King's Marriage was brought before them. *Gardiner* produced ſome Inſtruments, which he deſired them to read: They were the Judgments of ſeveral Univerſities. Some doubted, if it was ſafe to debate a Matter that was then depending before the Pope: But the Preſident put an End to that Fear, by producing a Breve of the Pope's, in which all were allowed to deliver their Opinions freely in that Matter: So he exhorted them to examine the Queſtions to be put to them carefully, that they might be prepared to give their Opinions about them.

In

In the 12th Seſſion, the Preſident produced the Original Inſtruments of the Univerſities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Bologna*, *Padua*, *Bourges*, and *Tholouſe*, (*Angiers* and *Ferrara* are not named); and after much Diſputing, they were deſired to deliver their Opinions, as to the Conſummation of the Marriage. But becauſe it was a difficult Caſe, they asked more Time. They had till Four a Clock given them; then there were yet more Diſputings: In Concluſion, they agreed with the Univerſities. This was firſt put to them; tho' in the Inſtrument made upon it, it is mentioned after that which was offered to them in the next Seſſion. 1531. The Convocation judges againſt the King's Marriage.

On the Second of *April*, 1533. *Cranmer* being now Conſecrated, and preſent, Two Queſtions were propoſed, and put to the Vote. The Firſt was, *Whether the Prohibition to Marry the Brother's Wife, the former Marriage being Conſummated, was diſpenſible by the Pope?* Or, as it is in the Minutes, *Whether it was Lawful to Marry the Wife of a Brother dying without Iſſue; but having Conſummated the Marriage? And if the Prohibition of ſuch a Marriage was grounded on a Divine Law, with which the Pope could diſpenſe, or not?* There were preſent 66 Divines, with the Proxies of 197 abſent Biſhops, Abbots, and others: All agreed to the Affirmative, except only Nineteen. *Rymer.*

The Second Queſtion was, *Whether the Conſummation of Prince* Arthur's *Marriage was ſufficiently proved?* This belonged to the Canoniſts; ſo it was referred to the Biſhops and Clergy of that Profeſſion, being 44 in all, of whom One had the Proxy of Three Biſhops: All theſe, except 5 or 6, affirmed it: Of theſe, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* was one. Of all this, a Publick Inſtrument was made.

In the Account I formerly gave of this Matter, I offered a Conjecture concerning the Conſtitution of the Two Houſes, that Deans and Archdeacons, who ſat in their own Right, were then of the Upper-Houſe; which, I ſee, was without any good Ground. I likewiſe committed another Error, thro' Inadvertence: For I ſaid, the Opinions of 19 Univerſities were read; whereas, only Six were read. And the Nineteen, which I added to the Number of the Univerſities, was the Number of thoſe who did not agree to the Vote.

Theſe Queſtions were next ſent to the Convocation of the Province of *York*; where there were preſent 27 Divines, who had the Proxies of 24, who were abſent: And all theſe, Two only excepted, agreed to the Firſt Queſtion. There were likewiſe 44 Canoniſts preſent, with the Proxies of Five or Six: To them the Second Queſtion was put; and all theſe were for the Affirmative, Two only excepted. The whole Repreſentative of the Church of *England*, in the Convocation of the Two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, did in this manner give their Anſwer to the Two Queſtions put to them; upon which *Cranmer* wrote to the King on the 11th of *April*, complaining, that the Great Cauſe of his Mattrimony had depended long; and upon that, he deſired his Licence to judge it: Which the King readily granted. So he gave Sentence, condemning it on the 23d of *May*: And then the King openly owned The Archbiſhop, *Cranmer*, gives Sentence againſt it.

1531. ed his Second Marriage; for the New Queen's Big Belly could be no longer concealed.

With that the Court of *Rome* was highly offended.

This was highly reſented at *Rome*, as an open Attempt upon the Pope's Authority; and theſe Steps, in their Stile, were called the *Attentates*: So conſidering the Blind Submiſſion to the Popes, in which the World had been kept for ſo many Ages, it was no wonder to find the *Imperialiſts* call upon the Pope, almoſt in a tumultuary Manner, to exert his Authority to the full, when he ſaw it ſo openly affronted. And it is very probable, that if the Pope had not with that violent Paſſion, that *Italians* have for the advancing their Families, run into the Propoſition for marrying his Niece to the Duke of *Orleans*, he would have fulminated upon this Occaſion: But he finding that might be broke off, if he had proceeded to the utmoſt Extremities with King *Henry*, was therefore reſolved to prolong the Time, and to delay the final Sentence; otherwiſe the Matter would have been ended much ſooner than it was.

Gardiner, *Bryan*, and *Bennet*, were ſent as Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to *Marſeilles*. *Bonner* was alſo ſent thither on a more deſperate Service; for he was ordered to go and read the King's Appeal from the Pope, to a General Council, in the Pope's own Preſence, at ſuch Time, and in ſuch a Manner, as the King's Ambaſſadors ſhould direct. Of the Execution of this, he gave the King a very particular Account, in a Letter to him, bearing Date at *Marſeilles*, the 13th of *November*, 1533. Which the Reader will find in the Collection, copied from the Original: In it he tells the King,

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14. *Collect. Numb.* 23.

Boner intimates the King's Appeal to the Pope.

" That being commanded by his Ambaſſadors, to intimate to the " Pope in Perſon, the Provocations and Appeals that he had made to " a General Council; he carried one *Penniſton*, who it ſeems was a " Notary, with him, to make an Act concerning it. They came to " the Pope's Palace on the 17th of *November*, in the Morning. He " found ſome Difficulty in getting Acceſs: For he was told that the " Pope was going to hold a Conſiſtory: So that no other Buſineſs " was to interpoſe: Yet he got into the Pope's Chamber, where the " Pope was with the two Cardinals *de Medicis* and *Lorrain*: The " Pope being apparalled in his Stole, to go to the Conſiſtory: The " Pope quickly obſerved *Boner*, for he had prayed the Datary to let " the Pope know he deſired to ſpeak with him: The Datary ſaid it " was not a proper Time; but *Boner* was reſolved to go immediately " to him; ſo he told the Pope of it: Who upon that diſmiſſed the " Cardinals, and going to a Window, he called him to him; upon " that *Boner* told him the Meſſage he had from the King to read be- " fore him; making ſuch Apology firſt in the King's Name, and then " in his own, as was neceſſary to prepare him for it. The Pope " cringed in the *Italian* way, but ſaid, he had not time then to hear " thoſe Papers; but bad him come again in the Afternoon, and he " would give him a full Audience. When he came again, he was, " after ſome others had their Audience, called in; *Penniſton* follow- " ing him, whom the Pope had not obſerved in the Morning. So *Boner* " told him, that it was he who had brought over his Commiſſion and Or- " ders; upon that the Pope called for his Datary, and for *Simonetta*

" and

" and *Capiſuchi.* Till they came in, the Pope, in Diſcourſe, asked 1531.
" both for *Gardiner* and *Brian*, ſeeming not to know that they were
" at *Marſeilles* ; and he lamented the Death of *Bennet* : He com-
" plained of the King's uſing him as he did. *Boner*, on the other
" Hand, complained of his unkind Uſage of the King ; and that
" he had, contrary to his Promiſe, avocated the Cauſe, when it was
" brought to the Point of giving Sentence ; and had now retained
" the Cauſe to *Rome*, whither the King could not come perſonally,
" nor was he bound to ſend a Proctor: And he urged the Matter
" very cloſe upon the Pope. He alſo complained, that the King's
" Cauſe being juſt, and eſteemed ſo by the beſt Learned Men in
" *Chriſtendom*, yet the Pope kept it ſo long in his Hands: The Pope
" anſwered, that had not the Queen refuſed the Judges as ſuſpect,
" and taken an Oath, that ſhe expected no Juſtice in the King's Domini-
" ons, he would not have avocated the Cauſe: But in that Caſe, not-
" withſtanding his Promiſe, he was bound to do it; and the Delay
" of the Matter lay wholly at the King's Door, who did not ſend a
" Proctor. While *Boner* was replying, the Datary came in, and the
" Pope cut him ſhort ; and commanded the Datary to read the Com-
" miſſion: Which he did : The Pope often interrupted the reading it,
" with Words that expreſſed a high Diſpleaſure: And when the Ap-
" peal was read to the next lawful General Council to be held in a
" proper Place, he expreſſed with ſome Rage, his Indignation ; but
" reſtrained himſelf, and ſaid, All that came from the King was wel-
" come to him: But by his Geſture and Manner, it appeared he was
" much diſcompoſed. Yet after that, he ſhewed how willing he was
" to call a Council, but that the King ſeemed to put it off ; he or-
" dered the Datary to read it quite through ; in the End mention be-
" ing made of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence, he ſpake of
" that with great Contempt. He alſo obſerved that the King in
" Words expreſſed Reſpect to the Church, and to the Apoſtolick See,
" yet he expreſſed none to his Perſon. While they were thus in Diſ-
" courſe, the King of *France* came to ſee the Pope, who met him at
" the Door. That King ſeemed to know nothing of the Buſineſs,
" tho' *Boner* believed he did know it: The Pope told him what they
" were about ; they Two continued in private Diſcourſe about three
" quarters of an Hour, and ſeemed very chearful : Then that King
" went away, the Pope conducted him to the Door of the Antiſcham-
" ber. When the Pope came back, he ordered the Datary to read
" out all that remained: The Pope often interrupting him as he read.
" When the firſt Inſtrument was read to an End, *Boner* offered the
" two Appeals, that the King had made to a General Council ; theſe
" the Pope delivered to the Datary, that he might read them.

" When all was read, the Pope ſaid he would conſider with the
" Cardinals what Anſwer was to be given them ; and ſeemed to think
" that the Writings were to remain with him : But *Boner* preſſing to
" have them again ; he ſaid he would conſider what Anſwer he was
" to give to that. So the Pope diſmiſſed him, after an Audience that
" laſted three Hours. The Datary told *Boner*, there was to be a
" Conſiſtory next Day ; after that he might come to receive his An-
" ſwer. On the 10th a Conſiſtory was held ; in the Afternoon, the

It was rejected by the Pope.

1531. " Pope was long taken up with the Bleſſing of Beads, and admitting " Perſons of Quality, of both Sexes, to kiſs his Foot. When that " was over, he called *Boner* in, and the Pope began to expreſs his " Mind towards the King, that it was to do him all Juſtice, and to " pleaſe him all he could; and though it had not been ſo taken, yet " he intended to continue in the ſame Mind: But according to a Con- " ſtitution of Pope *Pius*, that condemned all ſuch Appeals, he reje- " cted the King's Appeal to a General Council, as frivolous and un- " lawful. As for a General Council he would uſe all his Diligence " to have it meet, as he had formerly done: But the calling it be- " longed wholly to him: He ſaid, he would not reſtore the Inſtru- " ments; and told *Boner*, that the Datary ſhould give him his An- " ſwer in Writing. *Boner* went to the Datary's Chamber, where he " found the Anſwer already written, but not ſigned by him: Next " Day he ſigned it; adding the *ſalvo* of anſwering it more fully and " more particularly, if it ſhould be thought meet.

" The Pope left *Marſeilles* the next Day, and went towards *Rome*. " *Boner* concludes that the *French* knew of their Deſign, and were " willing it ſhould be done, two or three Days before the Pope's De- " parture; yet when it was done, they ſaid it had ſpoiled all their " Matters, and the King's likewiſe". He ſays nothing of any threatning of bad Uſage to himſelf. The King of *France* indeed when he expoſtulated upon the Affront done the Pope, while in his Houſe, ſaid, That he durſt not have done that in any other Place: This makes it probable that the Pope told him how he would have uſed *Boner*, if he had ſerved him with that Appeal in his own Territories. So whether this came to be known afterwards from the Court of *France*, or whether *Boner* might have ſpread it in *England* at his Return, to raiſe the Value of that Piece of Service, which he was capable of doing, cannot be determined. It is certain it was reported in *England* ſo, that in the Anſwer to *Sanders* it is ſet down; and from him I took it: But I will leave it with the Reader, to conſider what Credit may be due to it.

Antiſanderus.

At the ſame Time *Cranmer* hearing the Pope deſigned to proceed againſt him, did by the King's Order appeal likewiſe to a General Council, and ſent the Inſtrument with a Warrant to execute it, to *Cromwell*, that it might be ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to get it to be intimated to the Pope, in the beſt Manner that could be thought of: He therefore by the King's Command, ſent this to him in a Letter dated the 22d of *November*, which will be found in the Collection, but it does not appear to me what was done upon it.

Coll. Numb. 24.

Le Gr. p. 571. *Bellay* ſent over to the King, by King *Francis.*

I ſhall in the next Place give an Account of the Inſtructions that the King of *France* ſent by *Bellay*, then tranſlated from *Bayonne* to *Paris*, whom he diſpatched immediately after he came back from *Marſeilles*, as the Perſon in the Kingdom that was the moſt acceptable to the King. The Subſtance of them is, " That *Francis* had at the " Interview ſtudied nothing ſo much as to advance *Henry*'s Matters: " Yet he heard that he complained of him as having done leſs than " he expected, which he took much amiſs. It was agreed by the " Two Kings, that a Propoſition ſhould be ſet on Foot for the Duke " of *Orleans* marrying the Pope's Niece; which had not been before

" fore thought of. The Matter was ſo far advanced, and the Inter- 1534.
" view ſo ſettled, that *Francis* could not afterwards put it off with
" Honour; all being done purſuant to their firſt Agreement at *Calais*.
" The Pope promiſed to make no new Step in King *Henry*'s Matter,
" if he would do the ſame. But King *Henry* did innovate in many
" Particulars, yet, contrary to all Men's Expectations, he had ef-
" fectually reſtrained the Pope from ſhewing his Reſentments upon it:
" And he was in a fair way to have engaged the Pope againſt the
" Emperor, if King *Henry* would have given him any Handle for it.
" Once *Francis* hoped to have brought *Henry* to *Marſeilles*; but he
" judged that was not fit for him, and promiſed to ſend the Duke of
" *Norfolk* in his Stead: For notwithſtanding the Sentence paſſed at
" *Rome*, a Remedy was propoſed, if a Perſon was ſent with full
" Powers, as was expected. When *Gardiner* came to *Marſeilles*, he
" ſaid he had Orders to do whatſoever *Francis* ſhould direct him,
" but indeed he brought no ſuch Powers. The Pope was reſolved to
" do all that he could adviſe him for *Henry*'s Satisfaction: And *Fran-*
" *cis* would enter upon none of his own Affairs, till that was firſt
" ſettled: He ſtill waited for Powers from *England*, but none were
" ſent. This might have provoked *Francis* to have been leſs zealous,
" but it did not: Inſtead of ſending what *Francis* expected, there
" was an Appeal made from the Pope to a General Council, which ſo
" highly provoked the Pope, that what he had been labouring to do
" a whole Week, was pulled down in one Hour. It was alſo an In-
" jury to *Francis* to uſe the Pope ill without his Knowledge, when
" he was in his Houſe, doing that there which they durſt not have
" done any where elſe. This gave great Joy to the *Spaniards*, and
" though the Pope offered to put *Leghorn*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, with
" other Places of greater Importance, into *Francis*'s Hand, yet upon
" the Rupture with *Henry*, he would treat of nothing, ſo he con-
" cluded the Marriage, with no Advantage to himſelf from it; and
" yet for all this Zeal and Friendſhip that he had expreſſed to King
" *Henry*, he had no Thanks, but only Complaints. He ſaw he was
" diſpoſed to ſuſpect him in every Thing, as in particular for his treat-
" ing with the King of *Scotland*, though by ſo doing he had taken
" him wholly out of the Emperor's Hands. He propoſes of new to
" King *Henry*, the ſame Means that were propoſed at *Marſeilles*, in
" order to the reconciling him to the Pope, with ſome other Moti-
" ons, which he will ſee are good and reaſonable, and upon that all
" that paſſed would be eaſily repaired: He perceived plainly at *Mar-*
" *ſeilles*, that the King's Ambaſſadors had no Intentions to bring
" Matters to an Agreement; and when he told them that he ſaw there
" was no Intention to make up Matters, they only ſmiled. It touch-
" ed the King of *France* very ſenſibly, to ſee all his Friendſhip and
" good Offices to be ſo little underſtood and ſo ill requited. He was
" offered the Dutchy of *Milan*, if he would ſuffer the Emperor and
" the Pope to proceed againſt the King of *England*. But he was now
" to offer to King *Henry*, if he would reconcile himſelf to the Pope,
" a League between the Pope and the Two Kings Offenſive and De-
" fenſive. But if King *Henry* would come into no ſuch Agreement,
" yet he was to aſſure him that he would ſtill continue in a firm and

1531. " brotherly Friendſhip with him ; and if by Reaſon of his Marriage, " and the Cenſures that might be paſſed on that Account, any Prince " ſhould make War upon him, that he would aſſiſt him according to " their Treaties : And that he would ſo manage the King of *Scot-* " *land*, that he ſhould engage him into a defenſive League with him. " In Concluſion, he deſired that ſome other better Inſtruments than the " Biſhop of *Wincheſter* might be employed, for he thought he had " no good Intentions, neither to the one nor the other of them.

There is ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect that theſe Inſtructions are not fully ſet forth by *Le Grand* : For the beſt Argument to perſuade the King to come to Terms of Reconciliation, was to tell him what the Pope had ſaid to him of the Juſtice of his Cauſe. It is certain that *Francis* owned that on other Occaſions ; this makes it highly probable that it was ſet forth in theſe Inſtructions ; ſo that I cannot help ſuſpecting, that ſome Part of them is ſuppreſſed.

Cotton Libr. *Nero* B. 6. A Repreſentation made to the Emperor.

At this Time, the King in a Letter to his Ambaſſador that was at the Emperor's Court, after he had ordered him to lay open the Falſhood of the Reports that had been carried to the Emperor, of Queen *Catherine*'s being ill uſed ; and to complain of her obſtinate Temper, and of her inſiſting on her Appeal to the Pope, after the Law was paſſed againſt all ſuch Appeals : He adds, that as he had told the Emperor's Ambaſſador at his Court, the Pope had to the *French* King confeſſed that his Cauſe was juſt and lawful ; and that he had promiſed to him at *Marſeilles*, that if the King would ſend a Proxy, he would give Sentence for him in his principal Cauſe : Which the King refuſed to do, looking on that as a Derogation from his Royal Dignity. The Pope it ſeems looked on his refuſing to do this as a Contempt, and pronounced Sentence againſt him, notwithſtanding his Appeal to a General Council, that had been perſonally intimated to him. This the King imputed to his Malice, and his Deſign to ſupport his uſurped Authority.

Memoirs *de Bell.* p. 414. He prevailed much on the King to ſubmit.

A Letter of the King's to his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*. *Rymer* MSS. *Coll. Numb.* 25.

The Biſhop of *Paris* coming to *London*, had very long and earneſt Conferences with the King : In Concluſion the King promiſed, that if the Pope would ſuperſede his Sentence, the King would likewiſe ſuperſede the ſeparating himſelf entirely from his Obedience : Upon that, tho' it was in Winter, he went immediately poſt to *Rome*. At the ſame time the King ſent a Letter to his Ambaſſadors at *Rome* : He tells them, " That after the Interview at *Marſeilles*, he had heard both " by *Boner* and Sir *Gregory*, that the Pope had in a lively Manner " ſpoken to the Emperor in Favour of the King's Cauſe, and ſeemed " more inclined than formerly to do him Juſtice. He had propoſed " that the King ſhould ſend a Mandate, deſiring his Cauſe might be " tried in an indifferent Place : Upon which he would ſend a Legate " and two Auditors to form the Proceſs : Reſerving the Judgment to " himſelf : Or, that the King of *France* and he would concur to pro- " cure a General Council, by concluding a Truce for three or four " Years, upon which he would call one, and leave the King's Cauſe " to be judged in it. The ſame Overtures were made to the King " by the Pope's Nuntio. He pretended that Sir *Gregory* had made " them to the Pope in the King's Name ; and that the Pope had " agreed to them : Yet the King had never ſent any ſuch Orders

" to Sir *Gregory*, but rather to the contrary. Yet ſince the Pope in 1531.
" theſe Overtures ſhewed better Inclinations than formerly, which
" indeed he was out of Hope of, he ordered Thanks to be given
" him in his Name: The King asked nothing in Return for all the Service
" he had done him and the See, but Juſtice according to the Laws of
" God, and the Ordinances of the Holy Councils; which if he
" would now do ſpeedily, ſetting aſide all Delays, he might be ſure
" that he and his Kingdom would be as loving to him and his See, as
" they had been formerly accuſtomed to be: But for the Truce,
" how deſirous ſoever he was of outward Quiet, yet he could not
" ſet himſelf to procure it, till he had firſt Peace in his own Conſci-
" ence, which the Pope might give him; and then he would uſe his
" beſt Endeavours for a general Peace with the King of *France*;
" from whom he would never ſeparate himſelf. He therefore char-
" ges them to preſs the Pope to remit the Fact, to be tried within the
" Kingdom, according to the old Sanctions of General Councils. If
" the Pope would grant his Deſire, he would diſpoſe all his Allies to
" concur in the Service of that See. He could not conſent to let
" his Cauſe be tried out of the Realm: It was contrary both to his
" Prerogative, and to the Laws of his Kingdom: And by his Coro-
" nation Oath, he was bound to maintain thoſe. So without the
" Conſent of his Parliament, he could not agree to it; and he was ſure
" they would never conſent to that. He hoped the Pope would not
" compel him to do Things prejudicial to the Papal Dignity, as it
" was then exerciſed, which unleſs he were forced to it, by the Pope's
" Conduct towards him, he had no Mind to do. The Pope had
" ſaid to Sir *Gregory*, that by their Laws, the Pope could not diſ-
" pence in ſuch a Marriage, unleſs there was an urgent Cauſe preſſing
" it: And the clearing this Point, he thought would more certainly
" advance the King's Cauſe, than the Opinion of Lawyers and Di-
" vines, that the Pope could not diſpence with it. The Emperor
" had ſaid to the Pope, that there was an extreme bloody War at
" that Time, between *England* and *Spain*; for the pacifying which,
" the Diſpenſation allowing the Marriage was granted: Whereas in
" the League ſigned by his Father, and by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, upon
" which the Diſpenſation was obtained, no ſuch Thing was pretend-
" ed; the Marriage was agreed to for the Continuance and Augmen-
" tation of their Amity; and upon the Account of the good Quali-
" ties of the Queen: It was alſo plainly expreſſed in that League,
" that her former Marriage was conſummated. So the Diſpenſation
" was granted without any urgent Cauſe. And therefore by the
" Pope's own Conceſſion, it could not be valid: He ſent to *Rome* an
" atteſted Tranſcript of that League: So if the Pope would refer
" the judging in this Matter, to the Church of *England*, and ratify
" the Sentence given in it, he will not only acquire the Obedience of
" us and of our People, but pacify the Diſputes that have been raiſed,
" to the Quiet of all *Chriſtendom*. He concludes, that if the Pope
" ſeemed diſpoſed to be benevolent to the King, they were not to
" declare all this, as his final Anſwer, but to aſſure him that he would
" ſtudy by all honourable Ways to concur with the Pope's towardly
" Mind, if he will earneſtly apply himſelf and perſevere in ſuch O-

1531. " pinion as may be for the Acceleration of the ſaid Cauſe". This is all that I can find of the Submiſſion that he offered; but how much further his Promiſes ſent by the Biſhop of *Paris* went, does not appear to me.

D. of *Norfolk*'s Letter to *Montmorancy*.

Le Grand, p. 588.

To quicken the Court of *France* to interpoſe effectually with the Pope, to bring this Matter to the Concluſion that all the Papiſts of *England* labour'd earneſtly for; the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote on the 27th of *January*, a very full Letter on the Subject to *Montmorancy*. " He was glad that the Biſhop of *Paris* was ſent to *Rome*, " with Inſtructions expreſſing the entire Union that was between " the Two Kings. He wiſhed he might ſucceed: For if the Pope " would perſiſt in his Obſtinacy to favour the Emperor, and to op- " preſs the King in his moſt juſt Cauſe, an Oppoſition to his Au- " thority would be unavoidable: And it would give Occaſions to " many Queſtions, greatly to his Prejudice, and againſt his U- " ſurpations. It began to be believed, that the Pope had no Au- " thority out of *Rome*, any more than any other Biſhop has out " of his Dioceſe: And that this Uſurped Authority grew by the " Permiſſion of Princes, blinded by Popes; who, contrary to the " Laws of God, and the Good of the Church, had maintained " it. To ſupport this, many clear Texts of Scripture were brought, " with Reaſons founded on them: And many Hiſtories were al- " leged, to prove, that Popes themſelves were made by the Empe- " rors; and that their Authority was only ſuffered, but not grant- " ed, nor confirmed by Emperors or Kings. Of all this, the Bi- " ſhops, and other Doctors, had made ſuch Diſcoveries, that he " himſelf and other Noblemen, as well as the Body of the People, " were ſo convinced of it, that if the King would give way to it, " (which, if no Interpoſition ſaves it, probably he will do) this " preſent Parliament will withdraw from the Pope's Obedience; and " then every thing that depends on it, will be hated and abhorred " by the whole Nation: And other States and Kingdoms may from " thence be moved to do the ſame. He, out of the Friendſhip that " was between them, gave him this Advertiſement. He apprehend- " ded ſome ill Effects, from the Readineſs the King of *France* had " expreſſed to favour the Pope, even to the Prejudice of his own " Authority. For he had taken a Bull, to do Juſtice in his own " Kingdom; as if he had not full Authority to do that without a " Bull. The Pope, and his Succeſſors, might make this a Prece- " dent for Uſurping on the Royal Authority. He alſo complains, " that tho' their King had promiſed to the Earl of *Rochford*, that *Be-* " *da*, who had calumniated the King ſo much, and was his Enemy " in his juſt Cauſe, ſhould be baniſhed not only from *Paris*, but " out of his Kingdom; yet He was now ſuddenly recalled. He " wiſhes theſe Things may be conſidered in Time: He does not " propoſe that the King of *France* ſhould turn the Pope's Enemy; " but if there came a Rupture between the King and the Pope, " that he would not ſo favour the Pope, as to give him more Bold- " neſs in Executing his Malice againſt the King, or his Subjects: " And that they might not be deceived by his Promiſes, as if he would

" ena-

" enable *Francis* to recover his Dominions in *Italy*, if he ſhould be 1531.
" thereby engaged to loſe the Friendſhip of the King, and his
" Allies.

This came in time, to quicken the Court of *France*: For, by a Letter writ from *Rome* on the 20th of *February*, it appears, that the Pope was at that Time in great Anxiety. He was preſſed hard by the *Imperialiſts*, on the one Hand; and he ſaw the Danger of Loſing *England*, on the other Hand. To ſome about him, he expreſſed a great Inclination to be reconciled to the King: He ſent ſecretly for ſome great Lawyers; they were poſitive that the King's Cauſe was juſt, and that his Second Marriage was good. But now the Matter being brought to a Criſis, I ſhall give it in the Words of *du Bellay*, who, no doubt, had his Information from his Brother.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14. The Pope was in great Anxiety.

Mem. *du Bellay* p. 414, 415, 416.

" King *Henry*, upon the Remonſtrances that the Biſhop of *Paris*
" made to him, condeſcended, that if the Pope would ſuperſede the
" Sentence, till he ſent Judges to hear his Matter, he would ſuper-
" ſede the Executing that which he was reſolved to do; which was,
" to ſeparate himſelf entirely from Obedience to the See of *Rome*.
" And the Biſhop of *Paris* offering to undertake the Journey to
" *Rome*, he aſſured him, that when he obtained that which he went
" to demand there, he would immediately ſend him ſufficient Pow-
" ers to confirm that which he had promiſed; truſting in him,
" by reaſon of the great Friendſhip that he had for ſo long a Time
" born him; for he had been Ambaſſador in his Court for Two
" Years.

Bellay was to go to *Rome*, in hopes to make up the Breach.

" It was a very ſevere Winter; but the Biſhop thought the Trou-
" ble was ſmall, ſo he might accompliſh that which he went upon.
" So he came in good Time to *Rome*, before any Thing was done;
" and in an Audience in the Conſiſtory, he gave an Account of
" that which he had obtained of the King of *England*, for the
" Good of the Church. The Propoſition was judged reaſonable,
" and a Time was aſſigned him for getting the King's Anſwer: So
" he diſpatched a Courier to the King, with a Charge to uſe ſuch
" Diligence, that he might return within the Time limited.

The final Sentence given in great Haſte.

" The Day that was ſet for the Return of the Meſſenger being
" come, and the Courier not come back, the *Imperialiſts* preſſed in Con-
" ſiſtory, that the Pope ſhould give Sentence. The Biſhop, on the
" other Hand, preſſed both the Pope in particular, and all the Cardi-
" nals, that they would continue the Time only for Six Days;
" alledging, that ſome Accident might have happen'd to the Cou-
" rier: The Sea might not be paſſable, or the Wind contrary; ſo
" that either in Going, or Coming, the Courier might be delay-
" ed: And ſince the King had Patience for Six Years, they might
" well grant him a Delay for Six Days. He made theſe Re-
" monſtrances in full Conſiſtory; to which many of thoſe who ſaw
" the cleareſt, and judged the beſt of Things, condeſcended: But
" the greater Number prevailed over the leſſer Number of thoſe,
" who conſidered well the Prejudice that was like to happen to
" the Church by it; and they went on with that Precipitation,
" that they did in One Conſiſtory, that which could not be done in
" Three Conſiſtories; and ſo the Sentence was fulminated.

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The Courier came Two Days to late.

" Two Days had not paſſed, when the Courier came with the " Powers and Declarations from the King of *England*; of which " the Biſhop had aſſured them. This did much confound thoſe " who had been for the Precipitating the Matter. They met often, " to ſee if they could redreſs that which they had ſpoiled; but they " found no Remedy. The King of *England* ſeeing with what In- " dignity he was uſed, and that they ſhewed as little Regard to him, " as if he had been the meaneſt Perſon in *Chriſtendom*, did immedi- " ately withdraw himſelf, and his Kingdom, from the Obedience of " the Church of *Rome*; and declared himſelf to be, under God, " the *Head of the Church of* England.

Le Grand, p. 630, 631. Further Proofs of this Matter.

We have a further Account of this Tranſaction, in the Letters that Mr. *Le Grand* has publiſhed. On the 22d of *February*, *Raince*, the *French* Ambaſſador, wrote from *Rome* a Letter full of good Hopes: And it ſeems the Biſhop of *Paris* wrote in the ſame Strain; but his Letter of the 23d of *March* is very different from that: It was on the ſame Day that the Conſiſtory was held. " There were " Two and Twenty Cardinals preſent, when Sentence was given; " by which King *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was decla- " red good and valid, and the Iſſue by it lawful. Upon hearing the " News of this, he went and asked the Pope about it, who told him " it was true; but that tho' ſome would have had it immediately in- " timated, he had delayed the ordering that till after *Eaſter*. He " with the other *French* Ambaſſadors made no Anſwer to the Pope, " only the Biſhop of *Paris* told him, he had no other Buſineſs there; " ſo he muſt return home again. They did not put the Pope in mind " of the Promiſes and Aſſurances he had given them to the contrary, " when they ſaw it was to no Purpoſe; and it was not eaſy to ſay " ſuch things as the Occaſion required: But the Biſhop intended to " ſpeak more plainly to the Pope, when he ſhould take his Leave of " him, which would be within three or four Days. He adds, that " for ſome Reaſons, which he would tell the *French* King, they were " in doubt, whether that which was done, was not conform to a ſe- " cret Intention of the King's, that was not made known to them. " He apprehended, if he ſtayed longer there, it might give the King " of *England* Cauſe of Suſpicion: For he had by his laſt Letters to " him given him Aſſurances, upon which perhaps he had diſmiſſed " his Parliament; for which he would be much diſpleaſed with the " Biſhop. He deſires the King will give Advice of this with all Di- " ligence to King *Henry*: And then all the World would ſee, that " the King had done all that was poſſible for him to do, both to ſerve " his Friend, and to prevent the great Miſchief that might follow to " the Church, and to all *Chriſtendom*: For there was not any one " thing omitted, that could have been done. The *Imperialiſts* were " running about the Streets in great Bodies, crying, *Empire* and *Spain*, " as if they had got a Victory; and had Bonefires and Diſcharges of " Canon upon it. The Cardinals *Trevulce*, *Rodolphe*, and *Priane*, were " not of that Number; others had not behaved themſelves ſo well " as was expected. *Raince*, one of the Ambaſſadors, ſaid, He " would give himſelf to the Devil, if the Pope ſhould not " find a way to ſet all right, that is now ſpoiled: He preſſed

" the other Ambaſſadors to go again to the Pope for that End, it 1531.
" being a Maxim in the Canon Law, that Matrimonial Cauſes are
" never ſo finally judged, but that they may be reviewed: They
" were aſſured that the Pope was ſurprized in this, as well as he
" had been in the firſt Sentence paſſed in this Matter. The Pope
" had been all that Night adviſing with his Doctors, how to find a
" Remedy, and was in great Pain about it; upon the Knowledge of
" this they were reſolved to go to him, and ſee if any thing was to
" be expected. In a Poſtſcript, he tells the King that he ought not
" to think it ſtrange, if in their laſt Letters they gave other Hopes
" of the Opinions of the Cardinals, than appeared now by their
" Votes: They took what they wrote to him from what they ſaid, *Mel.* Hiſt. p.
" which they heard, and not from their Thoughts, which they 117.
" could not know. By a Letter that *Pompone Trevulce* wrote from *Lyons*, to the Biſhop of *Auxerre*, it appears, that the Biſhop of *Paris* paſs'd through *Lyons*, in his Return on the 14th, Two Days before: In it he gave him the ſame Account of the final Sen-
" tence, that was formerly related: The Biſhop ſaid to him it was
" not the Pope's Fault, for he was for a Delay, and if they had
" granted a Delay of Six Days, the King of *England* would have
" returned to the Obedience of the Apoſtolick See; and left his
" Cauſe to be proceeded in, according to Juſtice; but the *Imperia-*
" *liſts* and their Party in the Conſiſtory, preſſed the Matter ſo, that
" they would admit of no Delay: but when after a Day the Courier
" came, the *Imperialiſts* themſelves were confounded: He adds one
" Thing that the Biſhop told him of his Brother the Cardinal, that
" he preſſed the Delay ſo earneſtly, that he was reproached for it,
" and called a *Frenchman*: He avowed that he was a Servant to the
" moſt Chriſtian King, and that the King of *France*, and his Prede-
" ceſſors, had never done any thing but Good to the Apoſtolick
" See.

Reflections on this Breach.

And now I have laid together all the Proceedings in the Matters relating to the King's Divorce, and his Breach with the Court of *Rome*. In opening all this, I have had a great deal of Light given me, by the Papers that Mr. *Le Grand* has publiſhed, and by the Book that he gave me; for which, whatever other Differences I may have with him, I return him, in this publick way, my hearty Thanks. There appears to have been a ſignal Train of Providence in the whole Progreſs of this Matter, that thus ended in a total Rupture. The Court of *Rome* being over-awed by the Emperor, engaged it ſelf far at Firſt: But when the Pope and the King of *France* were ſo entirely united as they knew they were, it ſeems they were under an Infatuation from God, to carry their Authority ſo far at a Time in which they ſaw the King of *England* had a Parliament inclined to ſupport him in his Breach with *Rome*. It was but too viſible that the King would have given all up, if the Pope would have done him but Common Juſtice. But when the Matter was brought ſo near a total Union, an entire Breach followed, in the very Time in which it was thought all was made up: Thoſe who favoured the Reformation, ſaw all their Hopes as it ſeemed blaſted; but of a ſudden all was revived again. This was an amazing Tranſ-

1531. action; and how little Honour ſoever, this full Diſcovery of all the Steps made in it, does to the Memory of King *Henry*, who retained his Inclinations to a great deal of Popery, to the End of his Life; yet it is much to the Glory of God's Providence, that made the Perſons moſt concerned to prevent and hinder the Breach, to be the very Perſons that brought it on, and in a Manner forced it.

The Sentence was given at *Rome* on the 23d of *March*, on the ſame Day in which the Act of the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* did paſs here in *England*: And certainly the Parliament was ended, before it was poſſible to have had the News from *Rome*, of what paſt in the Conſiſtory on the 23d of *March*: For it was prorogued on the 30th of *March*. So that if King *Henry*'s Word had been taken by the Pope and the Conſiſtory, he ſeems to have put it out of his Power to have made it good, ſince it is ſcarce poſſible to think, that a Parliament that had gone ſo far in the Breach with *Rome*, could have been prevailed on, to undo all that they had been doing for Four Years together.

All in *England* concur to renounce the Pope's Authority.

Nothing material paſſed in Convocation before the 31ſt of *March*, and then the *Actuary* exhibited the Anſwer of the Lower-Houſe to this Queſtion, *Whether the Biſhop of* Rome *has any greater Juriſdiction given him by God in the Holy Scriptures, within the Kingdom of* England, *than any other Foreign Biſhop?* There were 32 for the Negative, 4 for the Affirmative, and One doubted. It was a thin Houſe, and no doubt many abſented themſelves on deſign: But it does not appear how this paſt in the Upper-Houſe, or whether it was at all debated there: For the Prelates had by their Votes in the Houſe of Lords, given their Opinions already in the Point. The Convocation at *York* had the ſame *Poſition*, no more made a *Queſtion*, put to them on the 5th of *May*: There the Archbiſhop's Preſidents, were deputed by him to confirm and fortify this. After they had examined it carefully, they did all unanimouſly, without a contrary Vote, agree to it; upon which an Inſtrument was made by the Archbiſhop, and ſent to the King, which will be found in the Collection, as it was taken out of the *Regiſter* of *York*.

Coll. Numb. 26.

The King ſent the ſame Queſtion to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and had their Anſwer. That Part of the King's Letter that relates to this Matter, and the Univerſity's Anſwer were ſent me, taken from the *Archives* there, by the Learned *Mr. Bingham*, which will be found in the Collection. The King required them to examine the Queſtion ſent by him to them, concerning the Power and Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and return their Anſwer under the Common Seal, with convenient Speed; according to the ſincere Truth. Dated from *Greenwich* the 18th Day of *May*. The Anſwer is directed to all the Sons of their Mother Church, and is made in the Name of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* their Chancellor, and the whole Convocation of all Doctors, and Maſters Regents, and Non-Regents. "It ſets forth, that whereas the King had received "the Complaints and Petitions of his Parliament, againſt ſome "intolerable Foreign Exactions; and ſome Controverſies being "raiſed concerning the Power, and Authority of the Biſhop of "*Rome*, the King that he might ſatisfy his People, but not break in

Coll. Numb. 27.

" upon any Thing declared in the Scriptures, (which he will be 1531.
" always moſt ready to defend with his Blood) had ſent this Que-
" ſtion to them, (ſetting it down in the Terms in which it was pro-
" poſed to the Convocation.) They upon this, to make all the Re-
" turns of Duty and Obedience to the King, had brought together
" the whole Faculty of Divinity: And for many Days, they had
" ſearched the Scriptures, and the moſt approved Commentators; and
" had collated them diligently, and had held Publick Diſputations
" on the Matter: And at laſt they had all unanimouſly agreed,
" that the Biſhop of *Rome* has no greater Juriſdiction given him by
" God, in the Holy Scriptures, in this Kingdom of *England*,
" than any other Foreign Biſhop. This Determination made ac-
" cording to the Statutes of their Univerſity, they affirm and teſtify
" as true, certain, and agreeing to the Holy Scriptures: Dated on
" the 27th of *June* 1534. Here was a long Deliberation: It laſted above Five Weeks after the King's Letter, and was a very full and clear Determination of the Point.

To this I ſhall add the fulleſt of all the Subſcriptions, Inſtruments, and Oaths that was made, purſuant to theſe Laws and Decrees of Convocation. I have ſeen ſeveral others to the ſame Purpoſe: Of which *Rymer* has publiſhed many Inſtruments, all from Page 487 to Page 527, of *Eccleſiaſticks*, *Regulars*, as well as *Seculars*, *Mendicants*, and *Carthuſians*: But that from the Prior and Chapter of *Worceſter* being much the fulleſt of them all, I ſhall only inſert it in my Collection, and leave out all the reſt, that I may not weary the Reader with a heavy Repetition of the various Forms, in which ſome expatiated copiouſly; to ſhew their Zeal for the King's Authority, and againſt the Papacy: Which was looked on then as the diſtinguiſhing Character of thoſe who deſigned to ſet on a further Reformation; whereas thoſe who did adhere to their former Opinions, thought it enough barely to ſign the Propoſition, and to take the Oath preſcribed by Law. *Coll. Numb.* 28.

An Order for the bidding of Prayers and Preaching.

There was likewiſe an Order publiſhed, but how ſoon it does not appear to me: *Strype* ſays in *June* 1534; it was before Queen *Anne*'s Tragical Fall, directing the bidding Prayers for the King, as the only and *Supreme Head* of this Catholick Church of *England*, then for Queen *Anne*, and then for the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to them both, our Princeſs: And no further in the Preſence of the King and Queen: But in all other Places they were to pray for all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and for the whole Clergy, and ſuch as ſhall pleaſe the Preacher to name of his Devotion; then for all the Nobility, and ſuch as the Preacher ſhould name; then for the Souls of them that were dead, and ſuch of them as the Preacher ſhall name. Every Preacher was ordered to preach once, in the greateſt Audience, againſt the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; and he was left after that to his Liberty: No Preachers were in the Pulpit to inveigh againſt, or to deprave one another: If they had Occaſion to complain, they were to do it to the King, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs. They were not to preach for or againſt, Purgatory, the honouring of Saints, that Faith only juſtifieth, to go on Pilgrimages, or to ſupport Miracles: Theſe Things had occaſioned great Diſſentions;

1531. tions; but thoſe were then well pacified; they were to preach the Words of Chriſt, and not mix with them Mens Inſtitutions, or to make God's Laws and Mens Laws of equal Authority; or to teach that any Man had Power to diſpenſe with God's Law. It ſeems there was a Sentence of Excommunication with relation to the Laws and Liberties of the Church publiſhed once a Year, againſt all ſuch as broke them; this was to be no more publiſhed. The Collects for the King and Queen by Name were to be ſaid in all High Maſſes; they were likewiſe to juſtify to the People the King's laſt Marriage, and to declare how ill the King had been uſed by the Pope, in all that Matter, with the Proofs of the Unlawfulneſs of his former Marriage; and a long Deduction was made of the Proceſs at *Rome*, and of all the Artifices uſed by the Pope, to get the King to ſubject himſelf to him, which I need not relate: It contains the Subſtance of the whole Cauſe, and the Order of the Proceſs formerly ſet forth; I have put it in the Collection. All that is particular in it, is, that the King affirms, that a Decretal Bull was ſent over, decreeing, that if the former Marriage was proved, and if it did appear, that as far as Preſumptions can prove it, that it was conſummated, that Marriage was to be held unlawful, and null. This Bull, after it was ſeen by the King, was, by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Commandment, embezzled by the Cardinals. He adds another Particular, which I find no where but here; that the Pope gave out a Sentence in the Manner of an Excommunication, and Interdiction of him and his Realm; of which Complaint being made, as being contrary to all Law and Right, the Fault was laid on a new Officer lately come to the Court; who ought to have been puniſhed for it; and the Proceſs was to ceaſe; but tho' this was promiſed to the King's Agents, yet it went on, and was ſet up in *Flanders*. Perhaps the Words in the Biſhop of *Paris*'s laſt Letter, that the Pope was ſurprized in the laſt Sentence, as he had been in the firſt, are to be explain'd and applied to this. He alſo mentions the Declarations that the Pope had made to the *French* King and his Council, of what he would gladly do for the King, allowing the Juſtneſs of his Cauſe; and that he durſt not do it at *Rome*, for fear of the Emperor, but that he would come and do it at *Marſeilles*; and there he promiſed to that King, to give Judgment for the King; ſo he would ſend a Proxy, which he knew before, that he would not do, nor was he bound to do it.

Coll. Numb. 29.

Thus the King took Care to have his Cauſe to be fully ſet forth to all his own Subjects: His next Care was to have it rightly underſtood by all the Princes of *Europe*. I have found the Original Inſtructions that he gave to *Paget*, then one of the Clerks of the Signet, whom he ſent to the King of *Poland*, and the Dukes of *Pomerania* and *Pruſſia*, and to the Cities of *Dantzick*, *Stetin*, and *Conigsburg*: And it is to be ſuppoſed, that others were ſent to other Princes and Cities with the like Inſtructions, tho' they have not come in my way. I have put them in the Collection. By theſe

Coll. Numb. 30. Inſtructions given to *Paget* ſent to ſome *Northern* Courts.

" Their old Friendſhip was deſired to be renewed; the rather be-
" cauſe the King ſaw they were ſetting themſelves to find out the
" Truth of God's Word, and the Juſtice of his Laws; and the Ex-
" tirpation of ſuch corrupt Errors and Abuſes, by which the World

has

" has been kept Slaves under the Yoke of the Biſhop of *Rome*, more 1531.
" than the *Jews* were under the Ceremonies of *Moſes*'s Law. The
" King orders *Paget* to let them underſtand his great Deſire to promote,
" not only a Friendſhip with them, but the common Good of all
" *Chriſtendom*: He orders him to give them an Account of the whole
" Progreſs of his Cauſe of Matrimony, with the intolerable Injuries
" done him by the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the State in which that
" Matter then ſtood. He was firſt to ſhew them the Juſtice of the
" King's Cauſe, then to open the Steps in which it had been carried
" on. Here all the Arguments againſt his Marriage are ſtated, to
" make it appear to be contrary both to the Laws of God, of Na-
" ture, and of Men. In this the King did not follow his own pri-
" vate Opinion, nor that of the whole Clergy of his Realm; but
" that of the moſt Famous Univerſities of *Chriſtendom*: And there-
" fore, by the Conſent of his whole Parliament, and by the Sentence
" of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he has, for the Diſcharge of his
" own Conſcience, and the good of his People, and that he might
" have a lawful Succeſſor to rule over them, ſeparated himſelf from
" the Princeſs Dowager, and was then married to Queen *Anne*; of
" whom follows a very exalted Character, ſetting forth the Purity of
" her Life, her conſtant Virginity, her Maidenly and Womanly
" Pudicity, her Soberneſs, her Chaſtneſs, her Meekneſs, her Wiſ-
" dom, her Deſcent of Noble Parentage, her Education in all good
" and lawful Shews and Manners, her Aptneſs to Procreation of
" Children, with her other infinite good Qualities, which were more
" to be eſteem'd than only Progeny. If any ſhould object to this
" Second Marriage, as contrary to the Pope's Laws; he aſſerts, that
" every Man's private Conſcience is to him the Supreme Court for
" Judgment: So the King was ſatisfied in his own Conſcience; that,
" being enlightned by the Spirit of God, and afterwards by the
" Means formerly ſet forth, he was judged to be at Liberty from his
" former Marriage, and free to contract a new one. The King alſo
" took great Pains to ſatisfy the World, by long Travel and Study,
" with ineſtimable Coſt and Charges, tho' he had no Fruit from it all.
" Upon this Head, *Paget* was to ſet forth the Pope's ungodly De-
" meanor, in the whole Progreſs of the King's Cauſe; keeping him
" off by Delays for Seven Years and more. At firſt the Pope, in-
" ſtead of judging the Matter himſelf, ſent a Commiſſion to *England*,
" to try it, with full Powers, pretending that it could not be judged
" at *Rome*. He gave with theſe a Decretal Bull, in which he pro-
" nounced Sentence, that the King might (*convolare ad Secundas*
" *Nuptias*) *Marry another Wife*; yet he gave the Legate ſecret Di-
" rections not to proceed by Vertue of the Decretal Bull, nor to
" give Sentence. He wrote a Letter to the King with his own
" Hand, in which he approved of the King's Cauſe, and promiſed
" to the King, on the Word of the Pope, that he would not Avocate
" the Cauſe, but leave it in its due Courſe; yet afterwards, contrary
" to his Conſcience and Knowledge, he decreed ſeveral Citations
" againſt the King to appear at *Rome*, to the Subverſion of the
" Royal Dignity: or to ſend a Proxy, which cannot be juſtified by
" any Colour of Reaſon. He cites the Councils of *Nice*, *Africk*,
and

1531. " and *Milevi*, againſt Appeals to remote Places. It was not reaſon-
" able to ſend Original Inſtruments, and other Documents to a di-
" ſtant Place; nor in a Matter of Conſcience, could a Man give
" ſuch a Power to a Proxy, by which he was bound to ſtand to that
" which he ſhould agree to: It was fit that all Princes ſhould
" conſider what an Attempt this made upon their Dignity, for the
" Pope to pretend that he could oblige them to abandon their King-
" doms, and come and appear before him; by which he might De-
" poſe Kings, or Rule them according to his own Pleaſure. So that
" all this was not only unjuſt, but null of it ſelf. Dr. *Karn* being
" then at *Rome*, as the King's Subject, he offered a Plea Excuſatory,
" yet this was not regarded by the Dean of the *Rota*, who in that
" acted as he was directed by the Pope: Pretending he had no
" Powers from the King, which by Law was not neceſſary for an
" Excuſator. *Karn* had appealed to the Pope: To this *Capiſucchi*
" gave an ambiguous Anſwer, promiſing to give a more determinate
" one afterwards, which yet he never did; but upon a Second Ap-
" peal, the Cauſe was brought into the Conſiſtory, and there it was
" judged that *Karn* could not be heard, unleſs he had a Proxy from
" the King: And when *Karn* objected that ſuch Proceeding was
" againſt Law; the Pope anſwered that he might Judge all Things
" according to his own Conſcience: And ſo they reſolved to pro-
" ceed in the main Cauſe. At that Time the King's Ambaſſadors
" at *Rome* ſhewed the Pope the Determination of the Univerſities of
" *Paris* and *Orleans*, with the Opinions of the moſt Learned Men
" in *France* and *Italy*, condemning the Pope's Proceedings as unjuſt
" and null; the Words of their Opinion being inſerted in the In-
" ſtructions: Yet the Pope ſtill went on, and ſent out ſlanderous
" Breves againſt the King, and deſigned to Excommunicate him. To
" prevent that the King did order a Provocation and Appeal to be
" made from the Pope to a General Council, and cauſed it to be in-
" timated to the Pope, but he would not admit it, and pretended
" that by a Bull of Pope *Pius*'s, that was condemned: And that he
" was Superior to all General Councils. He rejected it arrogantly,
" ſaying they were Hereticks and Traytors to his Perſon, who would
" Appeal from him to any General Council. It appeared evidently
" that the Pope for the Defence of his own Glory and Ambition,
" regarded not what Injuries he did to Chriſtian Princes: So they
" were all obliged now to be on their Guard, againſt ſuch Invaſions
" of their Authority. For theſe Reaſons the King was reſolved to
" reduce that Exorbitant Power which the Pope had aſſumed, with-
" in due Limits: So that in his Dominions he ſhall Exerciſe no
" other Juriſdiction than what is granted to him by expreſs Words
" of Scripture. *Paget* was to open all theſe Things to thoſe Princes
" and States, deſiring that they would adhere to the King in this
" Matter, 'till it ſhould come to be treated of in a General Council:
" And in the mean Time to give him their beſt Aſſiſtance and Advice,
" eſpecially in ſome Articles, of which a Schedule was to be given
" him ſigned with the King's Hand, which he was to communicate
" to them as he ſhould find it convenient. They related to ſome
" Abuſes and Cuſtoms which ſeemed neceſſary to be reformed: And

if

" if they would propoſe any other, *Paget* was to receive their " Mind, and to aſſure them, that the King, as he deſired their Af- " ſiſtance in his Cauſes and Quarrels, ſo he would kindly admit of " whatſoever they ſhould propoſe; and would endeavour to extir- " pate all Abuſes againſt God's Word and Laws: And to do all that " lay in him, for the Reformation thereof, for the Maintenance of " God's Word, the Faith of Chriſt, and the Welfare of *Chriſten-* " *dom.* 1534.

But becauſe the King did not know what the Mind of thoſe Princes might be, nor how far they were devoted to the Pope; *Paget* was to try to find out their inclinations, before he ſhould deliver the King's Letters to them; and ſo to proceed according to his Diſcretion, to deliver, or not to deliver his Letters, or to ſhew his Inſtructions to them. What followed upon this, and how it was executed, does not appear.

The Judicious and Diligent *Sechendorf*, in his Hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm*, gives an Account of a Negotiation of *Paget*'s, 2 Years before this. *Cranmer*, who was then the King's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court, met with *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, at *Noremberg*, who had ſecretly left the Diet of *Ratisbon*; and there he deliver'd Letters from the King, both to the Elector, to the Duke of *Lunenberg*, and to the Prince of *Anhalt*; which contained only a General Offer of Friendſhip. *Cranmer* came the next Day to the Elector, who had Two of his Miniſters about him; and aſked him many Queſtions concerning their Agreement with the State of Religion, the *Turkiſh* War, and the Church-Lands, which (as they heard) they had ſeized on. He ſaid Great Things of the King, and of the Aid he had offered the Emperor againſt the *Turk*, in Conjunction with the *French* King. He asked where *Paget* was; whom the King had ſent to the Elector. General Anſwers were made to all his Queſtions; and for *Paget*, He had been with the Elector the former Year. This paſſed on to the 15th of *July* 1532. Four Days after this, he came privately to *Spalatin*, one of the Elector's Secretaries; and aſſured him, that both the King, and the *French* King, would aſſiſt the Elector and his Allies, in the Matter of Religion. In *Auguſt* after that, *Paget* came to the Elector; who propoſed many Things to him concerning Religion: But the Princes had then come to an Agreement with the Emperor; ſo they could enter into no Treaty at that Time. Only *John Frederick* did, in a Writing under his own Hand, offer the Scheme of that which was afterwards propoſed in their Name to the King.

L. 3. §. 6. *Par.* 16 Add. Negotiations in *Germany*.

All theſe Negotiations were ſet on Foot, purſuant to a Paper of Advices offered to the King by *Cromwell*; in which there are divers Marginal Notes writ in the King's own Hand, which will be found in the Collection. " Firſt, All the Biſhops were to be ſent for, " eſpecially thoſe neareſt the Court; to examine them, Whether " they can prove, that the Pope is above the General Council, or " the Council above him? And whether, by the Law of God, He " has any Authority in *England*? Next, They are to be charged to " Preach this to the People; and to ſhew, That the Pope's Autho- " rity was an Uſurpation, grown up by the Sufferance of Princes.

Advices offered the King.

Coll. Numb. 31.

1534. " This ought to be preached continually at *Paul*'s Croſs; and the " Biſhop of *London* was to ſuffer none to preach there, but thoſe " who will ſet this forth. The ſame Order was to be given to all " other Biſhops, and to the Rulers of the Four Orders of *Friars*, " particularly to the *Friar Obſervants*, and to all Abbots and Priors. " The King's Appeal was alſo to be ſet up on every Church-Door in " *England*, that ſo none may pretend Ignorance; as alſo the Act " againſt Appeals to *Rome*. It was alſo propoſed, that Copies of " the King's Appeal might be ſent to other Realms, particularly to " *Flanders*. A Letter was alſo propoſed, complaining of all the In- " juries done the King by the Pope; to be written to him by all " the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. The King writes on the Mar- " gin, *Not yet done; nor can it well be done before the Parliament.* " To ſend Spies into *Scotland*, to ſee what Practices were there: " On the Margin the King's Orders; *Letters to be written to the* " *Lord* Dacres, *the Duke of* Norfolk, *and Sir* Thomas Clifford. " To ſend to the Kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, the Dukes of " *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Three Ec- " cleſiaſtical Electors. On the Margin the King writes, *In the King's* " *Arbitrement.* This, it ſeems, gave the Occaſion of Sending *Pa-* " *get.* The like propoſed for the *Hans* Towns: On the Margin, in " the King's Hand, *To know this of the King.* To remember the Mer- " chant-Adventurers, chiefly thoſe of *Brabant.* On the Margin, *This* " *is already done.* Then it is propoſed, that an Order be given for " Eſtabliſhing the Princeſs Dowager's Houſe, and the Lady *Mary*'s, " and for my Lady Princeſs's Houſe: This was *Elizabeth*'s. To " this, on the Margin, it is written by the King, *The Order is* " *taken.*

Coll. Num. 32. A Letter of the King's to the Juſtices, to obſerve the Behaviour of the Clergy.

In *June*, in the Year 1535, after the Parliament had ſettled every Thing demanded of them, the King publiſhed a Circular Letter, which will be found in the Collection, taken from the Original. " In which, after he had ſet forth that both Clergy and Temporalty " had aboliſhed the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Uſurpations, and had united " to the Crown the Dignity of *Supreme Head in Earth of the* " *Church of* England; which was alſo approved in Convocation, " and confirmed by their Oaths and Subſcriptions: He adds, that " conſidering what Quiet would follow in the Nation, if the Bi- " ſhops and Clergy would ſincerely, and without Diſſimulation, " publiſh the many and great Abuſes of the Pope's Uſurpation; he " had ſent Letters to all Biſhops, charging them not only in their " own Perſons, but by their Chaplains, to preach the true and ſin- " cere Word of God to the People, and to give Warning to all Ec- " cleſiaſtical Perſons to do the ſame; and to cauſe the Pope's Name " to be raſed out of all the Books of Divine Service. He had al- " ſo required the Juſtices of Peace, to examine whether the Biſhops " and Clergy did this ſincerely; or whether they did it coldly, or " feignedly; or uſed any Addition, or Gloſs to it. Upon all this, " the King requires them, at their Aſſizes and Seſſions, to make di- " ligent Search, whether the Biſhops and Clergy do their Duty ſin- " cerely. Likewiſe, at their Meetings, they were to ſet the ſame " forth to the People; and alſo declare the Treaſons commited by the

" the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas More*, who by diverſe 1535.
" Secret Practices, intended to breed among the People moſt Miſchie-
" vous Opinions; for which they, with ſome others, had ſuffered
" as they deſerved. He requires them if they found any Fault, or
" Diſſimulation in any Perſon, that they ſhould immediately ſignify
" it to the King and his Council: As that which was of the great-
" eſt Moment to the Quiet of the Kingdom, threatning ſuch Puniſh-
" ment of thoſe who were negligent in this, as would make them
" Examples to all others: And he charges them upon their Alle-
" giance to obey all this punctually.

But it ſeems this had not the Effect that was expected, therefore in *April*, after this, a New Letter, or Proclamation, was writ to ſome of the Nobility, ſetting forth that he had heard that ſome, both *Regulars* and *Seculars*, did ſecretly extol the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, praying for him in the Pulpit, and making him a God, preferring his Power and Laws to God's moſt Holy Laws: The King therefore out of his Deſire to maintain Unity and Quiet among his People, and to bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth, and to be no more blinded with Superſtition and Falſe Doctrine, required them that whereſoever they found any Perſon ſpreading ſuch pernicious Doctrines to the Exaltation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to Cauſe them to be apprehended and put in Priſon without Bail or Mainpriſe. *Coll. Numb.* 33.

Among the Biſhops all were not equally Honeſt, nor Zealous. *Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Gardiner*, were thoſe in whom the Old Leaven had the deepeſt Root: So the King being informed that *Lee*, though he had given in his Profeſſion, ſubſcribed and ſealed by him, yet did not his Duty in his Dioceſe and Province, neither in Teaching himſelf, nor cauſing others to Teach the People, conform to what was ſettled both in Convocation and Parliament, ſent him Orders both to Preach theſe Things, and to Order all other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons in his Province to do the ſame: Upon this he wrote a long Vindication of himſelf in *June* 1535, which will be found in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 34.

The Archbiſhop of *York* is ſuſpected to favour the Pope.

" He ſets forth in it the Complaints that the King ſignified had
" been made of him, with the Orders that he had received from the
" King, and then ſets out his own Conduct. He ackowledges he had
" received at the End of the laſt Parliament, a Book ſent from the
" Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as a Book of Orders for Preaching:
" (Probably that which is the 28th Paper in the Collection.) Upon
" his receiving it, he went on *Sunday* next to *York*, and there he
" ſet forth the Cauſe of the King's Marriage, and the rejecting the
" Pope's Authority very fully: And that this might be done the
" more publickly, he had cauſed it to be publiſhed at *York* the *Sun-*
" *day* before that he would be there, and ſo took care to have a full
" Audience. So that there was a great Multitude there. His
" Text was, *I have Married a Wife, and therefore I cannot come*:
" And he ſo declared the King's Matters, that all ſeemed ſatisfied. It is
" true he did not touch the Title of the King as the *Supreme Head*,
" for there was no Order given as to that, for it was thus only or-
" dered to have it named in the Prayer. It is true he did not uſe

He juſtifies himſelf.

1535. " to bid Prayers, for the greater haſte to utter his Matter. But up-
" on the receipt of that Book, he commanded his Officers to make
" out a great Number of them, to be ſent to every Preacher in his
" Dioceſe: And by all that he ever heard, every one of his Curates
" followed that Book, and has done their Duty in every Particular
" enjoined in it: He took care that all who preached in their
" Churches ſhould follow the Rules preſcribed in it. He alſo ſent
" a Book to every Houſe of *Fryars*. And for the Religious, when
" any ſuch Perſon came to him, naming particularly the *Carthuſians*,
" and the *Obſervants*, for Counſel, he told them what he had done
" himſelf, and adviſed them to do the ſame. On *Good-Fryday* laſt,
" he had ordered the Collect for the Pope to be left out; and alſo
" the mentioning him in other Parts of the Service: He deſired the
" King would examine theſe Things, and he would find he was not
" ſo much in Fault as he imputed it to him. He had been hitherto
" open and plain, and had never deceived the King. He had alſo
" ſent Letters to the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Carliſle*, purſuant to
" the Letters that he had from the King: And had charged his Arch-
" deacons to ſee that all Obedience might be given to the King's Or-
" ders. He had ſince he received the King's laſt Letters, on the
" *Sunday* following, declared to the People every Thing compriſed
" in them. He refers himſelf to *Magnus* and *Lawſon*, Two of
" the King's Chaplains, who heard him, to make Report of what
" they thought of it. Whatever he promiſed to the King he would
" fulfil it; and he had done every Thing as the King commanded,
" and would ſtill do it, ſo God were not offended by it. He be-
" ſought the King not to believe any Complaints of him till he have
" heard his Anſwer. Some thought it was a high Sacrifice, when
" they could bring ſuch a poor Prieſt as he was, under the King's
" Diſpleaſure: But he truſted God would continue in him a Gra-
" cious Mind to his Prieſts and Chaplains, and that he would give
" their Enemies, who ſtudied to provoke him againſt them, better
" Minds for the future.

Of the Sufferings of *Fiſher* and *More*.

I have no Particulars to add to the Relation I gave of the Sufferings of *Fiſher* and *More*. There are heavy Things laid to their Charge; but except *Fiſher*'s being too much concerned in the Buſineſs of the *Nun* of *Kent*, which was without doubt managed with a Deſign to raiſe a Rebellion in the Nation; I do not find any other Thing laid to his Charge: And it does not at all appear that *More* gave any Credit or Countenance to that Matter. Yet I have ſeen that often affirmed. In our own Days, when Things have happned both together, though the one did not by any ſort of Proof appear to be connected with the other, yet they have been repreſented as done in Concert: So the Conſpiracy of the *Nun*, and thoſe who managed that Impoſture, was given out both at home and abroad, as having its Riſe from *Fiſher*, who indeed knew of it, and ſeemed to give Credit to it; and from *More*, though he had no ſhare at all in it.

The King of *France* was not ſatisfied with this way of Proceeding: He thought it too violent, and that it did put Things paſt all poſſibility of a Reconciliation. He had anſwered for the King to the Pope at *Marſeilles*, and he was in ſuch a Concern for him, that the

wrong Steps he made reflected on himſelf. He told the King's Ambaſſador that he adviſed the Baniſhing of all ſuch Offenders, rather than the putting them to Death. That King confeſſed there had been extreme Executions and Cruelty lately exerciſed in his own Kingdom: But he was now putting a ſtop to it, and reſolved to call Home all thoſe that had fled out of his Kingdom. He had ſeen a Relation of *More*'s Sufferings, by which it appeared that he exhorted his Daughter to all Duty and Reſpect to the King, which made the Proceedings againſt ſuch a Man to be the more cenſured. 1535.

The Ambaſſadors wrote this to the King ſoon after *More*'s Death. The King wrote on the 23d of *Auguſt* an Anſwer, from *Thornbury* to this Purpoſe, "If the King of *France* had anſwered for the King, "and had Juſtified his Cauſe, he had done what was Juſt and Suitable to their Friendſhip: The Conſpiracies of *Fiſher* and *More* to "ſow Sedition, and to raiſe Wars, both within and without the "Kingdom, were manifeſtly proved to their Face: So that they "could not avoid, nor deny it. The Relation he had ſeen concerning *More*'s Talk with his Daughter at his Death, was a forged "Story: The King took it in ill Part that King *Francis* ſhould ſo "lightly give Ear and Credit to ſuch vain Tales. This ungrateful "Behaviour ſhewed that the King of *France* had not that Integrity "of Heart, that the King deſerved and might expect from him. "Then follows a Vindication of the Laws lately made, which indeed were only Old Laws revived. The Baniſhing of Traytors "was no ways Convenient: That was to ſend them in Places where "they might more ſafely and conveniently execute their Conſpiracies. Upon all which the Ambaſſador was ordered to expoſtulate "plainly, but diſcreetly, both with the King, and with the Great "Maſter. There appears a Strain of Coldneſs in the whole Intercourſe between the Two Courts of *France* and *England*, ever from the Interview at *Marſeilles* to this Time.

Rymer MSS. An Expoſtulation with the Court of *France*.

Pope *Clement* was now Dead, with whom the King of *France* was more cloſely united: And he found the King's Friendſhip was yet ſo neceſſary to him, that he reſolved to remove all Jealouſies: So to give the King a full Aſſurance of his Firmneſs to him, he ſent him a Solemn Engagement to adhere to him. It is true, I have ſeen only a Copy of this; but it is minuted on the Back by *Cromwel*'s Hand, and is fairly writ out. There is no Date ſet to it, but it was during Queen *Anne*'s Life, and after Pope *Clement*'s Death, ſo probably it was ſent over about this Time. It will be found in the Collection.

The King of *France* engages himſelf to adhere to and defend the King in his Second Marriage.

Collect. Numb. 35.

It begins thus, "That both Friendſhip and Piety did require that "he ſhould employ his whole Strength and Authority to maintain "the Juſtice of his Deareſt Friend. The King of *England*, Defender "of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and, *under God*, *Supreme Head of "the Church of* England, had by a Diſpenſation, granted by Pope "*Julius*, contracted a Marriage in Fact with *Katherine* of *Spain*, "Relict of the King's Elder Brother *Arthur*, and had one Daughter "yet living, of that Marriage: that King upon Great and Weighty "Reaſons well known to King *Francis*, had withdrawn himſelf "from that Marriage; and had Lawfully and Rightfully Married

Anne

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1535. " *Anne* now his Queen, of whom he hath Iſſue the Princeſs *Elizabeth*: And a Debate had ariſen concerning the Diſpenſation, and " the Firſt Marriage, and the Legitimacy of the Iſſue by it: In " which, King *Francis* by many Arguments did perceive, that the " Pope himſelf had not a due Regard to Equity: And that what by " the Iniquity of the Times, what by ill Practice againſt all Law " and Right, many Things were done. The King therefore con- " ſulted the Men of the greateſt Integrity in his Kingdom, and the " moſt Learned both in Divinity, and in the Laws of the Church; " whom he charged to make a Report to him according to their " Conſciences, as in the Sight of God, having firſt conferred among " themſelves fully upon the whole Matter: He does therefore upon " all their unanimous Opinion, clearly perceive that the Diſpenſa- " tion granted by the Pope, was in it ſelf Null, both by Reaſon of " the Surprize put on him by the Grounds pretended in it, for ob- " taining it; but chiefly becauſe the Pope could not diſpence in " that Caſe: Since ſuch Marriages are contrary to the Laws of God " and of Nature: For the Pope has no Authority to diſpence in that " Caſe; ſo that the Marriage between King *Henry* and Queen *Katherine* was Inceſtuous and Null: As contrary to the Laws of God " and Man: And by conſequence the Lady *Mary*, born of that " Marriage, was Illigitimate. And further, that the Marriage the " King has contracted with *Anne*, now his Queen, was Holy, Law- " ful, and Good: And that *Elizabeth*, born of that Marriage, and " all the other Iſſue that might come of it, was Lawful, and ought " ſo to be eſteemed. He adds, that many of the Cardinals, naming " particularly the late Cardinal of *Ancona*, and even the late Pope " *Clement* himſelf, did declare their own poſitive Opinion to himſelf " perſonally at *Marſeilles*, and frequently to his Ambaſſadors, that " the Diſpenſation granted by Pope *Julius*, upon which the firſt " Marriage was made, was null and void: And the Pope would " have declared this by a Final and Definitive Sentence, if Private " Affections, and Human Regards had not ſtood in his way. All " which that King did ſolemnly declare. He therefore looking on " that Diſpenſation as null and void, and by Conſequence on the " Marriage contracted by that Authority, as Unlawful and Inceſtu- " ous; and on the Lady *Mary* as incapable to ſucceed, being born " in it, did judge and affirm that the Marriage with Queen *Anne*, " and the Iſſue come, or to come from it, was Lawful and Valid; " and that the juſt Right of ſucceeding to the Crown, was veſted " in the Iſſue of that Marriage: And that all Judgments and Cenſures " either by the late Pope *Clement*, or by any other Judge, that " were made and publiſhed, or that might hereafter be made or pub- " liſhed, were and are null and void, unjuſt and unlawful: And " he promiſed on the Word and Faith of a King, and under the " Forfeiture of all his Goods, and of all the Goods of his Subjects, in " the Form of a Contract of Guaranty, both for Himſelf and his Heirs " Succeſſors, that he, at all Times, and in all Places, particularly " in all Synods, or General Councils, and before all Perſons, and " againſt all Men whatſoever that ſhould oppoſe it, of what Rank " or Condition ſoever they might be, he would both by him-

ſelf,

" ſelf, and by his Subjects, maintain and defend it, and (if need 1535.
" were) juſtify it, by a ſtrong Hand, and with all his Forces. Nor
" would he ever, for the future, publickly or privately, directly or
" indirectly, go againſt it, or ſo much as attempt it, nor ſuffer it to
" be attempted by any other, as much as in him lay.

Here was as Poſitive an Aſſurance, as could be put in Words. From which he never departed. And tho' Princes have, in former Times, as well as in our own Days, made bold with their Promiſes and Treaties; and have very eaſily thrown them off, or broke thro' them, without any Appearance of great Remorſe or Shame; Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that *Francis* did never, even in the War that he afterwards had with King *Henry*, depart from, or falſify this Engagement.

BOOK

BOOK III.

1535.

Of what happen'd during the Time comprehended in the Third Book of the Hiſtory of the Reformation; from the Year 1535, *to King* Henry's *Death*, Anno $154\frac{6}{7}$.

The King was much pleaſed with the Title of Supreme Head.

KING *Henry* ſeemed not a little pleaſed with his Title of the *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*; of which it was enacted, in the Seſſion of Parliament that ſat after the Breach was made with *Rome*, that it ſhould be for ever joined to the other Titles of the Crown, and be reckoned one of them. He ordered an Office for all Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and a Seal to be cut; which, in an Inhibition ſent to the Archbiſhop, in order to a Royal Viſitation of the whole Clergy of all *England*, is, for ought I know, firſt mentioned. It is dated the 18th of *September* 1535; and, at the End, theſe Words are added; 'Under our Seal, that we uſe in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which we 'have ordered to be hereunto appended.

The Archbiſhop of *Cant.*'s Title changed.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Title was alſo in Convocation ordered to be altered: Inſtead of the Title of Legate of the Apoſtolick See, he was to be deſigned *Metropolitan*, and *Primate*. This laſt was one of his Ancient Titles. In that Seſſion, there was ſome Diſcourſe concerning Hereſy, and of ſome *Engliſh* Books; in particular, of *Tindal*'s Books. And there was a Book laid before them, with the Title of a *Primer*; of which there is no other Account given, but that from the Rubricks of it, they ſuſpected it was a Book not fit to be publiſhed. This, it ſeems, produced a Petition to the King, that he would command all Heretical Books to be called in, within a Time limited; and that he would appoint the Scripture to be tranſlated in the Vulgar Tongue; but that tho' the Laity might read it, yet they were to be required not to diſpute concerning the Catholick Faith.

Cranmer and *Gardiner* oppoſe one another.

It is very probable, that a Breach was upon this Occaſion begun between *Cranmer* and *Gardiner*. The Sharpneſs againſt Hereſy was probably ſupported by *Gardiner*; as the Motion for the Tranſlation of the Bible, was by *Cranmer*. But when *Cranmer*, in order to an Archiepiſcopal Viſitation of the whole Province, having obtained the King's Licence for it on the 28th of *April*, ſent out his Inhibition, according to Form, to the Ordinaries during the Viſitation; upon this, *Gardiner* complained to the King of it, for Two Reaſons. He thought, the Title of *Primate* of *England*, did derogate from the King's Power. The other was, That ſince his Dioceſe had been

Viſit-

Viſited within Five Years laſt paſt, and was now to Pay for ever Tenths to the King, it ought not to be charged with this Viſitation. Of this *Cromwell* gave *Cranmer* Notice. He, on the 12th of *May*, wrote a Vindication of himſelf; which will be found in the Collection. 1535. *Coll. Numb.* 37.

Cranmer vindicates himſelf.

" He believed that *Gardiner* (who wanted neither Law, Inven- " tion nor Craft, to ſet out his Matters to the beſt Advantage,) ſtu- " died to value himſelf upon his Zeal for the King's Supremacy, " that ſo he might ſeem more concerned for that, than for himſelf. " *Cranmer* laid himſelf, and all his Titles, at the King's Feet: But " he wrote, Why did not *Gardiner* move this ſooner? For he had " received his Monition on the 20th of *April*. The Pope did not " think it leſſen'd his Supremacy; that he had many *Primates* un- " der him: No more did his Title leſſen the King's Supremacy. " *Gardiner* knew well, that if the Pope had thought thoſe Subal- " tern Dignities had weakned his Supreme one, he would have got " all the Biſhops to be put on the Level; there being many Con- " tentions concerning Juriſdiction in the Court of *Rome*. But if " all the Biſhops of the Kingdom ſet no higher Value on their " Stiles and Titles than he did, the King ſhould do in thoſe Mat- " ters what he pleaſed: For if he thought that his Stile was in any " Sort againſt the King's Authority, he would beg Leave to lay " it down. He felt in his Heart, that he had no Sort of Regard to " his Stile or Title, further than as it was for the Setting forth of " God's Word and Will; but he would not leave any juſt Thing at " the Pleaſure of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he being no otherwiſe " affectionate to him than he was. In the Apoſtles Days, there was " a *Diotrephes*, who loved the Preeminence; and he had more Suc- " ceſſors than all the other Apoſtles; from whom all Glorious Ti- " tles, and much Pomp was come into the Church. He wiſhed, " that he, and all his Brethren, might leave all their Stiles, and call " themſelves only the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*; ſo, that they took " not the Name vainly, but were ſuch indeed; and did order their " Dioceſes, ſo that not Parchment, Lead or Wax, but the Conver- " ſation of their People, might be the Seals of their Office; as St. " *Paul* ſaid, the *Corinthians* were to him. He anſwers the other Part very fully; but that will be found in the Letter it ſelf; it not being of that Importance, to deſerve that any Abſtract ſhould be made of it.

Biſhops proceed againſt thoſe who deſir'd a Reformation.

It was ſoon obſerved, that there was a great Faction formed againſt any Reformation, in Doctrine or Worſhip; and that thoſe who favour'd and promoted it, were ill uſed by the greater Part of the Biſhops: Of which I ſhall give One Inſtance, and by it one may judge of the reſt; for I have ſeen many Complaints to the ſame Purpoſe. *Barlow* was, by Queen *Anne*'s Favour, made Prior of *Haverford Weſt*, in *Pembrokeſhire*. He ſet himſelf to preach the Pure Goſpel there, and found many were very deſirous to hear it; but he was in danger of his Life daily by reaſon of it: And an Accuſation being brought againſt him by a Black Friar there; ſet on by *Rawlins*, then Biſhop of St. *David*'s, who both rewarded him for it, and recommended him to the Arches: For *Barlow* had appealed to the

1535. King. He owns, that by *Cromwell*'s Favour, their Deſign againſt him was defeated: But he having ſent a Servant home about Buſineſs, the Biſhop's Officers cited him to their Courts, and ranſacked his Houſe; where they found an *Engliſh* Teſtament, with an Expoſition of the Sermon on the Mount, and of ſome other Parts of the New Teſtament. Upon this, they clamoured againſt him as a Heretick for it. They charged the Mayor of the Town, to put him and ſome others in Priſon, ſeeking by all Means to find Witneſſes againſt them; but none appearing, they were forced to let them go, but valued themſelves upon this their Zeal againſt Hereſy. He ſets forth the Danger that all were in, who deſired to live according to the Laws of God, as became faithful Subjects: For in that Multitude of Monks, Friars, and Secular Prieſts, that was then in thoſe Parts, there was not one that ſincerely preached the Word of God, and very few that favoured it. He complains of the Enormous Vices, Fraudulent Exactions, and Heatheniſh Idolatry, that was ſhamefully ſupported under the Clergy's Juriſdiction; of which he offered to make full Proof, if it ſhould be demanded and received: But that being done, he deſired Leave to remove from thence; for he could neither go home, nor ſtay there ſafely, without a ſpecial Protection. This Letter will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 38.

Barlow was that Year made Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and the Year after was tranſlated to St. *David*'s; and was after that removed to *Wells*, but driven out by Queen *Mary*; and was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter* by Queen *Elizabeth*, in which he lived Ten Years.

The Archbiſhop of *York* much ſuſpected.

The ſecret Oppoſition that the Biſhops gave to the Steps made towards a Reformation, obliged *Cromwell* to ſend many Agents, in whom he truſted, up and down the Nation, to obſerve all Mens Tempers and Behaviour. *Legh*, among others, being ſent to *York*, did (in *January*) enjoin the Archbiſhop, by an Order from the King, to preach the Word of God, and to ſet forth the King's Prerogative. He alſo enjoined him, to bring up to the King all the Foundations of his See, and all Commiſſions granted to it. In theſe, he did not doubt, but they would find many Things fit to be reformed: And he adviſed, that every Biſhop might be ſo ordered, that their Dioceſes might be better inſtructed and edified. That would eſtabliſh them in their Fidelity to the King, and to his Succeſſion: But the Juriſdictions might be augmented, or diminiſhed, as ſhould ſeem convenient. This Letter, which will be found in the Collection, opens a Deſign that I find often mention'd, of Calling in all the Pope's Bulls, and all the Charters belonging to the ſeveral Sees, and Regulating them all. But, perhaps, the firſt Deſign being the Suppreſſing the Monaſteries, it was not thought fit to alarm the Secular Clergy, till that was once done: Yet the Order for Sending up all Bulls, was at the ſame time generally executed. There is a Letter of *Tonſtall*'s, writ ſoon after this to *Cromwell*, put in the Collection, in which he mentions the King's Letters to all the Biſhops, to come up immediately after the Feaſt of the Purification, with all the Bulls they had obtained from *Rome*, at any Time. But the King conſidering that *Tonſtall* had gone down but late, ordered Dr. *Layton* to write to him, that he needed not come up; but adviſed, that he ſhould write to the

Coll. Numb. 39.

Coll. Numb. 40.

the King that he was ready to do as other Biſhops did, and to deliver up all ſuch Bulls as the King deſired of him. *Layton* wrote to him that *Cromwell*, as his Friend, had aſſured the King that he would do it. 1535.

In anſwer to this, *Tonſtall* thank'd him for his Kindneſs on that, and on many other Occaſions. " He did not underſtand to what " Intent theſe Bulls were called for, (and it ſeems he appreſended it " was to have all the Biſhops give up their Right to their Biſhopricks) " yet he had ſent them all up to be delivered at the King's Pleaſure: " He adds, that he hoped by this Demand, the King did not intend " to make him leave his Biſhoprick, and both to turn him out of his " Living, and to Ruin all his Servants, that had their Living only " by him; in which he wrote he could not be thought, either Am- " bitious, or Unreaſonable: So he deſired to know what the King's " Pleaſure was, not doubting but that the King would uſe him as " well as he uſed the other Biſhops in the Kingdom, ſince as he had " obtained theſe Bulls by him, he had renounced every Thing in them " that was contrary to his Prerogative. He had but Five Bulls, for the " reſt were delivered to thoſe to whom they were addreſſed: So he " commits himſelf to the King's Goodneſs, and to *Cromwell*'s Favour. Dating his Letter from *Aukland* the 29th of *January*, which muſt be in the Year 153⅝. *Cotton* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

Tonſtall might be under more than ordinary Apprehenſions of ſome Effect of the King's Diſpleaſure; for as he had oppoſed the declaring him to be the *Supreme Head*, in the Convocation of *York*; ſo he had ſtuck firmly to the aſſerting the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage to Queen *Katherine*. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, in which that Matter was determined; he with the Proxy that he ſent to the Biſhop of *Ely*, wrote him a Letter, of which Mr. *Richard Jones* ſaw the Original, which he has inſerted in his Voluminous Collections, that are in the *Bodleian* Library; in which theſe Words are, after he had told him that he had given him full Power to Conſent or Diſſent from every Thing that was to be propoſed: He adds,

" Yet nevertheleſs, I beſeech you, if any Thing Harmful or Pre- " judicial in any Point, to the Marriage between the King's Highneſs " and the Queen's Grace ſhall be propoſed, wherein our Voices ſhall " be demanded; in your own Name ſay what you will, and what " God putteth in your Mind: But I deſire you, and on God's Be- " half I require you, never in my Name to Conſent to any ſuch Thing " propoſed, either Harmful, or Prejudicial to the Marriage aforeſaid; " but expreſsly to Diſſent unto the ſame: And for your Diſcharge " on that Behalf, ye may ſhew, when you think it requiſite, this " my particular Declaration of my Mind, made unto you therein: " And what I have willed and required you to do in my Name in " this Point, praying your Lordſhip not to do otherwiſe in my " Name, as my ſingular Truſt is in you, that ye will not. Dated from *Aukland* in *January*, but neither Day nor Year are mentioned.

The Seſſion of Parliament in which the Act of the Succeſſion paſſed, by which the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was condemned, meeting in *January*, this Letter ſeems to be written

1536. before that Seſſion; and yet no Oppoſition was made to that Act in the Houſe of Lords, either by the Biſhop of *Ely*, or by the Biſhop of *Bath*, whom he had made his Second Proxy as appears by the ſame Letter, in which he is alſo named: The Act paſſed ſo ſoon, that it was read the Firſt Time on the 20th of *March*, and paſſed on the 23d in the Houſe of Lords, without either Diſſent or Proteſt. It is alſo certain that *Tonſtall* afterwards took the Oath enjoined by that Act. But how theſe Biſhops came to be ſo ſilent upon that Occaſion, being ſo ſolemnly required to do otherwiſe by *Tonſtall*; and how he himſelf came to change, and to take the Oath, is that of which I can give no Account. It is certain King *Henry* had a very particular Regard for him; but yet by this Letter it appears, that he had ſome Fears of a Severity aimed at himſelf: But he was afterwards in all Things very compliant, even to the End of King *Edward*'s Reign.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

Complaints of the *Monks* and *Fryars*.

There came up from all Parts of the Kingdom, many Complaints of the ill Behaviour and bad Practices of the *Monks* and *Fryars*: Of the laſt chiefly, for the *Mendicant* Order being always abroad Begging, they had many more Occaſions to ſhew themſelves: And tho' the *Monks* had not thoſe Occaſions to be in all Publick Places, yet it was very viſible that they were ſecretly diſpoſing the People to a Revolt. So it was reſolved to proceed againſt them all by degrees: And after the Viſitations and Injunctions, which had no great Effect, they began with the ſmaller Houſes, that were not above 200*l.* a Year: This ſwept away at once all the *Mendicants*, who were the moſt Induſtrious, and by Conſequence the moſt Dangerous.

The Archbiſhop of *York* clears himſelf.

The Archbiſhop of *York* was much ſuſpected; and if many Apologies look like intimations of ſome Guilt, he had a great deal; for he took many Occaſions to juſtify himſelf. Upon the Act for taking all the Leſſer Monaſteries into the King's Hands, he expreſſed great Zeal in ſerving the King, which appears in a Letter of his to *Cromwell* in *April* 1536. He gave a ſtrict Commandment to his Archdeacons to warn all in the Monaſteries within the Act, not to embezzle, or convey away any Thing belonging to the Houſe: And if they had done any ſuch Thing, to reſtore it. He ordered them to give warning to all others not to meddle with any ſuch Goods. He had alſo warned the Mayor of *York* and his Brethren, and the Maſter of the Mint there, to receive none of the Goods or Plate of theſe Monaſteries: Having thus expreſſed his Care in that Matter; he made an earneſt Suit for Two Places that were of the Patronage of his See. The One was *S. Oſwalds*, which was a Free Chapel; the Prior was removeable at the Archbiſhop's Pleaſure, and he might put Secular Prieſts in it if he Pleaſed. The other was *Hexham* upon the Borders of *Scotland*, which was once an Epiſcopal See; and there not being a Houſe between *Scotland* and that Lordſhip, if that Houſe ſhould go down, there would be a great Waſte that would run far into the Country: Whither he obtained theſe Suits or not, does not appear to me: After that he adds, that he had given Order that no Preachers ſhould be ſuffered that preached Novelties, and did ſow Seeds of Diſſention: Some after that they were forbid to preach, did go on, and preach ſtill: He had ordered Proceſs againſt them; ſome of them

Coll. Numb. 41.

them ſaid they would get the King's Licence: If that were done, he muſt be ſilent, but he hoped *Cromwell* would hinder that, and give him Notice if they had obtained the King's Licence: Some ſaid they had the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Licence; but none of theſe ſhould be obeyed there, none but the King's Licences, and his. 1536.

Upon the many Complaints of Preachers of all ſorts, King *Henry* wrote a Circular Letter to all the Biſhops on the 12th of *July*, letting them know, that conſidering the diverſity of Opinion in Matters of Religon; he had appointed the Convocation to ſet forth certain Articles of Religion, moſt Catholick: But to prevent all Diſtraction in the Minds of his People, he ordered that till that was publiſhed, no Sermons ſhould be preached till *Michaelmas*; unleſs by the Biſhop, or in his Preſence, or in his Cathedral, where he is to take care to furniſh ſuch as he can Anſwer for: Every Biſhop is therefore required to call in all his Licences for Preaching, and to publiſh this in the King's Name. He is alſo required to impriſon all thoſe who acted againſt this Order; and not to ſuffer any private Conventicles or Diſputations about theſe Matters: To this is added a Direction for the *bidding of Prayers*; that they ſhould pray for departed Souls, that God would grant them the Fruition of his Preſence: And a ſtrict Charge is laid on Curates, that when the Articles of Religion ſhall be ſent them, they ſhould read them to their People, without adding or diminiſhing; excepting only ſuch to whom he ſhall under his Seal give Power to explain them.

Reg. Heref. Fox Fol. 6. All Preaching is for ſome Time prohibited.

The blind Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Nix*, was condemned in a Premunire and put out of the King's Protection, for breaking through a Cuſtom that the Town of *Thetford* had enjoyed paſt all Memory, that no Inhabitant of that Town could be brought into any Eccleſiaſtical Court, but before the Dean of that Town: Yet that Old and Vicious Biſhop cited the Mayor before him, and charged him under the Pain of Excommunication not to admit of that Cuſtom. Upon this, Judgment was given in the Temporal Courts againſt the Biſhop: But he was now received into the King's Protection: In the Pardon mention is made of his being convicted upon the Statute of Proviſors. *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London* was charged with the Breach of the ſame Statute, for which he took out a Pardon.

During theſe Years, *Cromwell* carried no higher Character, than that of Secretary of State: But all Applications were made to him in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; ſo whether this was only by Reaſon of his Credit with the King, or if he was then made *Vicar General*, does not appear to me. But as the King took care to keep all Things quiet at Home, ſo he ſet himſelf to cultivate a particular Friendſhip with the Princes of the Empire of the *Auſburgh* Confeſſion; hoping by their Means to be able to give the Emperor a Powerful Diverſion, if he ſhould go about to execute the Pope's Cenſures. The King of *France* had been for ſome Time endeavouring to beget a Confidence of himſelf in the Minds of thoſe Princes; pretending that he was neither for the Divine, nor the Unbounded Authority that the Popes had aſſumed, but only he thought it was reaſonable to allow them a Primacy in the Church, and to ſet Limits to that. *Langey* was the Perſon moſt employ'd in the managing of this Matter. But when the

Rymer.

A Treaty with the *Lutheran* Princes.

1536. came to underſtand that the King of *France* had ſent for *Melanchthon*, being then at *Langley*. He ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Rochford* to write to *Cromwell*, commanding him to diſpatch *Barnes* immediately to *Germany*; and to uſe ſuch Diligence, that if it was poſſible, he might meet *Melanchthon* before he was gone into *France*; and to diſſwade his going thither, ſince the *French* King was then perſecuting thoſe who did not ſubmit to the Pope's uſurped Authority: He was to uſe all poſſible Arguments to divert him from going, and to perſwade him all he could to come over to *England*; ſhewing him the Conformity of the King's Opinions with his own, and ſetting forth the King's Noble and Generous Temper: But if he was gone into *France*, *Barnes* was to go on to the Princes of *Germany*, and *Cromwell* was to ſend a Meſſenger with him to be ſent back with an Account of the State of Matters among them. He was to engage the Princes to continue firm in the Denial of the Pope's Authority; in which their Honour was deeply concerned: And they might depend upon the King in that Matter, who had proceeded in it with the Advice of the moſt Part of the Great and Famous Clarks in *Chriſtendom*, from which he would never vary, nor alter his Proceedings. *Barnes* was to carry over a Book written on that Subject, and ſome Sermons of the Biſhops, and to put the Princes on their Guard, as to the *French* King; for he aſſured them, that both he and his Council were altogether *Papiſts*.

Barnes ſent to them.

Barnes was likewiſe directed to ſend *Hains* (afterwards Dean of *Exeter*) and *Chriſtopher Mount* (an Honeſt *German*, who was long employed by the Crown of *England*) to Sir *John Wallop* the King's Ambaſſador in *France*, on Pretence that they went as his Friends to Viſit him. If *Melanchthon* was in *France*, they were to go ſecretly to him, to diſſwade his Stay long there; or his altering his Opinion in any particular. Some Copies of the Book, and the Sermons, were to be carried by them to *France*. If it is true, that the King of *France* was ſo ſet to maintain the Pope's Sepremacy, *Wallop* was to repreſent to him, how contrary that was to his Honour, to Subject himſelf to the Pope, and to perſuade others to do the ſame; and to charge him that he would remember his Promiſe to maintain the King's Cauſe and Proceedings; and ſince the King did not move the Subjects of any other Prince, why ſhould the *French* King ſtudy to draw the *Germans* from their Opinion in that Matter: Which the King thought himſelf much concerned in, ſince it was ſo much againſt the King's Intereſt and his own Promiſe. *Wallop* was to uſe all Means to incline him rather to be of the King's Opinion. They alſo ordered *Cromwell* to write to the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, that the King took it very unkindly, that his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, was ſuing to Marry the Duke of *Vendome*'s Daughter without his Advice: He had propoſed it to him before, and then he would not hearken to it. This Negligence the King imputed to that Biſhop, and to the reſt of the *Scottiſh* Council: The Letter concludes, that *Barnes* ſhould not be ſtayed for further Inſtructions from the Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Theſe ſhould be ſent afterwards by the Almoner (*Fox*). This Letter will be found in the Collection

Collect. Numb. 42.

This

This came ſoon enough to ſtop *Melanchthon*'s Journey to *France*. The Great Maſter, and the Admiral of *France*, did not think of any thing with Relation to *Germany*, but of a Civil League, to embroil the Emperor's Affairs. They were againſt meddling in Points of Religion; and ſo were againſt *Melanchthon*'s Coming to *France*. They were afraid, that the *French* Divines and He would not agree; and that might alienate the *German* Princes yet more from the Court of *France*. *Hains* and *Mount* wrote this over from *Rheims*, on the 8th of *Auguſt* 1535. It is true, *Langey* was ſent to bring him, hoping to meet him at *Wirtemberg*: But He was not come thither; only the Heads of their Doctrine were ſent to him. With theſe he came back to *France*. The King's Divines made ſome Emendations; which *Langey* ſaid to *Mount*, he believed the *Germans* would ſubmit to: And ſo he was ſent back with a Gold Chain, and Letters to bring *Melanchthon*, and Six other Eminent *German* Divines with him. Of this, *Mount* gave the King Advice, the 7th of *September*, in that Year. 1536. *Melancthon's going to France prevented.* *Paper-Office.*

This whole Matter came to nothing: For *Francis*'s Siſter, the Queen of *Navarre*, was the Perſon who preſſed him chiefly to it; hoping by this, once to engage him in ſome Point of Doctrine, which, as She hoped, might draw on a Rupture with *Rome*: But his Miniſters diverted him from all Thoughts of Engaging in Doctrinal Matters; and they put him on Entring into a League with the Princes of the Empire, only with Relation to their Temporal Concerns. Nor were the *German* Princes willing to depart in a Tittle from the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, or enter upon New Treaties about Points that were ſettled already among them; which might give Occaſion to new Diviſions among themſelves. And no doubt, the King's Interpoſing in the Matter with ſuch Earneſtneſs, had great Weight with them; ſo he was delivered from the Alarm that this gave him. But to go on with our King's Affairs in *Germany*. *The Fr. King fluctuates.*

Fox with *Heath* (on whom *Melanchthon* ſet a high Value) was ſent ſoon after *Barnes*, to Negotiate with the *Germans*. He had many Conferences with ſome of their Divines, and entred into a large Treaty about ſeveral Articles of Religion, with thoſe of *Wittemberg*, which laſted Three Months, to the Elector's great Charge, and the Uneaſineſs of the *Germans*. *Seck.* l. 3. §. 13. par. 39. *Fox* ſent to *Germany.*

Melanchthon had dedicated his Commentary on the Epiſtles to the King; who ſent him (upon it) a Preſent of 200 Crowns, and wrote a Letter to him, full of particular Expreſſions of Eſteem, and Aſſurances that he would always aſſiſt him in thoſe his Pious Labours; dated from *Wincheſter* the 1ſt of *October* 1535. *Fox* ſeemed to aſſure them, that the King would agree with them in all Things; and told them, that the King had already aboliſhed the Popiſh Superſtitions, which he called the *Babyloniſh* Tyranny; calling the Pope Antichriſt. They of *Wittemberg* inſiſted on the Abuſes of the Maſs, and on the Marriage of the Clergy; and took notice, that the King had only taken away ſome ſmaller Abuſes, while the greateſt were ſtill kept up. So that *Melanchthon* wrote on the Margin of their Paper, at this Part of it, in *Greek*, *Nothing Sound*. All this was ſent over to the King; but did not at all pleaſe him. For, in an Anſwer writ-

1536. written by *Cromwell*, theſe Words are a Part of it. " The King " knowing himſelf to be the Learnedeſt Prince in *Europe*, he thought " it became not him to ſubmit to them; but He expected they " ſhould ſubmit to him. They, on the other Hand, ſaw the great Advantage of his Protection and Aſſiſtance; ſo that they brought *Luther* to make an humble Submiſſion to him, asking him Pardon for the Manner of his Writing againſt him; which I find intimated, tho' it never came in my way. They ſtudied alſo to gain both upon his Vanity, offering him the Title of the *Defender*, or *Protector of their League*; and on his Intereſt, by Entring into a Cloſe Confederacy with him.

It was an Opinion common enough in that Time, that the Emperor was the Sovereign of *Germany*. *Gardiner*, in ſeveral of his Letters, ſeems to be of that Mind: And upon that Account, he endeavoured to poſſeſs the King with a Prejudice againſt his Treating with them, that it was to animate Subjects, to revolt againſt their Prince: Whereas, by the Conſtitution and Laws of the Empire, the Princes had ſecured to themſelves the Right of Coining, Fortifying, Arming, and Entring into Treaties, not only with one another, but with Foreign Princes, for their Defence. A Homage was indeed due to the Emperor; and a much greater Submiſſion was due to the Diet of the Empire: But the Princes were Sovereigns in their own Territories, as the *Hanſe* Towns were Free States. *Fox* preſſed them to approve of all that the King had done in the Matter of his Divorce, and of his Second Marriage. To which they gave the Anſwer that I had inſerted in my Hiſtory, among the Tranſactions of the Year 1530: But the Noble *Seckendorf* ſhews, that it was ſent in the Year 1536. In their Anſwer, as they excuſed themſelves from giving their Opinion in that Matter, till they were better informed; they added, (which, it ſeems, was ſuppreſſed by *Fox*) " Tho' we do agree with the Ambaſſadors, that " the Law againſt Marrying the Brother's Wife ought to be kept; " yet we are in doubt, whether a Diſpenſation might not take " place in this Caſe; which the Ambaſſadors denied. For that Law " cannot oblige us more ſtrictly, than it did the *Jews*: And if a " Diſpenſation was admitted to them, we think the Bond of Matri- " mony is ſtronger. *Luther* was vehemently againſt the Infamy put on the Iſſue of the Marriage. He thought, the Lady *Mary* was cruelly dealt with, when She was declared a Baſtard. Upon Queen *Katherine*'s Death, they earneſtly preſſed the Reſtoring her to her former Honour. So true were they to that which was their Principle, without regarding the great Advantage they ſaw might come to them, from the Protection of ſo great a King.

His Ambaſſadors, at that Time, gave theſe Princes an Advertiſement of great Importance to them, that was written over to the King by *Wiat*, then his Ambaſſador in *Spain*; That the Emperor had, in a paſſionate Diſcourſe with him, called both the Elector and the Landgrave, his *Enemies*, and *Rebels*. The Truth was, the Elector did not entirely depend on all that *Fox* ſaid to him. He thought the King had only a Political Deſign in all this Negotiation; intending to bring them into a Dependance on himſelf, without any ſincere

Intentions with Relation to Religion. So he being reſolved to adhere firmly to the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, and ſeeing no Appearance of the King's agreeing to it, he was very cold in the Proſecution of this Negotiation. But the Princes and States of that Confeſſion, met at this time at *Smalcald*, and ſettled the Famous *Smalcaldick* League; of which the King's Ambaſſadors ſent him an Authentick Copy, with a Tranſlation of it in *Engliſh*; which the Reader will find in the Collection. 1536. *Coll. Numb.* 43.

" By it, *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, with his Brother " *Erneſt*; *Philip*, *Erneſt*, and *Francis*, Dukes of *Brunſwick*; *Ulric* " Duke of *Wirtemberg*, *Philip* Langrave of *Heſſe*, the Dukes of " *Pomeren*; Four Brothers, Princes of *Anhalt*; Two Brothers, " Counts of *Mansfield*; the Deputies of 21 Free Towns; which are not named in any Order, for *Hamburg* and *Lubeck* are the laſt ſave one; but, to avoid Diſputes, they were named in the Order in which they came, and produced their Powers. " All theſe did, on " Behalf of themſelves and their Heirs, ſeeing the Dangers of that " Time, and that many went about to diſturb thoſe, who ſuffered " the ſincere Doctrine of the Goſpel to be preached in their Terri- " tories; and who, aboliſhing all Abuſes, ſettled ſuch Ceremonies " as were agreeable to the Word of God: From which their Ene- " mies ſtudied to divert them by Force and Violence. And ſince it " was the Magiſtrate's Duty, to ſuffer the ſincere Word of God to " be preached to his Subjects, and to provide that they be not vio- " lently deprived of it; therefore, that they might provide for the " Defence of themſelves and their People, which is permitted to " every Man, not only by the Law of Nature, but alſo by the " written Laws, they entred into a Chriſtian, Lawful, and Friend- " ly League: By which they bound themſelves to favour all of " their Body, and to warn them of any imminent Danger; and not " to give their Enemies Paſſage thro' their Territories. This was " only for their own Defence, and not to move any War. So if " any of them ſhould be violently aſſaulted for the Cauſe of Reli- " gion, or on any Pretence, in which the reſt ſhould judge that Re- " ligion was the true Motive; the reſt of the Confederacy were " bound, with all their Force and Power, to defend him who was " ſo aſſaulted, in ſuch a Manner, as for the Circumſtances of the " Time ſhall be adjudged: And none of them might make any A- " greement, or Truce, without the Conſent of the reſt. And that " it might not be underſtood that this was any Prejudice to the Em- " peror their Lord, or to any Part of the Empire; they declare, " that it was only intended to withſtand wrongful Violence. They " alſo reſolved to receive all into this Confederacy, who received " the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, and deſired to be joined to it. And " whereas the Confederacy made Six Years before, was to deter- " mine on the *Sunday Invocavit* of the following Year; in which " the Princes of *Wirtemberg*, *Pomeren*, and *Anhalt*, and Six of the " Cities were not comprehended; they received them into this Con- " federacy; which was to laſt for Ten Years after the *Sunday Invo- " cavit*: And if any War ſhould be begun, but not finiſhed with- " in theſe Ten Years, yet it ſhall be continued till the War is

1536. " brought to an End: But at the End of the Ten Years, it ſhall be " Lawful to the Confederates to prolong it further. And they gave " their Faith to one another, to obſerve this Religiouſly, and ſet " their Seals to it.

On the ſame Day, the King's Anſwer was offered to the Demands the Princes had made: Both which are in the Paper-Office; and *Coll. Numb.* both will be found in the Collection. Their Demands were, "That 44. " the King would ſet forth the true Doctrine of Chriſt, according " to the *Augsburgh* Confeſſion; and that he would defend that " Doctrine at the next General Council; if it be Pious, Catho- " lick, Free, and truly Chriſtian: And that neither the King, nor " the Princes and States of that Union, ſhould, without mutual " Conſent, agree to any Indiction of a General Council made by " the Biſhop of *Rome*; but that if ſuch a Council ſhould be called, " as they had deſired in their Anſwer to *Vergerius*, the Pope's Am- " baſſador, it ſhould not be refuſed: And that if a Council ſhall " be celebrated, to which the King and theſe Princes do not agree, " they ſhall (to their Power) oppoſe it: And, that they will " make Proteſtations againſt it; that they will not obey any Con- " ſtitution made in it, nor ſuffer any Decrees made in it to be obey- " ed; but will eſteem them Null and Void, and will make their " Biſhops and Preachers declare that to their People. That the " King will aſſociate himſelf to the League, and accept the Name " of the *Defender*, or *Protector* of it. That they will never ſuffer " the Monarchy of the Biſhop of *Rome* to take place; nor grant " that it is expedient, that he ſhould have Preeminence before all " other Biſhops, or have any Juriſdiction in the Dominions of the " King, and of the Princes. That upon theſe Grounds, they En- " ter into a League with one another. And in Caſe of any War, " either for the Cauſe of Religion, or any other Cauſe whatſoever, " that they ſhould not aſſiſt thoſe who begin any ſuch War. " That the King ſhall lay down a Hundred Thouſand Crowns; " which it ſhall be Lawful to the Confederates to make uſe of, as " a Moiety of that which they themſelves ſhall contribute: And " if need be, in any Cauſe of urgent Neceſſity, to contribute Two " Hundred Thouſand Crowns; they joining as much of their own " Money to it. And if the War ſhall end ſooner, than that all " the Money is employed in it, what remains ſhall be reſtored to " the King. And they aſſured him, that they ſhould not convert " this Money to any other Uſe, but to the Defence of the Cauſe of " Religion, together with their own Money. And ſince the King's " Ambaſſadors were to remain ſome Time in *Germany*, diſpu- " ting with their Learned Men about ſome Points; they de- " ſire, that they may know the King's Mind; and that he " will ſignify it to the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave " of *Heſſe*. And then the Princes will ſend their Ambaſſadors, and " a Learned Man with them, to Confer with the King, about the " Articles of Doctrine, and the Ceremonies of the Church.

To theſe the King ſent Two different Anſwers one after another. *Collect. Numb.* 45. " The Firſt, that will be found in the Collection, was, That the King " intended to ſet forth the True Doctrine of Chriſt, which he was " ready to defend with Life and Goods: But that he being reckon-

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" ed ſomewhat Learned, and having many Learned Men in his 1536.
" Kingdom, he could not think it meet to accept at any Creatures
" Hand what ſhould be his Faith, or his Kingdoms; The only
" Ground of which was in Scripture; with which he deſired they
" would not be grieved: But that they would ſend over ſome
" of their Learned Men to confer with him, and his Learned Men,
" to the Intent that they might have a perfect Union in Faith: He
" would alſo join with them in all General Councils, that were Ca-
" tholick, Free, and held in a Safe Place, for the Defence of the
" True Doctrine of the Goſpel: And as for Ceremonies, there may
" be ſuch a Diverſity in theſe uſed thro' the Whole World, that he
" thought that ought to be left to the Governors of the ſeveral Do-
" minions, who know beſt what is convenient for themſelves: He
" agreed that neither he, nor they, ſhould accept of the Indiction of a Ge-
" neral Council, but by all their Mutual Conſent; but that if ſuch a Free
" Council may be held in a Safe Place, it ſhall not be refuſed. The King
" did not think fit to accept the Title offered by them till firſt
" they ſhould be thoroughly agreed upon the Articles of Doctrine:
" But that being once done, he would thankfully accept of it. To
" that of a Defenſive League, he added One Clauſe, that they
" ſhould not ſuffer any of their Subjects to ſerve thoſe who ſet on
" them in any ſuch War: He thought it not reaſonable that he
" ſhould bear any Share of the Wars already paſt, (which it ſeems
" was ſecretly mentioned, though not expreſſed in their Demands)
" but for the future, he was willing to contribute 100000 Crowns
" as they deſire. Upon further conſidering their Demands, the
" King ſent a Second and fuller Anſwer, which will be likewiſe *Coll. Numb.* 46.
" found in the Collection.

" It begins with very tender Expreſſions of the Senſe the King had
" of their Benevolence to him, and of their Conſtancy in adhering
" to the Truth of the Goſpel: He acknowledges the Goodneſs of
" God in giving them ſuch Stedfaſtneſs and Strength. Their wondrous
" Vertues had ſo raviſhed the King, that he was determined to con-
" tinue in a Correſpondence of Love with them on all Occaſions.
Then follow ſome Explanations of the former Memorial, but not very important, nor differing much from it: Only he lets them know,
" That it was not for any private Neceſſity of his own, that he was
" moved to join in League with them: For by the Death of a Wo-
" man, all Calumnies were extinct (this is meant of Queen *Anne*)
" ſo that neither the Pope nor the Emperor, nor any other Prince,
" had then any Quarrel with him: Yet that they might know his
" good Affection to them, he would contribute the Sum they deſired,
" and upon the Terms they propoſed: Only on his Part he demand-
" ed of them that in Caſe any Prince invaded his Dominions on the
" Account of Religion, that they would furniſh him, at their Ex-
" pence, with 500 Horſemen compleatly armed, or 10 Ships well
" arrayed for War, to ſerve for Four Months: And that it ſhould
" be at the King's Choice whether Horſe, or Ships: And that they
" ſhould retain at the King's Charge ſuch a Number of Horſe and
" Foot as the King ſhould need, not exceeding the Number of 200
" Horſe, and 5000 Foot: Or inſtead of the Foot, 12 Ships in Or-
" der, with all Things neceſſary: Which the King might keep in

1536. " his Service, as long as he pleaſed: And laſt of all, that the Con-
" federates will promiſe in all Councils, and every where elſe, to
" promote and defend the Opinion that Dr. *Martin* (ſo they named
" *Luther*) *Juſtus Jonas*, *Cruciger*, *Pomeran*, and *Melanchton* had of
" his Marriage. This Negotiation ſunk to a great Degree upon Queen *Ann*'s Tragical Fall: And as the King thought they were no more neceſſary to him, ſo they ſaw his Intractable Humour, and had no hope of ſucceeding with him, unleſs they would have allowed him a Dictatorſhip in Matters of Religion; yet to end all this Negotiation at once,

Coll. Numb. 47. The Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe* wrote a Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection, taken from
' the Original, occaſioned by Pope *Paul* the IIId's ſummoning a
" General Council to meet at *Mantua* on the 23d of *May*, upon
" which the Emperor had ſent Meſſengers to them, to give them
" Notice of it, and to require them to come to it, either in Perſon,
" or by their Proctors: But though they had always deſired a Coun-
" cil for the Reforming of thoſe Abuſes, that had continued ſo long,
" by the Negligence, or Corruption of Popes and Prelates; yet in
" this Bull, the Pope clearly inſinuates that he will not ſuffer
" the reſtoring of True Doctrine, or the correcting of Abuſes, to be
" treated of, but that their Doctrine without any Examination was
" to be condemned with Infamy: He alſo endeavoured to oblige all
" by the receiving of his Bull, without taking Cognizance of the
" Matter, to extirpate and deſtroy the Doctrine they profeſſed: So
" that if they had accepted the Bull, they had ſeemed to be involved
" in that Deſign. They therefore told the Emperor's Miniſter, that
" they looked on that Bull as Unjuſt and Pernicious; and they de-
" ſired he would let the Emperor know that they could not accept
" of it. They did not doubt but the Pope, or his Party, about the
" King, would upon this Occaſion pretend, that the Pope had done
" his Duty, and would ſtudy to load them with ill Characters: So
" they thought it neceſſary to juſtify themſelves to the King, and
" other Princes on this Occaſion.

" They ſent over with this a full Vindication of their Proceedings,
" which they deſired the King would read, and that he would con-
" ſider not only the preſent Danger of the *Germans*, but the Com-
" mon Concern of the Whole Church, in which it was viſible that
" all good Diſcipline was loſt, and that Great and Worthy Men had
" wiſhed and deſired that ſome received Abuſes, that could not be
" denied, might be amended: Therefore they recommend the Cauſe
" of the Church, and their own Cauſe to his Care. This is dated the 25th of *March* 1537.

Ihave in my other Work given an Account of the Ambaſſadors whom they ſent into *England*, of the Repreſentations they made, and of a full Paper that they offered to the King: To all which I have nothing now to add, but that I have found a Letter of *Cranmer*'s to *Cromwell*, which I have put in the Collection, in which *Coll. Numb.* 48. he complains of the backwardneſs of the Biſhops. The Ambaſſadors hrd been deſired to tarry one Month, that their Book might be conſidered; but though he moved them to treat about it, as they had done upon other Articles; they anſwered him they knew the King had

had taken it on himſelf to anſwer them; and that a Book to that End was already deviſed by him: Therefore they would not meddle with the Abuſes complained of. The Biſhops deſired that the Archbiſhop would go on to treat of the Sacraments of Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation, and Extream Unction, in which they knew certainly that the *Germans* would not agree with them, except only in Matrimony. 1536.

" He ſaw the Biſhops were ſeeking an Occaſion to break the " Concord: And that nothing would be done, unleſs there came a " ſpecial Command from the King. They ſaw they could not defend " the Abuſes, and yet thy would not yield that Point: He com- " plains likewiſe that the Ambaſſadors were very ill lodged: Mul- " titudes of Rats were running in their Chambers Day and Night, " and their Kitchin was ſo near their Parlour, that the Smell was " Offenſive to all that came to them. He wiſhes that a more con- " venient Houſe might be offered them.

It is true the King uſed them with a particular Civility, and ſpoke to them before all his Court in a moſt obliging Manner: And often wiſhed that *Melanchton* might be ſent over to him. *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* uſed them with all poſſible Kindneſs. *Cranmer* wrote often by them to the Elector, exhorting him to continue firm and zealous for the Truth and Purity of the Goſpel: But under all the ſhews of the King's Favour, they underſtood that his Heart was turned from them. He wrote, when he diſmiſſed them, to the Elector, in Terms full of Eſteem for their Ambaſſadors: " Not doubting but " good Effects would follow on this beginning of Conferences " with them: But the Matter being of the greateſt Importance, it " ought to be very maturely conſidered. He again deſired that *Me-* *Seck. L.* 3. " *lanchton* might be ſent over to him, that he might treat with *Par.* 66. " him, promiſing that he would apply himſelf wholly to what be- " came a Chriſtian Prince to purſue. Dated the Firſt of *October* 1538. During this Embaſſy there was an Anabaptiſt ſeized by the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; in whoſe Papers they found that he had ſome Followers in *England*, that he had hopes of great Succeſs there; and was deſigning to go thither, but he ſaid he was forbidden by the Spirit: Upon this they wrote an Account of all they found to the King, and gave him a Deſcription of the Anabaptiſts of *Germany*. They were much ſpread through *Friſia* and *Weſtphalia*, and in the *Netherlands*; chiefly in thoſe Places where none of their Preachers were tolerated. The not baptizing Infants was the known Character of the Party; but with this, they were for a Community of Goods: They condemned all Magiſtracy, and all Puniſhing of Crimes, which they thought was a Revenge forbidden by Chriſt: They condemned all Oaths, and were againſt all Order and Government. They ſeemed to be *Manicheans* in Religion: They deſpiſed the Scriptures, and pretended to particular Illuminations; and allowed both Poligamy and Divorce at a Man's Pleaſure: And whereſoever their Numbers increaſed, they broke out into Sedition and Rebellion. They wrote all this to the King in a Letter, that by the Stile is believed to be penned by *Melanchton*, both to let him ſee how far they themſelves were from Favouring ſuch Corruptions, and to put the King on his Guard againſt them.

Here Ends this Negotiation; for I find no Mark of any further Com-

1536. Commerce between them: And though this run out far beyond the Year 1535, in which it was begun, yet I thought it beſt to lay it all together, and ſo to diſmiſs it. The unlooked for Accidents that happ'ned in *England*, had wrought much on the King's Temper; his own Inclinations were ſtill byaſſing him to adhere to the Old Opinions and Practices; and the Popiſh Party watched and improved all Advantages, of which a very ſignal one happ'ned ſoon to their great Joy.

Cott. Libr. *Otho.* C. 10. Queen *Katherine*, or as ſhe was called the Princeſs Dowager, died Firſt. I have nothing to add concerning her, but that I fell on a Report of a Converſation that Sir *Edmond Bedingfield*, and Mr. *Tyrrel*, had with her; in which ſhe ſolemnly proteſted to them, that Prince *Arthur* never knew her Carnally, and inſiſted much on it; and ſaid many others were aſſured of it. But on the contrary, *Bedingfield* urged very fully all the Probabilities that were to the contrary: And ſaid, that whatever ſhe ſaid on that Subject, it was little believed, and it ſeemed not credible. The Tragedy of Queen *Anne* followed ſoon after this: It broke out on the Firſt of *May* 1536, but it ſeems it was concerted before; for a Parliament was ſummoned, at leaſt the Writs were teſted the 27th of *April* before.

Meteren Hiſt. des Pays bas L. 1. F. 20. There is a long Account of her Sufferings given by *Meteren*, in that Excellent Hiſtory that he wrote of the Wars in the *Netherlands*, which he took from a full Relation of it, given by a *French* Gentleman, *Criſpin*, who was then in *London*, and as *Meteren* relates the Matter, wrote without Partiality. He begins it thus. "There "was a Gentleman who blamed his Siſter for ſome Lightneſs that "appeared in her Behaviour: She ſaid the Queen did more then ſhe "did; for ſhe admitted ſome of her Court to come into her Chamber "at undue Hours: And named the Lord *Rochford*, *Norris*, *Weſton*, "*Brereton*, and *Smeton* the Muſician: And ſhe ſaid to her Brother, "that *Smeton* could tell much more: All this was carried to the King.

When the Matter broke out on the Firſt of *May*, the King who loved *Norris*, ſent for him, and ſaid, if he would confeſs thoſe Things with which the Queen was charged, he ſhould neither ſuffer in his Perſon, nor his Eſtate; nor ſo much as be put in Priſon: But if he did not confeſs, and were found Guilty, he ſhould ſuffer the Extremity of the Law. *Norris* anſwered, he would much rather Die than be guilty of ſuch Falſhood: That it was all Falſe, which he was ready to juſtify in a Combat againſt any Perſon whatſoever: So he was ſent with the reſt to the *Tower*: The Confeſſion of *Smeton* was all that was brought againſt the Queen: He, as was believ'd, was prevailed on to accuſe her: Yet he was condemned contrary to the Promiſe that had been made him: But it was pretended that his Crime was, that he had told his Suſpicions to others, and not to the King: and when it was alledg'd that one Witneſs was not ſufficient, it was anſwered that it was ſufficient. He adds that the Queen was try'd in the *Tower*; and that ſhe defended her Honour, and Modeſty, in ſuch a way, as to ſoften the King (for ſhe knew his Temper) by ſuch Humble Deportment, to Favour her Daughter. She was brought to her Trial without having any Advocate allow'd her; having none but her Maids about her. A Chair was ſet for her, and ſhe looked to all her Judges with a chearful Countenance, as ſhe made her Curtſies to them, without any Fear: She behaved

her ſelf as if ſhe had been ſtill Queen: She ſpoke not much in her own Defence; but the Modeſty of her Countenance pleaded her Innocence, much more than the Defence that She made; ſo that all who ſaw or heard her, believed her Innocent. Both the Magiſtrates of *London*, and ſeveral others who were there, ſaid, they ſaw no Evidence againſt her; only it appear'd, that they were reſolv'd to be rid of her. 1536.

She was made to lay aſide all the Characters of her Dignity: Which She did willingly; but ſtill proteſted her Innocence. When She heard the Sentence, that She was to be beheaded, or burnt, She was not terrified; but lifted up her Hands to God, and ſaid; "O "Father! O Creator! Thou, who art the Way, the Truth, and "the Life; thou knoweſt that I have not deſerved this Death. And turning her ſelf to her Judges, (her Uncle, the Duke of *Norfolk*, being the Lord High Steward) She ſaid, "My Lords, I will "not ſay that your Sentence is unjuſt; nor preſume, that my Opi-"nion ought to be preferred to the Judgment of you all. I believe "you have Reaſons, and Occaſions of Suſpicion and Jealouſy, upon "which you have condemned me: But they muſt be other, than "thoſe that have been produced here in Court; for I am entirely "innocent of all theſe Accuſations; ſo that I cannot ask Pardon "of God for them. I have been always a Faithful and Loyal Wife "to the King. I have not, perhaps, at all times ſhewed him that "Humility and Reverence, that his Goodneſs to me, and the Honour "to which he raiſed me, did deſerve. I confeſs, I have had Fan-"cies and Suſpicions of him, which I had not Strength nor Diſ-"cretion enough to manage: But God knows, and is my Witneſs, "that I never failed otherwiſe towards him: And I ſhall never con-"feſs any other, at the Hour of my Death. Do not think that "I ſay this, on Deſign to prolong my Life: God has taught me "to know how to Die; and he will fortify my Faith. Do not "think that I am ſo carried in my Mind, as not to lay the Honour "of my Chaſtity to Heart; of which I ſhould make ſmall Account "now in my Extremity, if I had not maintained it my whole Life "long, as much as ever Queen did. I know, theſe my laſt Words "will ſignify nothing, but to juſtifie my Honour and my Chaſti-"ty. As for my Brother, and thoſe others, who are unjuſtly con-"demned, I would willingly ſuffer many Deaths, to deliver "them: But ſince I ſee it ſo pleaſes the King, I muſt willingly bear "with their Death, and ſhall accompany them in Death, with this "Aſſurance, that I ſhall lead an Endleſs Life with them in Peace. She ſaid all this, and a great deal more: And then, with a modeſt Air, She roſe up, and took Leave of them all. Her Brother, and the other Gentlemen, were executed firſt. "He exhorted thoſe "who ſuffered with him, to Die without Fear; and ſaid to thoſe "that were about him, that he came to Die, ſince it was the "King's Pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo. He exhorted all Perſons, "not to truſt to Courts, States and Kings, but in God only. He "had deſerved a heavier Puniſhment for his other Sins; but not "from the King, whom he had never offended. Yet he prayed "God to give him a long, and a good Life. With him, all the reſt "ſuffer'd a Death, which they had no way deſerved. *Mark Smeton*

"only

1536. " only confeſſed, he had deſerved well to die: Which gave Occaſion " to many Reflections.

" When the Queen heard, how her Brother and the other Gentle- " men had ſuffered, and had ſealed her Innocence with their own " Blood; but that *Mark* had confeſs'd, he deſerved to die; She broke " out into ſome Paſſion, and ſaid; Has he not then clear'd me of " that publick Shame he has brought me to? Alas! I fear, his Soul " ſuffers for it, and that he is now puniſhed for his falſe Ac- " cuſation. But for my Brother, and thoſe others, I doubt not, but " they are now in the Preſence of that Great King, before whom I " am to be To-morrow.

It ſeems, that Gentleman knew nothing of the Judgment, that paſſed at *Lambeth*, Annulling the Marriage: For it was tranſacted ſecretly. It could have no Foundation, or Colour, but from that Story mention'd in *Cavendiſh*'s Life of *Wolſey*, of the Lord *Percy*'s Addreſſes to her. He was now examined upon that: But it will appear from his Letter to *Cromwell*, that he ſolemnly purged both Himſelf and Her, from any Precontract; being examined upon Oath by the Two Archbiſhops: And that he received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſome of the King's Council that were Learned in the Spiritual Law; aſſuring them by his Oath, and by the Sacrament that he had received, and intended to receive, that there was never any Contract, or Promiſe of Marriage, between Her and Him. This he wrote on the 13th of *May*, Four Days before the Queen's Execution; which will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 49.

This ſhews plainly, that She was prevailed on, between Fear and Hope, to confeſs a Precontract, the Perſon not being named.

The *French* Gentleman gives the ſame Account of the Manner of her Death, and of her Speech, that all the other Writers of that Time do. " When She was brought to the Place of Execution, with- " in the *Tower*, he ſays, her Looks were Chearful; and She never " appeared more Beautiful, than at that Time. She ſaid to thoſe about " her, Be not ſorry to ſee me die thus; but pardon me from your " Hearts, that I have not expreſſed to all about me, that Mildneſs " that became me; and that I have not done that Good, that was " in my Power to do. She prayed for thoſe who were the Procu- " rers of her Death. Then, with the Aid of her Maids, She undreſ- " ſed her Neck with great Courage, and ſo ended her Days.

This long Recital I have tranſlated out of *Meteren*; for I do not find it taken Notice of by any of our Writers. I leave it thus, without any other Reflections upon it, but that it ſeems all over credible.

Thevet, a *Franciſcan* Fryar, who, for 17 or 18 Years, had wandred up and down *Europe*, to prepare Materials for his Coſmography, (which he publiſhed in the Year 1563,) ſays, that many *Engliſh* Gentlemen aſſured him, that King *Henry* expreſſed great Repentance of his Sins, being at the Point of Death; and, among other Things, of the Injury and the Crime committed againſt Queen *Anne Bullen*, who was falſly accuſed, and convicted of that which was

Coſmog. L. 16.

was laid to her Charge. It is true, *Thuanus* has very much diſgraced that Writer, as a vain and ignorant Plagiary: But he having been of the Order that ſuffered ſo much for their Adhering to Queen *Katherine*, is not to be ſuſpected of Partiality for Queen *Anne*. We muſt leave thoſe Secrets to the Great Day. 1536.

It may be eaſily believed, that both the Pope and the Emperor, as they were glad to be freed from the Obligation they ſeemed to be under to protect Queen *Katherine*, ſo Queen *Anne*'s Fall, gave them a great deal of ill-natured Joy. The Pope, upon the firſt News of her Diſgrace, ſent for *Caſſali*, expreſſing a great deal of Pleaſure upon the Queen's Impriſonment; and, at the ſame time, ſpoke very honourably of the King. "He hoped, upon theſe Emergents, all "Matters would be brought to a good Agreement; and that the "King would reconcile himſelf to the See, by which he would be- "come the Arbiter of all *Europe*. He told *Caſſali*, that he knew "how good an Inſtrument he was in Pope *Clement*'s Time; and "what Pains he took, both with the Pope and the Emperor, to "prevent the Breach. He added, That the Naming of *Fiſher* to "be a Cardinal, was ſo preſſed on him, that he could not decline "it. He deſired, *Caſſali* would try, how any Meſſenger that he "might ſend to the King, would be received: For, as ſoon as he "knew that, he would ſend one immediately. Of all this, *Caſſali* wrote an Account to the King.

At the ſame Time, *Pace* gave him an Account of a long Converſation he had with the Emperor on the ſame Subject: For he was *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14.

then the King's Ambaſſador in that Court. "The Emperor excuſed "his Adhering to his Aunt, whom he could not in Honour for- "ſake: But at the ſame time, he ſaid, he abhorred the Pope's Bull, "for Depoſing the King; and he was ſo far from any Thoughts of "Executing it, that he commanded it to be ſuppreſſed in his Domi- "nions: Nor did he encourage, as was ſuſpected, the King of *Scot- "land* to undertake to execute it. He imputed the Breach that "had been made between him and the King, to the *French* King; "who, he ſaid, was like an Eel in a Man's Hand, ready to forſake "him, *and even to renounce God, who, he believed, had given him "over to a Reprobate Mind.* He was reſolved now to return to his "Old Friendſhip with the King, and he would not hearken to Inti- "mations given him by the Agent of *France*, that the King had "poiſoned his Aunt. He preſſed him to Legitimate the Princeſs "*Mary*. He might do that, without Owning the Lawfulneſs of "the Marriage; which was a Point, in which he would ſtir no "more. She was born in a Marriage in Fact, and *bona fide*; and "in many Caſes, in which Marriages had been diſſolved, yet the Legi- "timacy of the Iſſue was often ſecured.

Of all this *Pace* gave the King an Account; and preſſed, with ſome Vehemence, the Legitimating the Princeſs. The Emperor was then going to *Rome*; ſo King *Henry* intended to join *Caſſali* with *Pace*, in his Embaſſy to the Emperor. *Pace* begged that might not be done; expreſſing a great Averſion to him, as being a baſe and a perverſe Man. It is plain, *Pace* preſſed the King much, to think of being reconciled to the Pope. Cardinal *Ghinucci* offered *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14.

1536. his Service again to the King with Expreſſions full of Zeal. *Grandvill* alſo entered with *Caſſali* upon the ſame Subject: But *Caſſali* wrote to the King, that he did not at all meddle in that Matter. The Emperor went to *Rome*, and *Pace* followed him thither. The King ſent a Diſpatch to *Pace*, which will be found in the Collection: Telling him of the Motion that the Emperor's Ambaſſador made to him for returning to the old Friendſhip with their Maſter: They alſo made him ſome Overtures in order to it. Firſt, The Emperor would be a Mean to reconcile him to the Biſhop of *Rome*: He alſo hoped that the King would contribute towards the War againſt the *Turk*; and that ſince there was an old Defenſive League between them, and ſince it ſeemed that the *French* King intended to invade the Dutchy of *Milan*, he expected the King would aſſiſt him according to that League.

Paper-Office. Coll. Numb. 50.

The King anſwered that coldly.

To all this the King anſwered, "That the Interruption of their "Friendſhip proceeded from the Emperor, who had made him ill "Returns for the Services he had done him. For he pretends he "made him firſt King of *Spain*, and then Emperor: When the Em- "pire was at his Diſpoſition, he had furniſhed him with Money; ſo "that he ought to thank the King only for all the Honour he was ad- "vanced to: But in lieu of that, he had ſhewed great Ingratitude to "the King, and had not only contemned his Friendſhip, but had ſet "on all the ill Uſage he had met with from the Biſhop of *Rome*; "which, as he underſtood, he owed chiefly to him: Yet ſuch was "the King's Zeal for Concord among Chriſtian Princes, and ſuch "was his Nature, that he could continue his Diſpleaſure againſt no "Man, when the Cauſe of it was once removed: So if the Emperor "would deſire him to forget all that was paſſed, and would purge "himſelf of all particular Unkindneſs to him, he would be willing to "return to their old Friendſhip: But he having received the Injuries, "would not ſue for a Reconciliation, nor treat upon the Foot of the "old Leagues between them, till the Reconciliation ſhould be firſt "made, and that without any Conditions: When that was done, he "would anſwer all his reaſonable Deſires.

He refuſes any Treaty with the Pope.

"But as for the Biſhop of *Rome*, he had not proceeded on ſuch "ſlight Grounds, that he could in any ſort depart from what he had "done: having founded himſelf on the Laws of God, of Nature, "and Honeſty, with the Concurrence of his Parliament. There "was a Motion made to him from that Biſhop for a Reconciliation, "which he had not yet embraced, nor would he ſuffer it to be com- "paſſed by any other Means: And therefore he would not take it in "good part, if the Emperor would inſiſt in that Matter, for the Satiſ- "faction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, that was his Enemy; or move "him to alter that, which was already determined againſt his Au- "thority. When there was a General Peace among Chriſtian Prin- "ces, he would not be wanting to give an Aid againſt the *Turk*; "but till the Friendſhip between the Emperor and him was quite "made up, he would treat of nothing with Relation to the King of "*France*: when that was done, he would be a Mediator between "them. This was the Anſwer given to the Emperor's Ambaſſador;

" which was communicated to *Pace*, that in Caſe he had any Diſ- 1536.
" courſe with the Emperor on the Subject, he ſhould ſeem only to
" have a General Knowledge of the Matter, but ſhould talk with
" him ſuitably to theſe Grounds; encouraging the Emperor to pur-
" ſue what he had begun, and extolling the King's Nature and Cou-
" rage, with his Inclination to ſatisfy his Friends, when he was
" not too much preſſed: That would hurt and ſtop good Purpoſes:
" And he Orders him to ſpeak with *Grandvel* of it, of whom it
" ſeems he had a good Opinion, and that he ſhould Repreſent to the
" Emperor the Advantage that would follow, on the Renewing their
" Old Friendſhip, but not to Clog it with Conditions; for what-
" ever the King might be afterwards brought to upon their Friend-
" ſhip, when made up, the King would not ſuffer it to be loaded
" with them: For the King had ſuffered the Injury: But he was
" ordered to ſay all this, as of himſelf, and *Pace* was ordered to go
" to Court and put himſelf in *Grandvel*'s way, that he might have
" Occaſion to enter upon theſe Subjects with him. Thus that Mat-
ter was put in a Method; ſo that in a little Time, the Friendſhip
ſeemed to be entirely made up.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The King would never hearken to a Reconciliation with the Pope. On the contrary, he went on in his Deſign of Reforming Matters in *England*. In the Convocation, in the Year 1536, *Cromwell* came and demanded a Place as the King's Vicar-General; the Archbiſhop aſſigned him the Place next above himſelf: On the 21ſt of *June*, the Archbiſhop laid before the Houſe the Sentence Definitive of the Nullity of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, which *Cromwell* deſired they would approve: It was approv'd in the Upper-Houſe, and ſent down to the Lower, in which it was alſo approved. On the 23d of *June*, the Prolocutor with the Clergy, offered a Book to the Upper-Houſe, in which they ſet forth a Collection of many Ill Doctrines that were publickly preached within the Province: On the 28th of *June*, the Confirmation of the Decree concerning the King's laſt Marriage was ſubſcribed by both Houſes. On the 11th of *July*, the Book concerning the Articles of Faith, and the Ceremonies, was brought in by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and was ſigned by both Houſes. Theſe were alſo ſigned by the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Dureſme*. On the 20th of *July*, the Biſhop of *Hereford*, brought another Book containing the Reaſons why the King ought not to appear in a Council, ſummoned by the Pope to meet at *Mantua*: This was likewiſe agreed to, and ſubſcribed by both Houſes. I have nothing New to add to the Account I have given in my Hiſtory of the other Proceedings in Matters of Religion this Year; in which no Convocation ſate at *York*. There are ſeveral Draughts of theſe Articles that are in ſeveral Places corrected by the King's own Hand: Some of the Corrections are very long and very material: Of theſe only it was that I meant, and not of the engroſſed, and ſigned Articles themſelves, when I ſaid they were corrected by the King; as I have been miſunderſtood.

Pole made a Cardinal.

By theſe Steps it appearing clearly, that the King had no Thoughts of a Reconciliation with *Rome*, the Pope on his Part reſolved to create him as much Trouble as he could. *Pole* had been ſent over

1536. from *England* to *Paris*, while the Suit of Divorce was in dependance: He was particularly recommended by the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, in one of his Letters to *Montmorency*, as a Perſon of great Hopes, and much favoured by the King: He came after that to *England*: For he tells himſelf that he was in *England*, while the Point of the *Supreme Headſhip* was in Debate. He ſays he was then abſent, which ſhews that at that Time he was contented to be ſilent in his Opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppoſe what was doing. He was afterwards ſuffered to go and ſettle at *Padua*, where the Gravity of his Deportment, that was above his Age, and the Sweetneſs of his Temper, made him be very much conſidered. He was ſtill ſupported from *England*, whether only out of his Deanry of *Exeter*, or by any farther ſpecial Bounty of the King's, is not certain. In ſeveral Letters from *Padua*, he acknowledges the King's Bounty and Favour to him, and in one he deſires a farther Supply. He being commanded by the King to do it, wrote over his Opinion concerning his Marriage: The King ſent it to *Cranmer* before his being ſent out of *England*: For that Faithful and Diligent Searcher into the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, Mr. *Strype*, has publiſhed the Letter that he wrote upon it; the Year is not added, but the Date being the 13th of *June*, it muſt be before he was ſent out of *England*, this being writ before he was conſecrated; for he ſubſcribes *Cranmer*, and upon his Return he was conſecrated long before *June*. It is Written to the Earl of *Wiltſhire*: He mentions *Pole*'s Book, and commends both the Wit and Eloquence of it very highly: He thinks if it ſhould come abroad, it would not be poſſible to ſtand againſt it. *Pole*'s chief Deſign in it, was to perſuade the King to ſubmit the Matter wholly to the Pope. In it,

He Wrote Firſt againſt the Divorce.

" He ſet forth the Trouble that might follow upon the Diverſity " of Titles to the Crown, of which the Wars upon the Titles of " *Lancaſter* and *York*, had given them a ſad Warning. All that, was " now healed, and therefore Care ſhould be taken not to return to the " like Miſery. He could never agree to the Divorce, which muſt " deſtroy the Princeſſes Title, and accuſe the King of Living ſo long " in a Courſe of Inceſt, againſt the Law of God and of Nature. " This would increaſe the Hatred the People began to bear to Prieſts, " if it ſhould appear that they had ſo long approved that which is " found now to be unlawful. As for the Opinions of the Univerſities, it was known they were often led by Affections: And that " they were brought over with great Difficulty to declare for the " King: But he ſets in Oppoſition to them, the King's Father and " his Council, the Queen's Father and his Council, and the Pope " and his Council: It could not be expected that the Pope would " condemn the Act of his Predeceſſor, or conſent to the Abridging " his own Power, and do that which would raiſe Sedition in many " Kingdoms, particularly in *Portugal*. He next ſhews the Empe- " ror's Power, and the Weakneſs of *France*, that the prohibiting our " Trade to the *Netherlands* would be very ruinous, and that the " *French* were never to be truſted: They never kept their Leagues " with us: For neither do they Love us, nor do we Love them: " And if they find their Aid neceſſary to *England*, they will charge " it with intolerable Conditions. This is the Subſtance of that Letter.

ter. So that at this Time *Pole* wrote only to perſuade the King by Political Conſiderations to ſubmit wholly to the Pope's Judgment. The Matter reſted thus for ſome Time: But when the Breach was made, and all was paſt reconciling, then *Cromwell* wrote to him by the King's Order, to declare his Opinion with relation to the King's Proceedings. Upon this Reaſon only he wrote his Book, as he ſet forth in a Paper of Inſtructions given to One to be ſhewed to the King, which will be found in the Collection. In which he writes, *Coll. Numb.* 51.

1536.

" That he thinks if it had not been for that, he had never meddled " in the Matter, ſeeing ſo little hope of Succeſs; and that he had " Reaſon to think that what he ſhould write, would not be acceptable. " They had ſent unto him from *England* the Books Written on the " contrary Part: But he ſaid he found many Things ſuppreſſed in " theſe; and all the Colours that could be invented were ſet upon " untrue Opinions. Beſides, what had followed was grievous, both " in the Sight of God, and in the Judgment of the Reſt of *Chriſten-* " *dom*: And he apprehending yet worſe Effects, both with Relation " to the King's Honour, and the Quiet of his Realm, did upon that " reſolve to employ all the Wit and Learning that God had given " him, to ſet forth the Truth, and to ſhew the Conſequences of thoſe " ill Opinions. He hoped that what he Wrote on the Subject would " fully ſatisfy all that would Examine it. This he did, in hopes " that the King, whom God had ſuffered to be carried away from " thoſe Opinions that he had the Honour formerly to maintain, " would yet by the Goodneſs of God, be recovered out of the Evil " Way he was then in.

Sends one to the King with Inſtructions.

" There were great Inſtances of ſuch Caſes in Scripture; in the " Stories of *David* and *Solomon*; the laſt particularly, who not- " withſtanding the Gift of Wiſdom, that he had from God, yet fell " into Idolatry. So though the King was not fallen from the true " Doctrine of Chriſt, yet as *David*, when in a State of Sin, was by " a Prophet ſent to him from God, brought to true Repentance, and " reſtored to the Favour of God, he hoped he might by the Grace " of God, be an Inſtrument to bring the King to a better Senſe of " Things. Therefore as he ſet himſelf to ſtudy the Matter, ſo he " prayed earneſtly to God to manifeſt the Truth to him: In which " he hoped God had heard his Prayer; ſo he looked for good Succeſs: " And that he might make the King apprehend the Danger he was in, " both fron his own People, who hated Innovations in Religion, " and from other Princes, to whoſe Honour it belongs to defend the " Laws of the Church againſt all other Princes who impugn them; " and to make the King more Apprehenſive of this, he had as in his own " Perſon brought out all ſuch Reaſons as might provoke People, or " Princes againſt him, ſince he was departing from the Courſe in " which he had begun. Theſe Reaſons, if read a-part, without " conſidering the Purpoſe he propoſed, of repreſenting to the King " the Danger to which he was expoſing himſelf, might make one " think, from his Vehemence of Style in that Argument, that he " was the King's greateſt Enemy; but the Reading the whole Book " will ſhew what his Intent in it all was. The Book was too long " for the King to read: He deſired therefore that he would order

1536. " ſome Learned and Grave Man to read it, and to declare his Judgment " upon it, he being bound with an Oath of Fidelity, firſt to God, " and then to the King, to do it without Affection on either Part. " He named particularly *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, whom he " eſteemed both for Learning and Fidelity to the King, above any " other he knew. After *Tonſtall* had firſt examined it, the King " may refer the further Examination of it, to ſuch other Perſons " as he may think fit; he was likewiſe reſolved that his Book ſhould " never come abroad, till the King had ſeen it.

" In theſe Inſtructions, he mentions that he had ſent another Book " to the King concerning his Marriage: But in that he was diſap- " pointed of his Intent, as the Bearer might inform him, who knew " the whole Matter. And ſince God had detected her, who had " been the Occaſion of all the Errors the King had been led into; " it was the Hope of all who loved him, that he would now come " to himſelf, and take that Diſcovery as a Favourable Admonition " of God, to conſider better the Opinion of thoſe who diſſented " from that Marriage, as ſeeing the great Diſhonour and Danger " like to follow on it: He wiſhed the King would look on that, as " a Warning to return to the Unity of the Church: He was ſenſible " nothing but the Hand of God could work a Change in the King's " Mind; and when that ſhould be done, it would be one of the " greateſt Miracles that the World had ſeen for ſome Ages; with " the moſt ſignal Characters of God's Favour to him, which would " deliver him out of thoſe very great Dangers, that muſt follow upon " the Meeting of a General Council: Whereas, if he ſhould Return " to the Unity of the Church, no Prince would appear in that " Aſſembly with more Honour, than would be paid to him, if he " ſhould return: Even his Fall would prove a Great Bleſſing to the " Church, and tend to the Reformation of the Whole, and to the " Manifeſtation of the Honour of God. It would then appear that " God had ſuffered him to Fall, to make him Riſe with more Honour, " to the greater Wealth, not only of his own Realm, but of the " Whole Church beſides: With theſe Inſtructions he ſent a private " Letter to *Tonſtall* from *Venice*, dated *Corpus Chriſti* Eve.

When his Book againſt the Divorce came firſt to *England*; he was written to in the King's Name, to come over and explain ſome Things in it: But he excuſed himſelf; he pretended the Love of Retirement, and of the Noble Company with whom he lived, in an eaſy and learned Friendſhip there. Eloquence ſeems to be that which he turned his Mind moſt to; for in every Thing he wrote, there is much more of Declamation, than of Argument.

Tonſtall being thus provoked by *Pole*, and commanded by the King, wrote a full and ſolid Anſwer to him, on the 13th of *July* 1536, which will be found in the Collection. " He acknow- " ledged he had received his Letter, as the King has received his " Book; in which he deſired that the Reading of it, might be firſt " put upon him: He had read both his Letter and his long Book, " and was truly grieved as he read it: Seeing both the Vehemence " of his Stile, and that he miſrepreſented the whole Matter, as if the " King was ſeparated from the Church. He wiſhed he had rather " written

Coll. Numb. 52.

Tonſtall writes Copiouſly to him.

" written his Opinion privately, in a Letter to the King, which 1536.
" might have been read by himſelf, and not have enlarged him-
" ſelf into ſo great a Book, which muſt be communicated and ſeen
" of others. What Stupidity was it, to ſend ſo long a Book ſo great
" a Way, by one who might have miſcarried in it; and ſo the Book
" might have fallen into the Hands of thoſe, who would have pub-
" liſhed it to the Slander of the King and the Kingdom; but moſt
" of all to his own; for his Ingratitude to the King, who had
" bred him up to that Learning, which was now uſed againſt him;
" in whoſe Defence he ought to have ſpent both Life and Learn-
" ing; he adviſed him to burn all that he had written on that Subject.
" There appeared a Strain of Bitterneſs in his whole Book, that was
" very unbecoming him. He then comes to the Argument, to ſhew
" that the King, by the Title of the *Supreme Head*, did not Separate
" himſelf, nor his Church, from the Unity of the whole Body.
" The King did not take upon him the Office belonging to Spi-
" ritual Men, the Cure of Souls; nor that which belongs to
" the Prieſthood, to Preach the Word of God, and to Miniſter the
" Sacraments. He knew what belonged to his own Office as King,
" and what belonged to the Prieſt's Office: No Prince eſteemed Spi-
" ritual Men, that were given to Learning and Virtue, more than he
" did. His only Deſign was, to ſee the Laws of God ſincerely
" preached, and Chriſt's Faith (without Blot) obſerved in his King-
" dom; and to reduce his Church out of the Captivity of Foreign
" Powers, (formerly uſurped) into the State in which all the
" Churches of God were at the Beginning; and to put away all the
" Uſurpations, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had, by undue Means, ſtill
" increaſed, to their own Gain, but to the Impoveriſhing of the
" Kingdom. By this he only reduced Things to the State that is
" moſt conformable to the Ancient Decrees of the Church, which
" the Biſhops of *Rome* ſolemnly promiſe to obſerve at their Creation;
" naming the Eight General Councils; and yet any one, who conſi-
" ders to what a State the Biſhop of *Rome* had brought this Church,
" would ſoon ſee the Diverſity between the one and the other. At
" *Venice* he might ſee theſe in *Greek*, and they were already publiſh-
" ed in *Latin*: By which it appears, that the Biſhop of *Rome* had
" then no ſuch Monarchy, as they have uſurped of late.

" If the Places of Scripture which he quoted did prove it, then
" the Council of *Nice* did err, which decreed the contrary; as the
" Canons of the Apoſtles did appoint, that the Ordinations of Prieſts
" and Biſhops, ſhould be made in the Dioceſe, or at moſt in the
" Province, where the Parties dwelt. Theſe Canons *Damaſcen* reck-
" oned Holy Scriptures. Nor can it be thought, that the Four Ge-
" neral Councils would have acted as they did, if they had under-
" ſtood thoſe Paſſages of Scripture as he did: For above a Thou-
" ſand Years after Chriſt, the Cuſtoms were very contrary to thoſe
" now uſed by the Biſhop of *Rome*: When the Blood of Chriſt and of
" the Martyrs were yet freſh, the Scriptures were then beſt under-
" ſtood, and the Cuſtoms then uſed in the Church muſt be better,
" than thoſe that thro' Ambition and Covetouſneſs had crept in ſince.
" Light and Darkneſs may be as well reconciled, as the worldly Au-
" thority

1536. "thority in Temporal Things now uſurped can be proved from "St. *Peter*'s Primacy, in preaching the Word of God. He refers "him to Cardinal *Cuſa*'s Second Book, in which he will find this well "opened.

"The King going to reform his Realm, and to reduce Things to "the State in which they were ſome Ages ago, did not change, but "eſtabliſh thoſe Laws, which the Pope profeſſes to obſerve. If "other Princes did not follow him in this, that ought not to hinder "him from doing his Duty: Of which he did not doubt to be able "to convince him, if he had but one Day's Diſcourſe with him, "unleſs he were totally addicted to the contrary Opinion. *Pole* "wrote in his Letter, that he thought the King's Subjects were of- "fended at the Aboliſhing the Pope's Uſurpations: But *Tonſtall* aſ- "ſured him, that in this he was deceived: For they all perceived "the Profit that the Kingdom had by it; ſince the Money that was "before carried over to *Rome*, was now kept within the Kingdom. "That was become a very heavy Burden, and was daily increaſing: "So that if the King would go about to reſtore that aboliſhed Au- "thority, he would find it more difficult to bring it about, than any "Thing he had ever yet attempted in his Parliament. *Pole* had in "his Letter blamed *Tonſtall*, for Fainting in his Heart, and not Dy- "ing for the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. He aſſures him, "that from the Time that he underſtood the Progreſs of Chriſt's "Church from the Beginning, and had read Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, "he never thought to ſhed one Drop of Blood in that Cauſe. None "of thoſe who had Advantage by that Authority, would have loſt "One Penny of it, to have ſaved his Life: He would do what in "him lay, to cool that Indignation, which his Book had raiſed in "the King. He deſired him, not to fancy (from what he ſaw in "*Italy*, or in other Places) that it was ſo from the Beginning. The "Councils would ſhew him, how that Dignity was given to the Bi- "ſhops of *Rome*. The Emperors called thoſe Councils; and the "Dignity that was given him, was, becauſe he was Biſhop of the "Chief City of the Empire, and not for the Sake of *Peter* and "*Paul*. The Second Place was given to the Patriarchs of *Conſtan- "tinople*; becauſe it was called *New Rome*, and ſo was preferred to "*Antioch*, where St. *Peter* was Biſhop, and where the Name *Chriſti- "an* firſt began; and it was ſet before *Alexandria*, and likewiſe be- "fore *Jeruſalem*, where Chriſt himſelf preached, and the whole "College of the Apoſtles after him, and where *James* (the Bro- "ther of our Lord) was the Firſt Biſhop. That Church was called "the Mother of all the Churches. It was alſo ſet before *Epheſus*, "where St. *John* wrote his Goſpel, and died. To all theſe, *Conſtan- "tinople* was preferred: And yet this was fully ſettled in the Coun- "cil of *Calcedon*, where 630 Biſhops met. If he read the *Greek* "Fathers, *Baſil*, *Nazianzen*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Damaſcen*, he would "find no Mention of the Monarchy of the Biſhop of *Rome*. He "deſired him to ſearch further into this Matter, and he would find, "that the Old Fathers knew nothing of the Pope's late Pretenſions "and Uſurpations. He wiſhed therefore, that he would examine "theſe Matters more carefully, which had been ſearched to the Bot-

" tom in *England*. The Learned Men here thought, they were " happily delivered from that Captivity, to which he endeavours to " bring them back. He tells him, how much all his Family and " Kindred would be troubled, to ſee him ſo much engaged againſt " his King and his Country; whom he might comfort, if he would " follow the Eſtabliſhment of the whole Church of God from the " Beginning, and leave the Supporting of thoſe Uſurpations. He " refers him to *Gregory* the Great, who wrote againſt the Biſhop of " *Conſtantinople*, pretending to the like Monarchy. St. *Cyprian* " writes, that all the Apoſtles were of Equal Dignity and Authori- " ty; which is alſo affirmed by the Third Council of *Epheſus*. He " begged him, not to truſt too much to himſelf, but to ſearch fur- " ther, and not to fancy he had found out the Matter already. He " prayed him to burn all his Papers; and then he hoped, he ſhould " prevail with the King, to keep that which he had ſent him, ſe- " cret. He concludes all, with ſome very kind Expreſſions. 1536.

This I have abſtracted the more fully, for the Honour of *Tonſtal*'s Memory; who was a Generous and Good-natured, as well as a very Learned Man. *Pole*, who was then a Cardinal, wrote no Anſwer to this, that I could find; but he wrote a long Letter, either to *Tonſtall*, or to *Cromwell*, in *May* 1537, which will be found in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 53.

Cardinal *Pole*'s Vindication of himſelf.

" He begins it with Proteſtations of his Affection to the King, " tho' the King had taken ſuch Methods to deſtroy him, as the like " had not been known in *Chriſtendom*, againſt any who bore the " Perſon that he did at that Time; yet he ſtill maintained a deep " Affection to him. He knew well all that the King had deſigned " againſt him; which, if he bore the King a ſmall Degree of Love, " would be enough to extinguiſh it. He ſaw, what he did for the " beſt, was taken in the worſt Part. He did not think it poſſible, " that the King ſhould conceive ſuch Indignation againſt him, as to " break thro' all Laws, to have him in his Hands, and to diſturb " the whole Commerce of Nations, rather than not have his Perſon " in his Power. But he ſtill adhered to his former Principles, and " maintained his former Temper towards the King.

" Upon his Arrival in *France*, he was aſhamed to hear, that he " coming thither in the Quality of an Ambaſſador and Legate, one " Prince ſhould deſire of another to betray him, and deliver him " into the King's Ambaſſador's Hands. He himſelf was ſo little di- " ſturbed at it, when he firſt heard of it, that he ſaid upon it, (to " thoſe who were about him) that he never felt himſelf in full " Poſſeſſion of being a *Cardinal*, till then; ſince he was now perſe- " cuted by him, whoſe Good he moſt earneſtly deſired. Whatever " Religion Men are of, if they would obſerve the Law of Nati- " ons, the Law of Nature alone would ſhew how abominable it " was to grant ſuch a Requeſt; and it was no leſs to deſire it. So " that if he had the leaſt Spark of an Alienation from the King, " in him, ſuch Proceedings would blow it up into a Fire. He " might, upon this, be juſtly tempted to give over all Commerce " with the King, and to procure (by all honeſt ways) the Means " to repay this Malignity, by doing him the utmoſt Damage he

1536. " could deviſe: But he did not, for that, abſtain from trying to do " all he could for the King's Honour and Wealth. He acknow- " ledges, that the Biſhop of *Verona* was ſent by him to the Court " of *France*, to intimate, that the Pope (for the Common Good of " *Chriſtendom*) had committed ſome Affairs to him, to treat with " the King. That Biſhop paſſed thro' *Abbeville*, when the Biſhop of " *Wincheſter* and Mr. *Brian* were there: So he could not but won- " der at the King's acting towards him; the whole Deſign of his " Legation being for the King's Honour. Upon which, that Biſhop " deſired to confer with the King's Ambaſſadors, that he might de- " clare to them the whole Truth of the Matter, which was made " known to them. They, it is true, had no Communication with " him; but they ſent their Secretary, after the Biſhop had declared " the Effect of his Legation, as far as it related to the King, to " him.

" It ſeemed viſible to all, that the King (in what he had done " againſt him) was abuſed by falſe Reports, and by the falſe Con- " jectures of ſome; ſo it was hoped, that the Matter being once " cleared, the King would have changed his Mind. All this he " underſtood from the Biſhop of *Verona*, at his Return; and he " readily believed it. That Biſhop had been the King's true Ser- " vant, and had ſhewed (when he was in a Capacity to ſerve him) " the ſincere Love that he bore him. He had been alſo *Pole*'s parti- " cular Acquaintance, ever ſince he came out of *England*. He " would have been ready, if the King had conſented to it, to have " gone and given the King full Satisfaction in all Things. For, the " chief Reaſon of his being ſent into *France*, was, the Pope's in- " tending to gain the King, knowing the Friendſhip that was be- " tween him and the *French* King: So the Biſhop of *Verona* was " thought the fitteſt Perſon to be firſt employed, who had great " Merits on both Kings, for the Services he did them when he " was in Office: And being eſteemed the beſt Biſhop in *Italy*, it " was deſigned that he ſhould accompany *Pole*, as well as he was " ſent before, to prepare Matters for his Coming; which he, out of " his Zeal to do God and the King Service, undertook very willing- " ly; and reſolved to try how he could get Acceſs to the King's " Perſon: So now having fully explained himſelf, he hoped it " would not be thought poſſible, that he had thoſe Deſigns, of " which the King's Proceeding againſt him, ſhewed he ſuſpected " him, (which was, that he came on purpoſe to animate the People " to Rebel.)

" Upon his firſt Coming to *Rome*, he acquainted the King with " the Deſign, for which he was called thither: And he had ac- " quainted him with the Cauſe of his Legation. Theſe were not " the Methods of thoſe who intended to rebel. He had then pro- " cured a Suſpenſion, in Sending forth the Cenſures, which at that " time might have cauſed the King more Trouble: And he ſent " his Servant purpoſely, with the Offer of his Aſſiſtance, anima- " ting the chief of his Kindred to be conſtant in the King's Ser- " vice. If any had been at *Rome*, in the King's Pay, to do him

" Service, they could not have done more than he did; ſo that ſome 1536.
" began to reflect on him, becauſe he would not conſent to diverſe
" Things that would have been uneaſy to him: And particularly becauſe
" he had the Cenſures in his Hand, which were inſtantly called for
" by thoſe who had Authority to command: Yet they never came
" into their Sight, nor Hands: And to that Hour he had ſuppreſſed
" them. He would go no further in juſtifying himſelf, if what he
" had already done, and what the Biſhop of *Verona* had ſaid, did not
" do it; he would take no more Pains to clear himſelf: He rather
" thought he had been Faulty in his Negligence in theſe Matters.
" But there was nothing now left to him, but to pray for the
" King.

This Letter is dated from *Cambray*: For upon the King's Meſſage to the *French* King, to demand him to be delivered into his Hands, *Francis* could in no Sort hearken to that, but he ſent to him not to come to his Court, but to go with all convenient Haſt out of his Dominions: So he retired to *Cambray*, as being then a peculiar Sovereignty. The King had a Spy, one *Throckmorton*, ſecretly about *Pole*, who gave him an Account of all his Motions: But by what appears in his Letters, he was faithfuller to *Pole*, than to the King. He wrote over that his Book was not then printed, tho' he had been much preſſed to print it by thoſe at *Rome*; but he thought that would hinder the Deſign he went on: He believed indeed that upon his returning thither, he would print it. He tells him that he had procured the Suſpenſions of the Pope's Cenſures, to try if it was poſſible to bring about a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King: And he adds, that many wonder'd to ſee the King ſo ſet againſt him, and that he did not rather endeavour to gain him. He intended to have ſtay'd ſome time in *Flanders*, but the Regent ſent him Word, that it could not be ſuffered: He went from thence and ſtay'd at *Leige*, where he was on the 20th of *Auguſt*; for the laſt of *Throckmorton*'s Letters is dated from thence: He writes that the Pope had called him back, having named him to be his Legate to the Council that he had ſummoned to meet the firſt of *November*; though it did not meet for ſome Years after this.

The King was reconciled to the Emperor.

The King's Indignation upon his Advancement, and for his Book, carried him to a great many Exceſſes, and to many Acts of Injuſtice and Cruelty: Which are not the leaſt among the great Blemiſhes of that Reign. *Wyat* was then the King's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court; and by his Letters to the King, it ſeems an entire Confidence was then ſettled with the Emperor. The King preſſed him much not to ſuffer the Pope to call a Council, but to call one by his own Authority, as the *Roman* Emperors had called the firſt General Councils: And he propoſed *Cambray* as a proper Place for one; but he ſaw he was not like to ſucceed in that, ſo he only inſiſted on a Promiſe that the Emperor had made, that nothing ſhould be done in the Council, whenſoever it ſhould meet, againſt him or his Kingdom.

1536. The King was at this Time under much Uneaſineſs, for he ſent both *Bonner* and *Hains* over to the Emperor's Court in Conjunction: The one ſeems to have been choſen to talk with thoſe who were ſtill Papiſtical; and the other had great Credit with the Proteſtants. Our Merchants in the Emperor's Dominions were threatned by the Inquiſition, for owning the King as *Supreme Head* of this Church: Upon this *Wyat* complained to the Emperor. But tho' that Prince vindicated the Inquiſitors, he promiſed to give ſuch Order, that they ſhould not be diſquieted on that Account: And when *Pole* applied himſelf to the Emperor, for leave to affix the Pope's Bull againſt the King in his Dominions, he would not conſent to it.

Dr. *London*'s violent Proceedings in ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries.

I cannot add much to what I wrote formerly, with Relation to the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries. There are many Letters ſetting forth their Vices and Lewdneſs, and their Robberies, and other ill Practices; and now that the Deſign againſt them was apparent, many run beyond Sea with their Plate and Jewels: But I muſt not conceal that the Viſitors give a great Character of the Abbeſs and Nuns of *Polleſworth* in *Warwickſhire*. Dr. *London*, that was afterwards not only a Perſecutor of Proteſtants, but a Suborner of falſe Witneſſes againſt them, was now zealous even to Officiouſneſs in ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries. In the firſt Commiſſion that the Viſitors had, there was no Order for the removing *Shrines*, yet he in his Zeal exceeding his Commiſſion, had done it; upon which, *Leighton*, *Legh*, and others, deſired that a Commiſſion for that end might be ſent after them, of the ſame Date with their other Commiſſions. He alſo ſtudied to frighten the Abbeſs of *Godſtow* into a Reſignation. She was particularly in *Cromwell*'s Favour; ſo ſhe wrote a plain honeſt Letter to him, complaining of "*London*'s Violence, of his Artifices to bring "them to ſurrender their Houſe, and of the great Charge he put "them to: She writes that ſhe did not hear that any of the King's "Subjects had been ſo handled: She inſiſts on her Care to maintain "the Honour of God, and all Truth and Obedience to the King; "therefore ſhe was poſitively reſolved not to ſurrender her Houſe, "but would be ready to do it whenſoever the King's Command or his "ſhould come to her, and not till then". The great Character I gave of that Abbeſs and of her Houſe in my former Work, made me reſolve to put this Letter in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 54.

Cheats in Images diſcovered.

The Diſcovery of the Cheats in Images, and Counterfeits in Relicks, contributed not a little to their Diſgrace. Among theſe, that of *Boxley* in *Kent* was one of the moſt enormous. Among the Papers that were ſent me from *Zurick*, there is a Letter written by the Minister of *Maidſtone* to *Bullinger* that deſcribes ſuch an Image, if it is not the ſame, ſo particularly, that I have put it in the Collection. He calls it the Dagon of *Aſhdod*, or the *Babyloniſh Bell*. It was a Crucifix that ſometimes moved the Head, the Eyes, and did bend the whole Body to expreſs the receiving of Prayers; and other Geſtures were at other Times made to ſignify the rejecting them; great Offerings were made to ſo wonderful an Image. One *Partridge* ſuſpected the Fraud, and removing the Image, he ſaw the whole Impoſture evidently. There were ſeveral Springs within it, by which all theſe Motions were made. This was brought to *Maidſtone*, and expoſed to all the People there:

Coll. Numb. 55.

there: From thence it was carried to *London*, and was ſhewed to the King and all his Court, and in their Sight all the Motions were performed. The King's Council ordered a Sermon to be preached at *Paul*'s, by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, where this Impoſture was fully diſcovered, and after Sermon it was burned. 1536.

Upon the Birth of Prince *Edward* Matters had a better Face: Here was an undoubted Heir born to the Crown; it is true the Death of his Mother did abate much of the Joy, that ſuch a Birth would have given otherwiſe: For as ſhe was of all the King's Wives much the beſt beloved by him, ſo ſhe was a Perſon of that humble and ſweet Temper, that ſhe was univerſally beloved on that Account; ſhe had no Occaſion given her to appear much in Buſineſs, ſo ſhe had no ſhare of the Hatred raiſed by the King's Proceedings, caſt on her. I fell into a Miſtake from a Letter of Queen *Elizabeth*'s, directed to a big-bellied Queen, which I thought belonged to her; but I am now convinced of my Error, for it was no doubt written to Queen *Katherine*, when, after King *Henry*'s Death, ſhe was with Child by the Lord *Seimour*. Upon Queen *Jane*'s Death, *Tonſtall* being then at *York* wrote a Conſolotary Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection. It runs upon the common Topicks of Affliction, with many good Applications of Paſſages of Scripture, and ſeems chiefly meant to calm and cheer up the Kings Spirit. But the Truth is, King *Henry* had ſo many groſs Faults about him, that it had been more for *Tonſtall*'s Honour, and better ſuited to his Character, if he had given Hints to awaken the King's Conſcience, and to call upon him to examine his Ways, while he had that Load upon his Mind: Either *Tonſtall* did not think him ſo faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty himſelf, in being ſo wanting to his Duty, upon ſo great an Occaſion.

Tonſtall wrote a Conſolotary Letter to the King when Q. *Jane* died. *Coll. Numb.* 58.

But I go on to more publick Concerns. The King had by the Lord *Cromwell* ſent Injunctions to his Clergy in the Year 1536, as he did afterwards in the Year 1538, which I have printed in my former Work. There was alſo a circular Letter written to the Biſhops; that to the Biſhop of *Hereford* is dated on the 20th of *July* 1536, requiring them to execute an Order abrogating ſome Holy-Days: The Numbers of them were ſo exceſſively great, and by the People's Devotion, or rather Superſtition, were like to increaſe more and more, which occaſion'd much Sloth and Idleneſs, and great Loſs to the Publick in Time of Harveſt. It ſets forth that the King, with the Advice of the Convocation, had ſettled Rules in this Matter. The Feaſt of the Dedication of Churches was to be held every Year, on the firſt *Sunday* in *October*; but the Feaſt of the Patron of the Church was to be no more obſerved. All the Feaſts from the firſt of *July* to the 29th of *September*, and all Feaſts in Term-time, were not to be obſerved any more as Holy-Days, except the Feaſts of the Apoſtles, of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, and of St. *George*, and thoſe Days in which the Judges did not uſe to ſit; but the Four Quarter Days were ſtill to be offering Days. Theſe are all the publick Injunctions ſet out about this Time. But after the firſt of theſe, I find the Biſhops ſent likewiſe Injunctions to their Clergy round their Dioceſſes, of which a Copy printed at that time was given me by my worthy Friend Mr. *Tate* Miniſter

Reg. Heref. Fox fo. 9.

Orders about Holy-Days.

of

1536. of *Burnham*. The firſt was by *Lee*, Archbiſhop of *York*, which will be found in the Collection.

Injunctions given by the Archbiſhop of *York*. *Coll. Numb.* 57.

" He begins with the aboliſhing of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Autho-
" rity, and the declaring the King to be *ſupreme Head* of the Church
" of *England*, as well Spiritual as Temporal. He requires his Cler-
" gy to provide a New Teſtament in *Engliſh* or *Latin* within Forty
" Days, and to read daily in it Two Chapters before Noon, and
" Two in the Afternoon: And to ſtudy to underſtand it: He re-
" quires them alſo to ſtudy the Book to be ſet forth by the King, of
" the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man. They were to procure it as
" ſoon as it ſhould be publiſhed, that they might read Two Chap-
" ters a Day in it, and be able to explain it to their People. All
" Curates and Heads of Religious Houſes were required to repeat the
" *Lord's Prayer* and the *Ave Maria* in *Engliſh*, and at other Parts of
" the Service, the *Creed* and the *Ten Commandments* alſo in *Engliſh*,
" and to make the People repeat theſe after them: And none were to be
" admitted to the Sacrament at *Eaſter* that could not repeat them.
" All Pariſhes were required within Forty Days to provide a great
" Bible in *Engliſh*, to be chained to ſome open Place in the Church;
" that ſo all Perſons might reſort to it, and read it for their Inſtru-
" ction. Prieſts were forbidden to haunt Taverns or Ale-Houſes,
" except on neceſſary Occaſions. The Clergy that did belong to any
" one Church were required to eat together, if they might, and not
" to play at prohibited Games, as Cards and Dice. They muſt diſ-
" courage none from reading the Scriptures, exhorting them to do it
" in the Spirit of Meekneſs, to be edified by it: They were required
" to read to their People the Goſpel and Epiſtle in *Engliſh*. Rules
" are ſet for the frequent Uſe of Sermons, proportioned to the Va-
" lue of their Livings: Generally Four Sermons were to be preach-
" ed every Year, one in a Quarter. None were to preach but ſuch
" as had Licence from the King or the Archbiſhop: nor were they
" to worſhip any Image, or kneel or offer any Lights or Gifts to it:
" But they might have Lights in the Rood-Loft, and before the Sacra-
" ment, and at the Sepulchre at *Eaſter*. They were to teach the
" People that Images are only as Books to ſtir them up to follow
" the Saints; and tho' they ſee God the Father repreſented as an
" Old Man, they were not to think that he has a Body, or is like a
" Man. All Images to which any reſort is uſed, are to be taken away.
" They are to teach the People that God is not pleaſed with the
" Works done for the Traditions of Men, when Works commanded
" by God are left undone; That we are only ſaved by the Mercy of
" God, and the Merits of Chriſt; That our good Works have their
" Virtue only from thence. They were to teach the Midwives the
" Form of Baptiſm: They were to teach the People to make no pri-
" vate Contracts of Marriage, nor to force their Children to marry
" againſt their Wills; and to open to their People often the Two great
" Commandments of Chriſt, *To love God and our Neighbour*, and to
" live in Love with all People, avoiding Diſſention.

The reſt relate to the Matters ſet out in the King's Injunctions.

There

There were about the ſame Time Injunctions given by *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, for his Dioceſs, which will be found in the Collection. He begins with a Charge to his Clergy, "To inſtruct the People concerning the King's being the *Supreme Head* "of the Church of *England*, by the Word of God; and that the "Authority uſed by the Biſhop of *Rome*, was an Uſurpation: Then "he charges them to procure by the next *Whitſontide* a whole Bible "in *Latin*, and alſo one in *Engliſh*; and to lay it in the Church, that "every Man may read in it. Then with relation to the reading the "Scriptures, and the having Sermons every Quarter, he gives the "ſame Charge that *Lee* gave. As to their Sermons he charges them "that they be preached purely, ſincerely, and according to the true "Scriptures of God. He next requires them in the King's Name, and as "his Miniſter, to teach the People to ſay the Lord's Prayer, and the "*Ave*, and the Creed in *Engliſh*: And that four Times in every "Quarter they declare the Seven deadly Sins, and the Ten Com-"mandments. And becauſe ſome out of Neglect of their Curates, "and to hide their lewd Livings, uſed in *Lent* to go to Confeſſion to "Friars, or other religious Houſes; He orders that no Teſtimonial "from them ſhall be ſufficient to admit one to the Sacrament, called "by him *God's Board*; till they confeſs to their own Curates, unleſs upon ſome urgent Conſiderations of Conſcience, that he or "his Deputies ſhould grant a ſpecial Licence for it: That on Holy-"Days, and in Time of Divine Service, none ſhould go to Ale-"Houſes or Taverns, nor be received in them: And that the Cler-"gy ſhould go in ſuch decent Apparel, that it might be known that "they were of the Clergy. 1536. Injunctions by the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. *Collect. Numb.* 58.

The laſt of the Injunctions in that Book was given by *Shaxton*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, for his Dioceſe, which will be found in the Collection; they are ſaid to be given out from the Authority given him by God and the King. *Collect. Numb.* 59.

"He begins with Proviſion about Non-Reſidents and their Curates, "in particular, That no *French* or *Iriſh* Prieſt that could not perfectly ſpeak the *Engliſh* Tongue ſhould ſerve as Curates. They "were at high Maſſe to read the Goſpel and Epiſtle in the *Engliſh* "Tongue, and to ſet out the Kings Supremacy and the Uſurpations "of the Biſhop of *Rome*: The ſame Rules are given about Sermons "as in the former, with this Addition, that no Friar nor any Perſon in a Religious Habit be ſuffered to perform any Service in the "Church: As for reading the New Teſtament, the Clergy are only "required to read one Chapter every day, and that every Perſon having a Cure of Souls, ſhould be able to repeat without Book, the "Goſpels of Saint *Mathew*, and Saint *John*, with the Epiſtles to "the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, and *Galatians*, and the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Canonical Epiſtles: ſo that every Fortnight they "ſhould learn one Chapter without Book, and keep it ſtill in their "Memory: and that the 28th Chapter of *Deuteronomy* ſhould be "read every Quarter inſtead of the general Sentence. He gave the "ſame Orders that the others gave about Images, Pilgrimages, and "other Superſtitious Obſervances, and for teaching the People the "Elements of Religion in *Engliſh*; only he does not join the *Ave-* And by the Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

Maria

1536. " *Maria* with the *Lord*'s *Prayer* as the others did: he requires the " Curates to exhort the People to beware of ſwearing and blaſphe- " ming the name of God, or of Chriſt's precious body and blood, " and of many other Sins then commonly practiſed; he diſpenſed " with all Lights before Images, and requires that every Church " ſhould be furniſhed with a Bible: he complains of the practiſe of " putting falſe Relicks on the People, naming ſtinking Boots, mucky " Combs, ragged Rockets, rotten Girdles, Locks of Hair, Gobbets " of Wood, as Parcells of the Holy Croſs, of which he had per- " fect Knowledge; beſides the ſhameful Abuſe of ſuch as were per- " haps true Relicks: he prays and commands them by the Authority " he had under God and the King, to bring all theſe to him, with " the Writings relating to them, that he might examine them, pro- " miſing to reſtore ſuch as were found to be true Relicks, with an " Inſtruction how they ought to be uſed: he alſo orders, that the " *Ave* and Pardon Bell, that was wont to be Tolled three times a " Day ſhould be no more Tolled.

Theſe are all the Injunctions ſet out by Biſhops, that have fallen into my Hands. Here I muſt acknowledge a very great Omiſſion made in the Copy that I printed in the Collection added to my Hiſtory, of a very important Paragraph, in the Second Injunction given by *Cromwell*, which will be found in the Collection, together with an Omiſſion of a few Lines in Biſhop *Boner*'s Injunctions that were paſſed over by a very common Fault of Tranſcribers, who ſeeing the Words that they wrote laſt in the Original before them, do not enough examine, whether the ſame Words did not belong to a new Portion, and ſo write on without examining whether there are no Words or Lines between the one and the other: for *Churches and Chapels* being in two different Places, my Copier wrote on from the Second Place, and ſo omitted ſome Lines between the one and the other. I am very ready to correct what I find amiſs; I rather wonder that there is no more occaſion for ſuch Reprehenſions. I I know I am not to expect either Favour or common Civility from ſome Hands. I *do not enter* into Faults of a worſe Nature made by others, but am very ready to confeſs my own when I ſee them.

Collect. Numb. 60.

I find nothing to add with Relation to the Diſſolution both of the ſmaller and the greater Monaſteries; nor of the ſeveral Riſings that were in different Parts of the Kingdom; only I find a Letter of *Greſham* then Lord Mayor of *London*, I ſuppoſe he was the Father of him who was the famed Benefactor to the City; but by the Letter which will be found in the Collection, his Father was the occaſion of procuring them a much greater Benefaction. He begun his Letter with a high Commendation of the King, who as he writes, " Seemed to be the choſen Veſſel of God, by whom the true Word " of God was to be ſet forth, and who was to reform all Enormi- " ties." This encouraged him, being then the Mayor of the City of " *London*, to inform him, for the Comfort of the Sick, Aged, and " Impotent Perſons, that there were Three Hoſpitals near or within " the City, that of Saint *George*, Saint *Bartholomew*, and Saint " *Thomas*, and the New Abbey on *Tower-Hill*, Founded and En- " dowed with great Poſſeſſions, only for the helping the Poor, and " Impotent,

Greſham's Letter to the King for putting the great Hoſpitals in the Hands of the City. *Collect. Numb.* 61.

" Impotent, who were not able to help themſelves ; and not for the 1538.
" Maintenance of Canons, Prieſts, and Monks, to live in Pleaſure,
" not regarding the Poor who were lying in every Street, offending
" all that paſt by them: he therefore prayed the King, for the Re-
" lief of Chriſt's true Images, to give Order that the Mayor of *Lon-*
" *don* and the Aldermen, may from thenceforth have the Diſpoſition
" and Rule both of the Lands belonging to thoſe Hoſpitals, and of
" the Governours and Miniſters which ſhall be in any of them. And
" then the King would perceive that whereas now there was a ſmall
" Number of Canons, Prieſts, and Monks in them for their own
" Profit only ; that then a great Number of Poor and Indigent Per-
" ſons ſhould be maintained in them, and alſo freely healed of their
" Infirmities : And there ſhould be Phyſicians, Surgeons, and Apo-
" thecaries with Salaries to attend upon them : And thoſe who were
" not able to Labour ſhould be relieved ; and Sturdy Beggars not
" willing to Labour, ſhould be puniſhed : In doing this, the King
" would be more Charitable to the Poor, than his Progenitor *Edgar*
" the Founder of ſo many Monaſteries ; or *Henry* the IIId, the Re-
" newer of *Weſtminſter* ; or *Edward* the IId, the Founder of the
" New Abbey ; or than *Henry* the Vth, the Founder of *Sion* and
" *Shene*, and he would carry the Name of the Protector and Defen-
" der of the Poor.

How ſoon after this, theſe Hoſpitals were put under the Government of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, will be found in the Hiſtory of the City. But I thought this Letter was worth remembring, ſince probably it gave the riſe to the putting thoſe Endowments in ſuch Hands, in which to the Wonder of all the World, we ſee ſuch a Noble Order and Management, and ſuch an overflowing of Charity, that not only all their Revenues are with the exacteſt Management poſſible applied wholly to the Uſe for which they were deſigned ; but that the particular Bounties of thoſe whom God has bleſſed in the City, that are Annually given to them, do far exceed their ſtated Revenues: Of which there are Yearly Accounts publiſhed in *Eaſter* Week ; and which no doubt do bring down great Bleſſings on the City, and on all its Concerns.

The King grows ſevere againſt the Reformers.

The State of Matters began to turn about this Time. The King ſeemed to think that his Subjects owed an entire Reſignation of their Reaſons and Conſciences to him, and as he was highly offended with thoſe who ſtill adhered to the Papal Authority ; ſo he could not bear the haſte that ſome were making to a further Reformation, before or beyond his Allowance. So in the End of the Year 1538, he ſet out a Proclamation on the 16th of *November*.

In it he prohibits the Importing of all Foreign Books, or the Printing of any at Home without Licence, and the Printing any Parts of Scripture, till they were examined by the King and his Council, or by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe: He condemns all the Books of the *Anabaptiſts* and *Sacramentaries* ; and appoints thoſe to be puniſhed who vented them: He requires that none may argue againſt the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, under the Pain of Death, and of the Loſs of their Goods ; and orders all to be puniſhed who did diſuſe any Rites or Ceremonies not then aboliſhed ; yet he orders

1538. them to be obſerved without Superſtition only as Remembrances, and not to repoſe in them a truſt of Salvation by obſerving them. He requires that all married Prieſts ſhould no more Miniſter the Sacrament, but be deprived, with further Puniſhment or Impriſonment at the King's Pleaſure. What follows after this, will be found in the Collection; for the Whole did not ſeem ſo important as to be all ſet down, it being very long. *Coll. Numb. 62.*

" The King conſidering the ſeveral " Superſtitions and Abuſes, which had crept into the Hearts of ma- " ny of his unlearned Subjects, and the Strife and Contention which " did grow among them, had often commanded his Biſhops and " Clergy to preach plainly and ſincerely, and to ſet forth the true " Meaning of the Sacramentals and Ceremonies, that they might be " quietly uſed for ſuch Purpoſes as they were at firſt intended: But " he was informed that this had not been executed according to his " Expectation; therefore he requires all his Archbiſhops and Biſhops " that in their own Perſons they will preach with more diligence, " and ſet forth to the People the Word of God, ſincerely and purely; " declaring the difference between the Things commanded by God, " and theſe Rites and Ceremonies commanded only by a lower Autho- " rity, that they may come to the true Knowledge of a lively Faith " in God, and Obedience to the King, with Love and Charity to " their Neighbours. They were to require all their Clergy to do " the ſame, and to exhort the People to read and hear with ſimpli- " city; and without Arrogance, avoiding all Strife and Contention; " under the Pain of being puniſhed at the King's Pleaſure.

He ſets out a long Proclamation.

To this he adds, " That it appearing clearly that *Thomas Becket*, " ſometime Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did ſtubbornly withſtand " the Laws eſtabliſhed againſt the Enormities of the Clergy, by King " *Henry* the IId, and had fled out of the Realm into *France*, and to the " Biſhop of *Rome* to procure the Abrogating of theſe Laws: From " which there aroſe great Troubles in the Kingdom. His Death, " which they untruly called his *Martyrdom*, happ'ned upon a Reſcue " made by him, upon which he gave opprobrious Words to the " Gentlemen who councelled him to leave his Stubbornneſs, and not to " ſtir up the People who were riſen for that Reſcue: He called one " of them Bawd, and pulled *Tracy* by the Boſom almoſt down to " the Pavement of the Church: Upon this Fray one of the Com- " pany ſtruck him, and in the Throng he was ſlain. He was Cano- " nized by the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe he had been a Champion to " maintain his uſurped Authority, and a Defender of the Iniquity " of the Clergy. The King with the Advice of his Council, did " find there was nothing of Sanctity in the Life, or Exterior Con- " verſation of *Becket*, but that he rather ought to be eſteemed a " Rebel and a Traytor; therefore he Commands that he ſhall be " no more eſteemed, nor called a *Saint*, that his Images ſhall be " every where put down; and that the Days uſed for his Feſtival " ſhall be no more obſerved, nor any Part of that Service be read, " but that it ſhould be razed out of all Books. Adding, that the " other Feſtivals already abrogated, ſhall be no more ſolemnized, " and that his Subjects ſhall be no more blindly abuſed to commit " Idolatry, as they had been in Time paſt. I will leave it to our

An Account ſet forth by the King of *Thomas Becket.*

" Hiſtorians to compare the Account here given of *Becket*'s Death, 1538.
" with the Legends, and to examine which of them is the
" trueſt.

Soon after this, the King underſtanding that very malicious Reports were ſpread about the Country, poyſoning Peoples Minds, with relation to every Thing that the King did; ſaying they would be made pay for every Thing they ſhould Eat; and that the Regiſter of Births and Weddings was ordered for this End, that the King might know the Numbers of his People, and make Levies; and ſend, or rather Sell, them to Foreign Service: He ſent in *December* following, a Circular Letter to all the Juſtices of *England*, which will be found in the Collection; in which, after he had ſet forth his good Intentions for the Wealth and Happineſs of his People; He added, " That
" he hoped that all the Maintainers of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authori-
" ty, ſhould have been ſearched for, and brought to Juſtice: And
" that all the Inventors and Spreaders of falſe Reports to put the
" People in Fear, and ſo to ſtir them up to Sedition, ſhould have
" been apprehended and puniſhed; and that Vagabonds and Beggars
" ſhould have been corrected according to the Letters he had former-
" ly written to them. The King underſtood that ſundry of them
" had done their Duty ſo well, that there had been no Diſquiet 'till
" of late; that ſome malicious Perſons had by Lies and falſe Rumours
" ſtudied to ſeduce the People; and that among theſe, ſome Vicars
" and Curates were the Chief: Who endeavoured to bring the Peo-
" ple again into Darkneſs; aud they did ſo confuſedly read the
" Word of God and the King's Injunctions, that none could under-
" ſtand the true Meaning of them: They ſtudied to wreſt the King's
" Intentions in them to a falſe Senſe: For whereas the King had
" ordered Regiſters to be kept for ſhewing Lineal Deſcents, and the
" Rights of Inheritance; and to diſtinguiſh Legitimate Iſſue from
" Baſtardy; or whether a Perſon was born a Subject or not; they
" went about ſaying that the King intended to make new Examina-
" tions of Chriſt'nings, Weddings, and Burvings, and to take away
" the Liberties of the Kingdom: For preſerving which, they pre-
" tended *Thomas Becket* died: Whereas his Oppoſition was only to
" the puniſhing of the Offences of the Clergy, that they ſhould not
" be *juſtified* by the Courts and Laws of the Land, but only at the
" Biſhops Pleaſure: And here the ſame Account is given of *Becket*,
" that was in the former Proclamation. *Becket* contended with the
" Archbiſhop of *York*, and pretended that when he was out of the
" Realm, the King could not be Crowned by any other Biſhop,
" but that it muſt be ſtayed till he returned. Theſe deteſtable Li-
" berties were all that he ſtood for, and not for the Common-Wealth
" of the Realm. To theſe Lies they added many other Seditious
" Devices, by which the People were ſtirred up to Sedition and
" Inſurrection, to their utter Ruin and Deſtruction, if God had not
" both enabled him by Force to ſubdue them, and afterwards move
" him mercifully to pardon them. The King therefore required
" them in their ſeveral Precincts, to find out ſuch Vicars and Curats
" as did not truly declare the Injunctions, and did confuſedly mum-
" ble the Word of God, pretending that they were compelled to

A Circular Letter to the Juſtices of Peace.

Coll. Numb. 63.

1539. " read them; but telling their People to do as they did, and live " as their Fathers had done, for the Old Faſhion was the beſt. " They were alſo required to ſearch out all the Spreaders of Sedi- " ous Tales; and to apprehend and keep them in Priſon till the " Juſtices came about to try them; or till the King's Pleaſure was " known: The Juſtices of the Peace are very earneſtly preſſed to " do their Duty diligently, and to take care likewiſe that the In- " junctions and Laws againſt the *Anabaptiſts* and *Sacramentaries* be " duly executed: Dated from *Hampton-Court* in *December*, in the 30th Year of his Reign.

New Significations put on the Old Rites.

Among the Letters ſent me from *Zurick*, I find one written to *Bullinger* on the 8th of *March* in the Year 1539, by *Butler*, *Elliot*, *Partridge* and *Traheron*, who had ſtudied for ſome time under him, and were then entertained either by the King, or by *Cromwell*. They write, " That many of the Popiſh Ceremonies were " ſtill tolerated; but that New Significations were put on them: " Such as, That the *Holy Water* did put us in mind of the Blood " of Chriſt, that cleanſed us from all Defilement: The *Pax* was " carried about, to repreſent our Reconciliation to God thro' Chriſt. " Things that were viſible, were thought fit to be preſerved, to " prevent Commotions. This Correction quieted ſome: But tho' " theſe Rites were ordered to be kept up, till the King ſhould think " fit to alter them, yet ſome preached freely againſt them, even be- " fore the King.

Many Executions in *England*.

" They write of the Executions of the Marquis of *Exeter*, the " Lord *Montague*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, who (they add) was a " very brave, but a very vicious Man. Sir *Nic. Cary*, who had " been before a Zealous Papiſt, when he came to ſuffer, exhorted " all People to read the Scriptures carefully. He acknowledged, " that the Judgments of God came juſtly upon him, for the Hatred " that he formerly bore to the Goſpel. The King was threatned " with a War, in which the Emperor, the *French*, and the *Scots* " would attack him on all Hands; but he ſeemed to deſpiſe it, and " ſaid, He ſhould not ſleep the leſs quietly for all theſe Alarms. " The Day after theſe Tidings were brought him, he ſaid to his " Counſellors, that he found himſelf moved in his Conſcience, to " promote the Word of God more than ever. Other News came " at the ſame time, which might perhaps raiſe his Zeal, that Three " *Engliſh* Merchants were burnt in *Spain*; and that an Indul- " gence was proclaimed to every Man, that ſhould kill an *Engliſh* " Heretick. *Cranmer* was then very buſy, inſtructing the People, " and Preparing *Engliſh* Prayers, to be uſed inſtead of the *Litany*. I can go no further on theſe Subjects; but muſt refer to my Hiſtory for the Proſecution of theſe Matters.

Tom. XIV. from p. 717, to p. 736. and from p. 748, to p. 758.

The Foundation of the New Biſhopricks was now ſettled. *Rymer* has given us the Charters, by which they were founded and endowed. The New Modelling of ſome Cathedrals, was next taken Care of. I have found the Project that *Cromwell* ſent to *Cranmer*, for the Church of *Canterbury*. It was to conſiſt of a Provoſt, 12 Prebendaries, 6 Preachers, 3 Readers, one of Humanity and of *Greek*, another of Divinity and of *Hebrew*, and another of Humanity and

The Project of Endowing the Church of *Canterbury*.

Divi

Divinity in *Latin*, a Reader of Civil Law, another of Phyſick; 20 Students in Divinity, 10 to be kept at *Oxford*, and as many at *Cambridge*: 60 Scholars were to be taught Grammar and Logick, with *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*: For theſe, a Schoolmaſter and an Uſher were to have Salaries. Beſides theſe, there were 8 Petty-Canons, 12 Singing-Men, 10 Choriſters, a Maſter of the Children, a Goſpeller, an Epiſtler, and 2 Sacriſtans: 2 Butlers, 2 Cooks, a Caterer, 2 Porters; 12 Poor Men, a Steward, and an Auditor: In all 162 Perſons, with the Salaries for every one of theſe; together with an Allowance, for an Annual Diſtribution of 100 *l.* for the Poor, and as much for Reparations; and 40 *l.* for Mending the High-Ways: In all, amounting to about 1900 Pound a Year. This I have put in the Collection, together with the Letter that *Cranmer* wrote to *Cromwell*, after he had conſider'd of it: Tho' perhaps this will ſharpen ſome Men's Spirits, that are of late much ſet to decry him, as much as any of his other Opinions may have done: But a true Hiſtorian, that intends to glean all that he could find relating to thoſe Tranſactions, muſt neither alter, nor ſuppreſs Things, but ſet them out as he finds them. 1539. Diſapprov'd by *Cranmer*. *Coll. Numb.* 64. *Coll. Numb.* 65.

" He propoſes the Altering the Prebendaries to ſomewhat more " uſeful: For, by all the Experience that he had, the Prebendaries " had ſpent their Time in much Idleneſs, and their Subſtance in ſu- " perfluous Living; ſo he thought it was not a State to be main- " tained. Commonly they were neither Learned, nor given to " teach others, but only good Vianders: They look to be the " Chief, and to bear the whole Rule; and by their ill Example, " the younger Sort grew idle and corrupt. The State of Prebenda- " ries hath been ſo exceſſively abuſed, that when Learned Men have " been advanced to that Poſt, they deſiſted from their Studies, and " from all Godly Exerciſes of Preaching and Teaching: Therefore, " he wiſhed, the very Name of a Prebendary might be ſtruck out of " the King's Foundations. The firſt Beginning of them was good, " ſo was that of Religious Men; but both were gone off from " their firſt Eſtate; ſo, ſince the one is put down, it were no great " matter, if both ſhould periſh together. For, to ſay the Truth, it " is an Eſtate which St. *Paul* did not find in the Church of Chriſt; " and he thought, it would ſtand better with the Maintainance of the " Chriſtian Religion, that there were in their ſtead 20 Divines, at 10 *l.* " a-piece, and as many Students of the Tongues, and of *French*, at " 10 Marks a-piece. And indeed, if there was not ſuch a Number " there reſident, he did not ſee for what uſe there were ſo many " Lectures to be read; for the Prebendaries could not attend, for " the making of good Cheer; and the Children in Grammar, were " to be otherwiſe employed. He, in particular, recommends Doctor " *Crome* to be Dean.

But I leave this invidious Subject, to turn now to a very Melancholly Strain. The King had thrown off all Commerce with the *Lutherans* in *Germany*; and ſeemed now to think himſelf ſecure in the Emperor's Friendſhip: Yet he did not break with *France*; tho' on many Occaſions he complained, both of the Ingratitude and Inconſtancy of that King. The Dutchy of *Milan* ſeemed to be the The Deſign of the Six Articles.

1539. Object of all his Deſigns; and he was always turned, as the Proſpect of that ſeemed to come in View, or to go out of Sight. All the King's Old Miniſters ſtill kept up his Zeal for his admired Book *Of the Sacraments*, moſt particularly for that Article of Tranſubſtantiation; ſo that the Popiſh Party prevailed with him, to reſolve on Setting up the Six Articles, which (they ſaid) would quiet all Men's Minds; when they ſaw him maintain that, and the other Articles, with Learning and Zeal. It is certain, he had read a great deal, and heard and talk'd a great deal more of thoſe Subjects; ſo that he ſeems to have made himſelf a Maſter of the whole Body of Divinity. I have ſeen many Chapters of the *Neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian*, much altered by him, and in many Places ſo interlined with his Hand, that it is not without ſome difficulty that they can be read; for he wrote very ill.

Upon the Carrying the Six Articles, the Popiſh Party were much exalted. This appears by the End of a Letter written to the Ambaſſadors abroad; which will be found in the Collection. It ſets forth, "How the King had ſhewed himſelf in that Parliament ſo "Wiſe, Learned, and Catholick, that no Prince ever did the like: "ſo it was no more doubted, but the Act would paſs. The Biſhops "of *Canterbury*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Rocheſter*, and St. *Da*-"*vid*'s, defended the contrary Side: Yet, in the End, the King "confounded them. The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Winche*-"*ſter*, *London*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, and *Carliſle*, ſhewed themſelves "Honeſt and Learned Men: He writes as one of the Peers, for he "adds, we of the Temporalty have been all of one Opinion. The "Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Privy Seal had been of their ſide. "*Cranmer*, and all the Biſhops came over, only he adds that *Shaxton* "continued a lewd Fool: For this Victory, he writes that all *Eng*-"*land* had reaſon to bleſs God.

Coll. Numb. 66.

The King marries *Anne* of *Cleve*.

Cromwell, though he complied with the King's Humour, yet he ſtudied to gain upon him, and to fix him in an Alliance, that ſhould certainly ſeparate him from the Emperor, and engage him again into a cloſer Correſpondence with *France*, on deſign to ſupport the Princes of *Germany* againſt the Emperor, whoſe uneaſineſs under the Laws and Liberties of the Empire began to be ſuſpected: And all the *Popiſh* Party depended wholly on him. I did in my Second Volume publiſh a Commiſſion to *Cromwell*, thinking it was that which conſtituted him the King's Vicegerent, which I upon reading the Beginning of it, took to be ſo, but that was one of the Effects of the haſte in which I wrote that Work: It does indeed in the Preamble ſet forth, "That the King was then in ſome ſort to exerciſe that "Supreme Authority he had over the Church of *England*, under "Chriſt; ſince they who pretended that that Authority ought to be "lodged with them, did purſue their own private Gains, more than "the Publick Good; and had brought Matters, by the Negligence "of their Officers, and their own ill Example, to ſuch a State, that "it might be feared, that Chriſt would not now own his own "Spouſe. Therefore, ſince the Supreme Authority over all Per-"ſons, without any Difference, was given him from Heaven, he

Vol. II. Coll. Rec. Book 2. N. 29. p. 303. Commiſſion to *Cromwell*, to Conſtitute ſome under him.

" was bound (as much as he could) to cleanſe the Church from all 1530.
" Briars, and to ſow the Seeds of Virtue in it. Thoſe who before
" exerciſed this Authority, thinking themſelves above all Cenſure,
" had (by their own bad Examples) laid Stumbling-blocks before
" the People. He therefore, deſigning a General Reformation of his
" Kingdom and Church, reſolved to begin with the Fountains; for
" they being cleanſed, the Streams would run clear: But ſince he
" could not be perſonally preſent every where, he had deputed *Tho-*
" *mas Cromwell*, his Principal Secretary and Maſter of the Rolls, to
" be in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes his Vicegerent and Vicar-General;
" with a Power to name others, to be authorized under the Great
" Seal. But he being ſo employ'd in the Publick Affairs of the
" Kingdom, that he could not perſonally diſcharge that Truſt;
" therefore he deputed *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, to execute that Truſt. The
" King being pleaſed with this Deputation, did likewiſe empower
" them to Viſit all Churches, both Metropolitical, Cathedral, and
" Collegiate Churches, Hoſpitals and Monaſteries, and all other
" Places, exempt or not exempt, to correct and puniſh what was
" amiſs in them, by Cenſures of Suſpenſion and Deprivation, to
" give them Statutes and Injunctions in the King's Name, and to hold
" Synods, Chapters or Convocations, ſummoning all Perſons con-
" cerned to appear before them, and preſiding in them, giving them
" ſuch Rules as they ſhall judge convenient: Calling ſuch Cauſes as
" they ſhall think fit from the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, to be judged by
" them; and to force Obedience, both by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures,
" and Fines, and other Temporal Puniſhments: With ſeveral other
Clauſes, of a very extended and comprehenſive Nature. How far
this was put in Practice, does not fully appear to me. It certainly
ſtruck ſo deep into the whole Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, that it
could not be eaſily born. But the Clergy had loſt their Reputation
and Credit; ſo that every Invaſion that was made on them, and
on their Courts, ſeemed to be at this Time acceptable to the Nation;
one Extreme very naturally producing another: For all did acqui-
eſce tamely, in Submitting to a Power that was now in High Exal-
tation, and that treated thoſe that ſtood in its way, not only with
the utmoſt Indignation, but with the moſt rigorous Severity.

But to return to *Cromwell*. He, in Concurrence with the Court of *France*, carried Matters ſo, that the Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleve* was made up: This occaſioned one of the moſt Injuſtifiable Steps in all that Reign. Among the Papers that were ſent me from *Zurick*, there is a long and particular Account of many Paſſages in this Matter, with ſome other Important Tranſactions of this Year, writ by one *Richard Hille*, who writes very ſenſibly, and very piouſly; and he being zealous for a further Reformation, went out of *England* as a Man concerned in Trade, which he purſued only as a juſt Excuſe to get out of the way: But before he went over, he wrote a long Account to *Bullinger* of the Affairs in *England*: He tells him, " That before *Whit-*
" *ſunday* Three Perſons were burned in *Southwark*, becauſe they
" had not received the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, and had denied Tranſub-
" ſtantiation. There was after that one *Collins*, a crazed Man, like-
" wiſe burned, all by *Gardiners* Procurement. A little before *Mid-*

He is in Love with *Katherine Howard*.

ſummer

1539. *ſummer* it began to be whiſpered about, that the King intended a Divorce with *Anne*, who had been married to him above Five Months. It was obſerved that the King was much taken with a Young Perſon, a Niece of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, (whom he afterwards married) *Gardiner* took care to bring them together to his Palace, where they dined once, and had ſome Meetings and Entertainments there. This went on ſome Time before there was any talk of the Divorce: It was indeed believed that there was an ill Commerce between them.

Cromwell's Fall. *Cromwell* was newly made Earl of *Eſſex*: *Bourchier*, in whom that Line was extinct, who had been a ſevere Perſecutor, falling from his Horſe, and breaking his Neck, died without being able to ſpeak one Word. The King gave *Cromwell*, not only his Title, but all that fell to the Crown, by his dying without Heirs: Yet he enjoyed not this long; for in the beginning of *June* he was ſent to the *Tower*: He did not know the ſecret Cauſe of his Fall; it was generally believed it was becauſe he did not flatter the King enough; and that he was againſt the Divorce, as thinking it would neither be for the King's Honour, nor the Good of the Kingdom. Some ſuſpected that his late Advancement, and great Grants, the King had given him, was an Artifice to make People conclude, when they ſaw him diſgraced, after ſuch high Favour, that certainly ſome very black Thing was diſcovered: And it was alſo thought, that the King reſtored to his Son, (who was ſo weak, that he was thought almoſt a Fool,) much of his Fathers Eſtate and Goods, as he made him a Baron in *December*, after his Father's Death) on deſign to make the Father more ſilent, for fear of provoking the King to take from him what he had then given him. Here I ſtop the proſecuting the Reſt of the Letter, till I have added ſomewhat more concerning *Cromwell*.

Rymer. T. 14. He had many Offices in his Perſon; for beſides that he was Lord Vicegerent in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and Lord Privy Seal, he was Lord Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Rymer* has publiſhed the Grants that the King made of thoſe Offices, in which it is ſaid, that they were void upon his Attainder; but which was more, he was the Chief Miniſter, and had the King's Confidence for Ten Years together, almoſt as entirely as Cardinal *Woolſey* had it formerly.

A New Treaty with the *German* Princes. *Mount* had been ſent to *Germany* to preſs a cloſer League Defenſive againſt the Pope, and any Council that he might ſummon: When the Princes did object the Act of the Six Articles, and the Severities upon it: He confeſſed to one of the Electors Miniſters, that the King was not ſincere in the Point of Religion: He had therefore propoſed a double Marriage of the King with *Anne* of *Cleve*, and of the Duke of *Cleve* with the Lady *Mary*: For he ſaid, the King was much governed by his Wives. The Elector of *Saxony*, who had married the other Siſter of *Cleve*, had conceived ſo bad an Opinion of the King, that he expreſſed no heartineſs, neither in the Marriage, nor in any Alliance with *England*: But he yielded to the Importunities of others, who thought the Proſpect of the Advantage from ſuch an Alliance was great.

Cott. Libr. *Titus* B. 1. There are great Remains that ſhew how exact a Miniſter *Cromwell* was; there are laid together many Remembrances of Things, that

1539. Some of *Cromwell's* Memorandums.

he was to lay before the King: They are too ſhort, to give any great Light into Affairs; yet I will mention ſome of them. In one, he mentions the Abbots of *Glaſſenbury* and *Reading*, who were then Priſoners, and were examined. The Witneſſes, with the Council, were ordered to be ſent to *Berkſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*. Mention is made of their Complices, who were to be tried, and to ſuffer with them. To this I muſt add, that in one of the *Zurick* Letters, it is written to *Bullinger*, that Three of the Richeſt Abbots in *England*, had ſuffered, for a Conſpiracy into which they had entred, for Reſtoring the Pope's Authority in *England*.

The Learned Dr. *Tanner* has ſent me the Copy of a Letter, that Three Viſitors wrote to *Cromwell* from *Glaſſenbury*, concerning that Abbot, on the 22d of *September*; but they do not add the Year. It will be found in the Collection, ſigned by *Richard Pollard*, *Thomas Moyle*, and *Richard Layton*. *Collect. Numb.* 67. "They give him an Account of their "Examining the Abbot upon certain Articles. He did not ſeem to "anſwer them clearly; ſo they deſired him, to call to his Memory "the Things which he then ſeemed to have forgot. They ſearched "his Study, and found in it a written Book againſt the King's Di"vorce. They found alſo Pardons, Copies of Bulls, and a print"ed Life of *Thomas Becket*; but found no Letter that was mate"rial. They examined him a Second Time upon the Articles that "*Cromwell* had given them; and ſent up his Anſwer, ſigned by "him, to Court: In which they write, That his Cankered and "Traiterous Heart, againſt the King and his Succeſſion, did appear; "ſo, with very fair Words, they ſent him to the *Tower*. They "found he was but a weak Man, and ſickly. Having ſent him "away, they examined the State of that Monaſtery: They found "in it above 300 *l.* in Caſh; but had not the Certainty of the reſt "of their Plate; only they found a fair Gold Chalice, with other "Plate, hid by the Abbot, that had not been ſeen by the former "Viſitors; of which, they think, the Abbot intended to have made "his own Advantage. They write, That the Houſe was the No"bleſt they had ever ſeen of that Sort: They thought it fit for "the King, and for none elſe. This I ſet down the more particularly, to demonſtrate the Falſity of the extravagant Account that *Sanders* gives of that Matter, as if it had been, without Notice given, that the Abbot was ſeized on, tried and executed, all of a ſudden. But to return to *Cromwell*.

In another Note, he mentions the Determinations made by *Day*, *Heath* and *Thirleby*, of the Ten Commandments, of Juſtification, and of Purgatory. Another is about *Fiſher* and *More*. The Judges Opinion was asked, concerning *More* and the *Nun*. Another is, Whether the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Monk, who wrote the Letter as from Heaven, ſhould be ſent for? In another, that *Bocking* printed the Nun's Book, and took away 500 Copies, but left 200 with the Printer. In another, He propoſed to ſend *Barnes* for *Melanchthon*. In another, He asks, who ſhall be Prolocutor in the Convocation. In another, He propoſes the making Lady *Mary* a Conſiderable Match for ſome Foreign Prince, the Duke of *Orleans*, or ſome other. This is all that I could gather, out of a vaſt Num-

1539. ber of thoſe Notes, which he took of Matters, to move the King in.

The Matters at firſt charged on him, from which he clears himſelf.

Upon *Cromwell*'s Impriſonment, the Comptroller was ſent to him, and he order'd him to write to the King, what he thought meet to be written concerning his preſent Condition: and, it ſeems, with ſome Intimations of Hope. Upon that, *Cromwell* wrote a long Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection. "He be-

Coll. Numb. 68.

"gins it with great Thanks to the King, for what the Comptroller "had ſaid to him. He was accuſed of Treaſon; but he proteſts, "he never once thought to do that which ſhould diſpleaſe him, "much leſs to commit ſo High an Offence. The King knew his "Accuſers: He prayed God to forgive them. He had ever loved "the King, and all his Proceedings: He prays God to confound "him, if he had ever a Thought to the contrary. He had labour-"ed much, to make the King a Great and a Happy Prince; and ac-"knowledges his great Obligations to the King. So he writes, that "if he had been capable to be a Traitor, the greateſt Puniſhment "was too little for him. He never ſpoke with the Chancellor of "the Augmentations (*Baker*) and *Throckmorton* together, but once: "But he is ſure, he never ſpoke of any ſuch Matter," (as, it ſeems, was informed againſt him.) "The King knew what a Man "*Throckmorton* was, with Relation to all his Proceedings: And "what an Enemy *Baker* was to him, God and he knew: The King "knew, what he had been towards him. It ſeems, the King had "advertiſed him of them; but God, who had delivered *Suſan* when "falſly accuſed, could deliver him. He truſted only in God, and "in the King. In all his Service, he had only conſider'd the King; "but did not know that he had done Injuſtice to any Perſon: Yet "he had not done his Duty in all Things; therefore he asked Mer-"cy. If he had heard of Conventicles, or other Offences, he had "for the moſt part revealed them, and made them to be puniſhed, "but not out of Malice. He had meddled in ſo many Things, that "he could not anſwer them all; but of this he was ſure, that he "had never willingly offended: and wherein he had offended, he "humbly begged Pardon. The Comptroller told him, that Four-"teen Days ago the King had committed a great Secret to him, "which he had revealed: He remembred well the Matter, but he "had never revealed it. For, after the King had told him what it "was that he miſliked in the Queen; he told the King, that She "often deſired to ſpeak with him, but he durſt not: Yet the King "bad him go to her, and be plain with her, in declaring his Mind: "Upon which, he ſpake privately with her Lord Chamberlain, de-"ſiring him, not Naming the King, to deal with the Queen to be-"have her ſelf more pleaſantly towards the King; hoping thereby "to have had ſome Faults amended. And when ſome of her "Council came to him, for Licence to the Stranger Maids to de-"part; he did then require them, to adviſe the Queen, to uſe all "Pleaſantneſs with the King. Both theſe Words were ſpoken, be-"fore the King had truſted the Secret to him, on deſign that She "might render her ſelf more agreeable to the King: But after the

"King

" King had truſted that Secret to him, (which it ſeems was his De- 1539.
ſign to have the Marriage diſſolved) he never ſpoke of it, but to the
" Lord Admiral; and that was by the King's Order on *Sunday* laſt;
" who was very willing to ſeek Remedy for the King's Comfort:
" He proteſts he was ready to Die to procure the King Comfort: He
" wiſhes he were in Hell if it was not true. This was all he had
" done, (it ſeems the King thought the Change in the Queen's De-
portment towards him, was the Effect of his diſcovering the Secret of
the King's Purpoſe, and in order to prevent it) but for this he hum-
" bly begs Pardon: He underſtood that it was charged upon him,
" that he had more Retainers about him than the Laws allowed:
" He never retained any, except his Houſhold Servants, but againſt
" his Will: He had been preſſed by many, who ſaid they were his
" Friends, he had retained their Children and Friends, not as Re-
" tainers, for their Fathers and Friends promiſed to maintain them:
" In this, God knows, he had no ill Intent, but begs Pardon if he
" had offended, (for that was repreſented as the gathering a Force
about him to defend himſelf). He concludes he had not behaved
" himſelf towards God and the King, as he ought to have done:
" And as he was continually calling on God for Mercy, for Offences
" committed againſt him, ſo he begs the King's Pardon for his
" Offences againſt him, which were never wilful; and he aſſures
" him he had never a Thought of Treaſon againſt him, either in
" Word or Deed: And he continuud to pray for him and the Prince,
" ending, indeed, with too abject a Meanneſs.

Reflections on the State of Affairs at that Time.

Theſe were all the Particulars that were charged on him upon his Firſt Impriſonment: Other Matters were afterwards added to throw the more load on him; but it ſeems they were not ſo much as thought on or mentioned at firſt: But now I return to the Letter writ to *Zurich*. *Hill* adds, that they heard they once deſigned to burn *Cromwell* as a *Heretick*, and that theſe Conſiderations made him confeſs that he had offended the King. What he ſaid that way at his Execution, was pronounced coldly by him; upon that the Writer runs out very copiouſly, and acknowledges that their Sins had provoked God to bring upon them that great Change that they ſaw in Affairs: They had wholly truſted to the Learning of ſome, and to the Conduct of others: but God by the taking theſe away, was calling on them to turn ſincerely to him, to truſt entirely in him, and to repent with their whole Heart. There was at that Time a great want of Sincere Labourers, ſo that from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and from *South* to *North*, there was ſcarce one Faithful and Sincere Preacher of the Goſpel to be found.

Of the King's Divorce with *Anne* of *Cleve*.

The Act of diſſolving the King's Marriage, did ſet forth that ſome Doubts were raiſed concerning the King's Marriage, which as he writes, was manifeſtly falſe, for no Body thought of any Doubtfulneſs in it: Nor did they pray, as is in the Act, that it might be enquired into: For no Body ſpake of it till the King was reſolved to part with the Queen, that he might be married to Mrs. *Howard*, whom in his bad *Latin* he calls, *Parviſſima Puella*, A very little Girl. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Biſhops, judged ſhe was yet a Virgin, which none that knew the Man could believe. Here again I muſt leave my Letter.

1539. What paſſed in Convocation.

There had been no Convocation for Two Years, for *the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, was prepared by a Commiſſion, given to ſome Biſhops of both Provinces, and to ſome Arch-Deacons, but no Deans were ſummoned with them: A Convocation ſate in both Provinces in *May*, in the Year 1539, to which Abbots and Priors were ſummoned; but though there were Eight Abbots, and Nine Priors, in *Exeter* Dioceſs, yet the Return from thence ſays, there were none in the Dioceſe. I do not know how to reconcile that, with the Abbot of *Taveſtoke*'s ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, as appears by the Journals of that Parliament.

Upon this Occaſion there was a particular Summons for both Provinces, to meet in a National Synod, to judge of the King's Marriage. When I wrote of this in my Hiſtory, I did not at all reflect on the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, that makes Marriage a Sacrament, in which the Two Parties are the Miniſters, who tranſfer their Perſons to one another: And according to the Doctrine of the Neceſſity of the Intention in him that Miniſters the Sacrament, how vile ſoever this Deciſion in the Matter of the King's Marriage may ſeem to be, yet it was a juſt Conſequence from that Doctrine: For without a true, free, and inward Intention, which the King affirmed he had not, the Marriage could be no Sacrament: So that the heavieſt Part of the Shame of that Deciſion falls indeed on that Doctrine. When the News came to *France* of the King's diſſolving his Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleve*, King *Francis* himſelf aſked the Ambaſſadors upon what Grounds it went: The Cardinal of *Ferrara* did alſo ſend one to aſk what was alleged for it by Divines and Lawyers. *Wallop* and others were then the Ambaſſadors from *England* at the Court: They ſent to the Council an Account of this; and *Wallop* wrote over to know what he ſhould ſay upon the Subject. The Anſwer which the Council wrote to him was, that the Queen herſelf affirmed, her Perſon had not been touched by King *Henry*. That a Learned Convocation had judged the Matter: That the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Winchеſter*, and *Bath*, were known to be great and learned Clerks, who would do nothing but upon juſt and good Grounds: So that all Perſons ought to be ſatisfied with theſe Proceedings, as ſhe herſelf was; and here this Matter ended, to the great Reproach of that Body, that went ſo haſtily, and ſo unanimouſly into that Scandalous Deciſion.

Paper-Office.

Exceptions in the Act of Grace.

But to return to my *Zurich* Letter; after he had related the Manner of that Judgment of thoſe called Spiritual, who indeed were very Carnal: He mentions the Exceptions in the Act of Pardon, for beſides particular Exceptions, all *Anabaptiſts* and *Sacramentaries* were excepted, and all thoſe that affirmed, there was a Fate upon Men, by which the Day of their Death was unalterably determined.

A Deſign againſt *Crome*.

There was at this Time a great Deſign againſt Dr. *Crome*, whom *Cranmer* had recommended to be Dean of *Canterbury*, in theſe Words: "I know no Man more meet for the Dean's Room in *England*, "than Dr. *Crome*, who by his Sincere Learning, Godly Converſa- "tion, and Good Example of Living, with his Great Soberneſs, "hath done unto the King's Majeſty as good Service, I dare ſay,

" as any Prieſt in *England*: And yet his Grace daily remembreth 1539.
" all others that doth him Service, this Man only excepted, who
" never had yet beſides his Gracious Favour, any Promotion at his
" Hands. Wherefore if it pleaſe his Majeſty to put him in the
" Dean's room, I do not doubt but that he ſhould be a Light to all
" the Deans and Miniſters of Colleges in this Realm: For I know
" that when he was but a Preſident of a College in *Cambridge*, his
" Houſe was better ordered than all the Houſes in *Cambridge* beſides.
Certainly this Good Opinion that *Cranmer* had of him, made him, in the State in which Things were at this Time, to be the worſe thought of, and the more watched: So when he heard that he was to be ſearched for, he went to the King, and on his Knees begg'd he would put a ſtop to the Severities then on Foot, and that he would ſet many then in Priſon on the Account of Religion, at Liberty: The King had ſuch a Regaad for him, that upon this, he ordered a ſtop to be put to further Proſecutions: And he ſet thoſe at Liberty who were then in Priſon, they giving Bail to appear when they ſhould be called for. The King ſeemed to think that by this ſmall Favour, after ſome Severities, People would be more Quiet, and more Obedient. But after the Parliament was diſſolved, Six Perſons ſuffered. Three of theſe were Popiſh Prieſts, who ſuffered as Traytors, for denying the King's Supremacy: and *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Jerom*, were the other Three. They were tied to one Stake and ſuffered without crying out, but were Quiet and Patient, as if they had felt no Pain. He could never hear any Reaſon given for this their Suffering, unleſs it was to pleaſe the Clergy: They were not condemned by any Form of Law. They had been ſo cautious, ever ſince the Act of the Six Articles paſſed, that they had not opened their Mouths, in Oppoſition to them in Publick: And by the Act all Offences done before it had paſſed, were pardoned. *Barnes* himſelf ſaid at the Place of Execution, that he did not know for what Cauſe he was brought thither to be burnt; for they were Attainted by Act of Parliament, without being brought to make their Anſwers.

The Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Sampſon*, though a Man compliant in all Things, and Dr. *Wilſon*, were exempted out of the General Pardon, for no other Crime, as he heard, but that *Abel* who ſuffered for denying the King's Supremacy, being in the greateſt Extremity of Want and Miſery in Priſon, where it was ſaid he was almoſt eat up by Vermin, they had ſent him ſome Alms: From this *Hill* goes on to give an Account of *Crome*, whoſe conſtant way had been, when he ſaw a Storm riſing, to preach with more Zeal than Ordinary againſt the prevailing Corruption: So on *Chriſtmaſs-Day* his Enemies that were watching to find Matter to accuſe him, fram'd ſome Articles, which they carried to the King againſt him: He had condemned in his Sermon all Maſſes for the Dead; and ſaid, " if they
" were profitable to the Dead, the King and Parliament had done
" wrong in deſtroying the Monaſteries endowed for that End: He
" alſo ſaid, that to pray to the Saints, only to pray for us, was a
" Practice neither neceſſary, nor uſeful: He added, you call us
" the Seditious Preachers of a New Doctrine, but 'tis you are the
" Seditious Perſons, who maintain the Superſtitious Traditions of
" Men,

1539. " Men, and will not hear the Word of God himſelf. The Church " of Chriſt will ever ſuffer Perſecution as it has done of late " among us.

Theſe and ſome other Complaints being carried to the King, *Crome* was commanded to anſwer them: He in his Anſwer explained, and juſtified all he had ſaid. The King had no Mind to carry Matters further againſt ſo Eminent a Man; So he paſſed a Sentence, in which he ſet forth, that *Crome* had confeſſed the Articles objected to him; but the King out of his Clemency, intending to quiet his People, appointed *Crome* to preach at Saint *Paul*'s, and there to repeat all the Articles objected to him, and then to read the Judgment that the King gave in the Matter: And it concluded, that if ever he fell into the like Offence again, he was to ſuffer according to Law: The King's Judgment was, " That private Maſſes were Sa- " crifices, profitable both to the Living and to the Dead, but yet " that the King's Majeſty with his Parliament had juſtly aboliſhed " Monaſteries: Upon this *Crome* preached, and at the End of his Sermon, he told the People he had received an Order from the King to be read to them; which he read, but ſaid not one Word upon it; and with a ſhort Prayer diſmiſſed the Congregation: Whereas the King expected that he ſhould have applauded his Judgment, and extolled his Favour to himſelf, as Dr. *Barnes* and his Two Companions were unhappily prevailed on to do, and yet were burned afterwards. *Hill* was therefore afraid that *Crome* might be brought into further Trouble. There was an Order ſent to him from the King to preach no more, as he had before forbidden both *Latimer* and *Shaxton* to preach any more. They were not excluded from the General Pardon; but were ſtill prohibited to preach: And when they were ſet at Liberty, they were required not to come within Ten Miles of either of the Univerſities, or the City of *London*, or the Dioceſes in which they had been Biſhops. Thus, ſays he, Faithful Shepherds were driven from their Flocks, and Ravenous Wolves were ſent in their ſtead: He concludes, hoping that God would not ſuffer them to be long oppreſſed by ſuch Tyranny. Thus I have given a very particular Account of that long Letter writ with much good Senſe and Piety, but in very bad *Latin*, therefore I do not put it into the Collection.

Sampſon, though he fell into this Diſgrace for an Act of Chriſtian Pitty, yet hitherto had ſhewed a very entire Compliance with all that had been done: He had publiſhed an Explanation on the firſt 50 Pſalms, which he dedicated to the King: In which as he extolled his Proceedings, ſo he run out into a ſevere Invective againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the Uſurpations and Corruptions favoured by that See, and he reflected ſeverely on *Pole*. *Pole*'s Old Friend *Tonſtall* did alſo in a Sermon at Saint *Paul*'s on *Palm-Sunday* in his grave way ſet forth his unnatural Ingratitude. But now the Popiſh Party upon *Cromwell*'s Fall, and the Exaltation of the Duke of *Norfolk* by the King's Marrying his Niece, broke out into their uſual Violence; and they were as we may reaſonably believe, ſet on to it be *Boner*, who upon *Stokeſly*'s Death a Year before, had been brought to *London*, and immediately upon *Cromwell*'s Diſgrace changed ſides; and from having

acted a forced Part with Heat enough, now came to act that which was natural to him. 1539.

There were ſo many Informations brought in the City of *London*, that a Jury ſitting in *Mercers-Chappel*, preſented 500 Perſons to be tried upon the Statute of the Six Articles; which, as may be eaſily imagined, put the City under great Apprehenſions: But *Audley*, the Lord Chancellor, repreſented to the King, that this was done out of Malice: ſo they were all diſmiſs'd, ſome ſay, pardon'd. Informations came againſt Papiſts, on the other ſide: A Letter was ſent from the Council to *Cranmer*, to ſend Dr. *Benger* to the *Tower*. Two of *Boner*'s Chaplains were, by Order of Council, ſent to the Archbiſhop, to be examined by him. A Vicar was brought out of *Wiltſhire*, out of whoſe Offices *Thomas Becket*'s Name was not yet raſed: but he was diſmiſs'd; for it was believ'd to be the Effect only of Negligence, and not of any ill Principles. There was a Letter of *Melanchthon*'s, againſt the King's Proceedings, printed in *Engliſh*; (perhaps it was that, which I publiſhed in the *Addenda* to my Firſt Volume.) *Goodrick* Biſhop of *Ely*'s Chaplain and Servant were examined, and his Houſe was ſearched for it. Many were brought into Trouble for Words, concerning the King and his Proceedings. Poor *Marbeck*, of *Windſor*, was impriſoned in the *Marſhalſea*. Many Printers were proſecuted, for bringing *Engliſh* Books into the Kingdom, againſt the King's Proceedings. In one Council-Day, (for all theſe Particulars are taken out of the Council-Books) Five and Twenty Bookſellers were examined, as to all Books, more particularly *Engliſh* Books, that they had ſold theſe laſt Three Years. *Hains*, the Dean of *Exeter*, was oft before the Council; but Particulars are not mentioned. Articles were brought againſt him, and they were referred to the King's Learned Council. The Biſhops of *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Rocheſter* and *Weſtminſter*, were appointed to examine him, and to proceed with all Diligence. He was alſo ſent to the *Fleet*, for *Lewd and Seditious Preaching*, (the Words in the Council-Book) and Sowing many Erroneous Opinions; but, after a good Leſſon and Exhortation, with a Declaration of the King's Mercy and Goodneſs towards him, he was diſmiſſed, under a Recogniſance of 500 Marks, to appear (if called for) any time within Five Months, to anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be laid againſt him.

Proſecutions upon the Six Articles.

On the 4th of *May* 1542, an Entry is made, *Cranmer* being preſent; that it was thought good, if the King's Highneſs ſhall be ſo content, that a General Commiſſion ſhall be ſent to *Kent*, with certain Special Articles; and generally, that all Abuſes and Enormities of Religion, were to be examined. This was laid, on deſign to ruin *Cranmer*; but there is no other Entry made in the Council-Book, relating to this Matter; unleſs this was a Conſequence of it, that on the 27th of *June*, *Hards* of *Canterbury*, a Priſoner for a Seditious Libel, was, after a good Exhortation, diſmiſs'd. And this is all the Light, that the only Council-Book of that Reign, for Two Years, affords as to thoſe Matters. Mr. *Strype* has helped us to more Light.

While

1539. While *Cranmer* was Viſiting his Dioceſe, there were many Preſentments made of a very different Nature. Some were preſented, for adhering ſtill to the Old Superſtitions condemned by the King, and for Inſinuations in Favour of the Pope's Authority. Others, again, were, on the other Hand, preſented for Doctrines, either contrary to the Six Articles, or to the Rites ſtill practiſed. This created a great Confuſion thro' that whole Countrey; and the Blame of all was caſt on *Cranmer*, by his Enemies; as if he favour'd and encourag'd that, which was called the *New Learning*, too much.

Ch. 25. Mem. *Cranmer.* A Conſpiracy againſt *Cranmer.*

A Plot was contrived, chiefly by *Gardiner*'s Means, with the Aſſiſtance of Dr. *London*, and of *Thornden*, (Suffragan of *Dover*, and Prebendary of *Canterbury*) who had lived in *Cranmer*'s Houſe, and had all his Preferment by his Favour. Several others engaged in it, who had all been raiſed by him, and had pretended Zeal for the Goſpel; but, upon *Cromwell*'s Fall, they reckoned, that if they could ſend *Cranmer* after him, they would effectually cruſh all Deſigns of a further Reformation.

They reſolved to begin with ſome of the Prebendaries and Preachers. Many Articles were gathered out of their Sermons and private Diſcourſes, all terminating in the Archbiſhop; who, as was ſaid, ſhewed ſo partial a Favour to the Men of the *New Learning*, and dealt ſo harſhly and ſeverely with the others, that he was repreſented to be the Principal Cauſe of all the Heat and Diviſions, that were in *Canterbury*, and in the other Parts of *Kent*. Theſe Articles went thro' many Hands; but it was not eaſy to prevail with a proper Perſon to preſent them. The Steps made in the Matter, are copiouſly ſet forth by Mr. *Strype*. At laſt they came into the King's Hands: And he, upon that, paſſing by *Lambeth*, where the Archbiſhop ſtood, in Reſpect to him, as he paſſed by, called him into his Barge; and told him, he had now diſcover'd who was the greateſt Heretick in *Kent*. With that, he ſhewed him the Articles againſt himſelf, and his Chaplains. The Archbiſhop knew the Falſhood of many Particulars; ſo he prayed the King, to ſend a Commiſſion to examine the Matter. The King ſaid, he would give him a Commiſſion, but to none elſe. He anſwered, it would not ſeem decent, to appoint him to examine Articles exhibited againſt himſelf. The King ſaid, he knew his Integrity, and would truſt it to no other Perſon: Nor would he name above one, (tho' preſſed to it) that ſhould be joined in Commiſſion with him: And he even then ſeemed perſuaded, it was a Contrivance of *Gardiner*'s to ruin him.

His great Mildneſs.

The Archbiſhop went down himſelf into *Kent*; and then the Conſpirators ſeeing the King's Favour to him, were ſtruck with Fear. Some of them wept, and begged Pardon, and were put in Priſon: But the reſt of the Commiſſion, in whoſe Hands the Archbiſhop left the Matter, being ſecretly Favourers of that Party, proceeded faintly: So it was writ to Court, that unleſs Dr. *Legh* were ſent down, who was well practiſed in Examinations, the Conſpiracy would never be found out: He was, upon that, ſent down; and he ordered a Search to be made at one and the ſame Time, of all ſuſpected Places; and ſo he diſcover'd the whole Train. Some of the Archbi-

1539.

ſhop's Domeſticks, *Thornden* in particular, were among the Chief of the Informers. He charged them with it. They, on their Knees, confeſſed their Faults, with many Tears. He, who was gentle even to Exceſs, ſaid, he did forgive them, and prayed God to forgive them, and to make them better Men. After that, he was never obſerved to change his Countenance, or alter his Behaviour towards them. He expreſſed the like readineſs to pardon all the reſt: Many were impriſoned upon theſe Examinations, but the Parliament granting a Subſidy, a general Pardon ſet them all at Liberty; which otherwiſe the Archbiſhop was reſolved to have procured to them. This Relation differs in ſeveral Particulars from the Account that I gave of it, in my Hiſtory: But this ſeems to be the exacter and the better vouched, and therefore I acquieſce in it. Another Inſtance is given by the ſame Writer of the King's Zeal for *Cranmer*. Sir *John Goſtwick*, Knight for *Bedfordſhire*, did in the Houſe of Commons charge him for preaching Hereſy, againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, both at *Feverſham* and *Canterbury*: The King hearing of this, did, in his rough way, threaten *Goſtwick*, calling him *Varlet*, and charged him to go and ask *Cranmer* pardon, otherwiſe he ſhould feel the Effects of his Diſpleaſure. The King ſaid if he had been a *Kentiſh*-Man, he might have had ſome more Shadow for accuſing him; but being of *Bedfordſhire*, he could have none. *Goſtwick*, terrified with this Meſſage, made his Submiſſion to *Cranmer*, who mildly forgave him, and went to the King and moved him for his Favour; which he did not obtain without ſome Difficulty.

It appears plainly that the King acted as if he had a mind to be thought Infallible; and that his Subjects were bound to believe as much as he thought fit to open to them, and neither more nor leſs. He went on this Year before he took his Progreſs, in finiſhing *the neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition of any Chriſtian Man*: A great Part of it was corrected by his own Hand, particularly in that Article of the Creed, *the Catholick Church*, where there are ſevere Reflections added on the Biſhops of *Rome*. Here I found likewiſe ſome more of the Anſwers made to the 17 Queries upon the Matter of the Sacraments that I publiſhed in my Firſt Volume. I ſet them out again in my Collection; that by theſe the Reader may better underſtand the Two following Papers, that I print ſeparately; and not intermixed with one another, as I did before, which I thought to be an Eaſe to the Reader: But ſince that was made a great Offence, I will do it no more. One of theſe is only an Anſwer to the Queries; the Writer of the firſt is not named, it is probably *Tonſtall*'s; he is plainly of the ſame Side with the Archbiſhop of *York*. It will be found in the Collection, as alſo another Paper, with ſeveral Marginal Notes in the King's Hand, by which it appears that the King was much ſhaken from his former Notions: He asked for Scripture in ſeveral Particulars that could not eaſily be brought. On the Margin *Cranmer* and *Barlow* are often named, but I do not underſtand with what View it was that they and no other (except *Cox* once) are named. Over againſt the 15th Article their Names are ſet down in this Order, *York*, *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, *Corren*, *Simon*, *Oglethorp*, *Edgworth*, *Day*, *Redman*, *Robinſon*, *Winchester*; and a little below, *Canterbury*, *Hereford*, *Rocheſter*, *Davys*, (I ſup-

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. Some Steps made in ſetting out True Religion.

Coll. Numb. 32. 1. *Vol. Refor.*

Coll. Numb. 69.

Coll. Numb. 70.

Coll. Numb. 71.

1539. (I ſuppoſe St. *David*'s) *Weſtminſter*, *Layton*, *Treſham*, *Cox*, *Crayford*; theſe are writ in a Hand that I do not know, but not in the ſame Hand. It ſeems thoſe Liſts were made with Relation to the different Parties in which they ſtood. The Book thus carefully examined was finiſhed and publiſhed.

Katherine Howard's Diſgrace.

The King went in Progreſs with his Queen, who began to have a great Influence on him, and on what Reaſon I do not know, ſhe withdrew from her Uncle, and became his Enemy: But before the King's Return, her ill Life came to be diſcovered, which ended fatally to her. It is ſcarce worth the Reader's while to ſay any more of a Matter that is ſo Univerſally acknowledged; but having found an Original Account ſubſcribed by her ſelf, of one of her Examinations, I have put it in the Collection. It appears there was a particular View in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Examining her, to draw from her all the Diſcoveries they could make to faſten a Precontract with *Dereham* on her. Many trifling Stories relating to that being ſuggeſted, ſhe was examined to them all: but tho' ſhe confeſſes a lewd Commerce with *Dereham*, ſhe poſitively denied every thing that could infer a Precontract; nor did ſhe confeſs any thing of that ſort done after the King married her: which ſhe ſtill denied very poſitively, even to the laſt. On the 15th of *December* Letters were written to the King's Ambaſſadors abroad, that contain a ſevere Account of the lewd and naughty Behaviour and Lightneſs of her lately reputed for *Queen*, (I give the Words of the Letter) at which the King was much troubled.

Coll. Numb. 72.

Paper-Office.

Seeken lib. 3. *p.* 78.

A Negotiation with the *German* Princes.

Upon her Diſgrace there was a new Negotiation propoſed with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*. *Mount* was again ſent over to excuſe, as well as he could, the Divorce with *Anne* of *Cleve*. He ſaid ſhe was treated nobly and kindly in all reſpects by the King: He renewed the Propoſition for a League, with relation to their Common Intereſts: But they ſtill ſtood upon this, that they could enter into no Alliance with him, unleſs they agreed in Religion, inſiſting particularly on Private Maſſes, the denying the Chalice, and the Celibate of the Clergy: Upon which a Conference was propoſed in *Gelderland*, or at *Hambourg* or *Breme*. The King in anſwer to this wrote, that he would carefully examine all that they laid before him: He expreſſed great Regard to the Elector, but complained that ſome of his Learned Men had written virulently againſt him, and miſrepreſented his Proceedings. *Cranmer* likewiſe wrote to the Elector, and ſet forth the great Things the King had already done in Aboliſhing the Pope's Authority, the Monaſtick State, and the Idolatrous Worſhip of Images: He deſired they would not be uneaſy, tho' the King in ſome things differed ſtill from them. He was very Learned himſelf, and had Learned Men about him: He was quick of Apprehenſion, had a ſound Judgment, and was firm in what he once reſolved on: and he hoped the Propoſitions they had ſent over would be well conſidered.

Lord *William Howard*, the late Queen's Uncle, was then Ambaſſador in *France*: He tells in one of his Letters, that the Admiral was reſtored to Favour, chiefly by the Means of Madam *D'Eſtampes*, whoſe Credit with that King is well known. There were Reports that the Emperor and the *French* King were in a Treaty, and that in

Concluſion, they would join to make War on the King: This was charged on the *French*, but ſolemnly diſowned by that King. It appears the Propoſition for Marrying the Lady *Mary* to the Duke of *Orleans*, was then begun: Great Exceptions were taken to her being declared a Baſtard: But it was promiſed, that when all other things were agreed to, ſhe ſhould be declared Legitimate. Upon Queen *Katherine Howard*'s Diſgrace, Lord *William* was recalled, and *Paget* was ſent over in his Room. 1542.

There is in the Paper-Office an Original Letter of *Paget*'s to the King, that gives an Account of his Converſation with the Admiral, who was then in High Favour, *Montmorency* being in Diſgrace. It is very long, but it contains ſo many Important Paſſages, that I have put it in the Collection, and ſhall here give an Abſtract of it. It is dated from *Chablais* the 22d of *April*, in the Year 1542. *Coll. Numb.* 73.

Paget's Negotiation with the Court of *France*.

" He gave the Admiral an Account of his Inſtructions, and of " what both the King and his Council had ordered him to ſay: He " perceived the Admiral ſighed and croſſed himſelf often: And ſaid " in his Anſwer to him, that he ſaw the King of *France* reſolved " to enter into ſome Confederacy; he deſired it might be with the " King, and would think of no other Prince till the King refuſed " him: He thought both the Kings were by their Intereſts obliged " to ſtick to one another, though the Marriage had never been ſpoke " of: It is true, that would fix and ſtrengthen it. But he thought " 200000 Crowns was a very mean Offer, for ſuch a King's Daugh- " ter, to ſuch a Prince; 4 or 500000 Crowns was nothing to the " King. The Duke of *Orleans* was a Prince of great Courage, and " did aſpire to Great Things. So mean an Offer would quite diſ- " courage them. The Daughter of *Portugal* was offered with 400000 " Ducats, together with the Intereſt of it ſince her Father's Death, " which was almoſt as much more. At the Firſt Motion of the " Matter, it was anſwered, the Man muſt deſire the Woman: Now " he does deſire her, and you offer nothing; with this he ſighed. " *Paget* anſwered, and fully ſet out the Perſonal Love that he knew " his Maſter had for the *French* King: That none of the Occaſions " of Suſpicion that had been given, could alienate him from it: " And he reckoned up many of theſe: He acknowledged there was " great hopes of the Duke of *Orleans*, but he ſtudied to ſhew that " the Offer was not unreaſonable, all Things conſidered. *Lewis* " the 12th had but 300000 Crowns with the King's Siſter, and the " King of *Scots* had with the other but 100000 Crowns: But he ſaid " beſides the 200000 Crowns which he offered to give, they will " alſo forgive 800000 Crowns that *France* owed the King, and " Diſcharge the 100000 Crowns Yearly Penſion. To this the Ad- " miral replied, he counted the Forgiving the 800000 Crowns for " nothing: And for the Annual Penſion they would be at as much " Charge to maintain her, and her Court. *Paget* ſaid the 800000 " Crowns was a juſt Debt, lent in an Extreme Neceſſity; and be- " cauſe it had been long owing, and often reſpited, muſt that paſs " for nothing. So he bad him aſk reaſonably, or offer what was " proper Reciprocally for it. The Admiral ſaid the King was Rich, " and what was 800000 Crowns to him, which they were not able

1542. " to pay. So the Admiral, ſaid he, wiſhed the Thing had never been ſpoke
" of: He fell next to turn the Motion to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and he
" propoſed a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt the Emperor:
" and that whatever ſhould be got from the Emperor, ſhould be the
" King's, in Lieu of the Penſion during Life. He knew the Empe-
" ror was practiſing with the King, as he was at the ſame Time with
" them. *Boner* was then ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, and had carried
" over from the King to the Emperor Three Horſes of Value. The
" Emperor might ſay what he will in the way of Practice: But he
" knew he would never unite with the King, except he would re-
" turn to the Pope: For ſo the Nuncio told the Chancellor, and the
" Chancellor told it to the Queen of *Navarre*, who fell out with
" him upon that Occaſion. She told him he was ill enough before;
" but now, ſince he had *the Mark of the Beaſt*, (for he was lately
" made a Prieſt) he grew worſe and worſe: The Emperor's Deſign
" was only to divide them. He offered to them that the Duke of
" *Orleans* ſhould be King of *Naples*, and to give *Flanders* to the
" Crown of *France*: But in Lieu of that, he aſked the Renunciation
" of *Milan* and *Navarre*, and the reſtoring of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*:
" But by this the Father and Son being ſo far ſeparate, the Empe-
" ror would ſoon drive the Duke of *Orleans* out of *Naples*. He was
" alſo ſtudying to gain the Duke of *Cleve*, and to reſtore him *Guelder*
" quietly, provided that he and his Wife would renounce *Navarre*:
" But he concluded that they knew the Emperor did nothing but
" Practiſe: They knew he offered to the King to reconcile him to
" the Pope, without any Breach of his Honour, for it ſhould be at
" the Pope's Suit. *Paget* ſaid he knew nothing of all that, but be-
" lieved it would be hard to reconcile him to the Biſhop of *Rome*,
" for Vertue and Vice cannot ſtand together in one Predicament.
" Call ye him *Vice*, ſaid the Admiral, he is the very *Devil*, and I
" truſt to ſee his Confuſion: Every Thing muſt have a Time, and
" a Beginning. But when begin you, ſaid *Paget*? The Admiral
" anſwered, before it be long; the King will give all the Abbies to
" his Lay-Gentlemen, and ſo by little and little overthrow him alto-
" gether: Why may not we have a Patriarch in *France*? This the
" Pope's Legate began to perceive, and though they talked of a
" General Council, he believed the Pope would as ſoon be hanged
" as call one. *Paget* ſaid he would be glad to ſee them once begin
" to do ſomewhat. Ah, ſaid the Admiral, I'm ill matched: He
" wiſhed the entire Union of the Two Kings, and if an Interview
" might be between them, it would be the happieſt Thing could
" befal *Chriſtendom*: But he believed ſome of the King's Council
" leaned too much to the Emperor, and propoſed ſeveral Advan-
" tages from it. He ſaid the Emperor cared not if Father, Friend,
" and all the World ſhould ſink, ſo his Inſatiable Deſires might be
" ſatisfied. He ſuffered Two of his Brothers-in-Law to periſh for
" want of 50000 Crowns: Firſt the King of *Hungary*, and then
" the King of *Denmark*; whom he might have reſtored, if he would
" have given him 10000 Crowns. He was then low enough,
" and they would do well to fall on him, now that he was ſo low,
" before he took Breath: So he preſſed *Paget* to put Matters on
heartily

" heartily with the King: He thought it an unreaſonable Thing for 1542.
" the Emperor and his Brother to aſk Aid againſt the *Turk*, to de-
" fend their own Dominions, when they kept the King's Domini-
" ons from him. *Paget* gave the King an Account of all this Conver-
" ſation very particularly, with an humble Submiſſion to him, if in
" any Thing he had gone too far. The Court of *France* believed
" the Emperor was treating with the King, for the Marriage of the
" Lady *Mary*: And that for that End *Boner* was ſent to *Spain*;
" who was looked on as a Man throughly Imperial. After *Paget*
" had ended his Letter, written on the 19th of *April*, he adds a
" long Poſtſcript on the 22d, for the Admiral had entred into far-
" ther Diſcourſe with him the next Day. He told him how ſorry
" he was to ſee all his Hopes blaſted: He could not Sleep all Night
" for it. They had Letters from their Ambaſſadors in *England*, and
" were amazed to find that a King who was ſo Rich, ſtood for ſo
" ſmall a Matter. The Pope had offered the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Son
" 200000 Crowns with his Niece: He ſaid he was much troubled
" at all this: All that were about the King his Maſter, were not of
" one Mind; and he had been reproached for beginning this Matter.
" They knew the Falſhood, and the Lies of the Pope and the Em-
" peror well enough: He wiſhed they would conſider well what the
" Effects of an entire Friendſhip with the King of *France* might be:
" The *French* could do no more than they could do: Within Two
" Years they would owe the King 100000 Crowns, beſides the
" 100000 Crowns during the King's Life, and 50000 Crowns for-
" ever after that: But he ſaid in thoſe Treaties many Things ought
" to be done for their own Defence: At this he was called away
" by the King, but came afterwards to *Paget*: He ſaid it was not
" 100000, nor 200000 Crowns could not enrich the one, nor im-
" poveriſh the other King: So he added, we aſk your Daughter,
" and you ſhall have our Son; but deſired that they might carry
" the Matter further into a League, to make War on the Emperor,
" Defenſive, for all their Territories.

" He propoſed that the King ſhould ſend 10000 Foot and 2000
" Horſe into *Flanders*, and to pay 5000 *Germans*; and the *French*
" King ſhould furniſh the ſame Number of Foot and of *Germans*,
" and 3000 Horſe, and an equal Number of Ships on both ſides;
" and the King of *France* ſhould in ſome other Places fall into the
" Emperor's Dominions, at an Expence of 200000 Crowns a Month.
" What a Thing ſaid he would it be to the King to have *Gravelin*,
" *Dunkirk*, and all thoſe Quarters joining to *Calais*? *Paget* anſwered,
" they might ſpend all their Money, and catch nothing: And he
" did not ſee what ground of Quarrel his Maſter had with the Em-
" peror; upon which the Admiral replied, Does not he owe you
" Money? Hath not he broken his Leagues with you in many Par-
" ticulars? Did not he provoke us to join with the Pope and him,
" to drive your Maſter out of his Kingdom? And hath he not now
" put the Pope on offering a Council to ſit at *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Cam-*
" *bray*, or *Metz*, (this laſt Place was lately named) all on Deſign
" to ruin you? A Peſtilence take him, ſaid he, falſe Diſſembler that
" he is! If he had you at ſuch an Advantage, as you now have him,

" you

1542. " you ſhould feel it: And he run out largely, both againſt the Bi-
" ſhop of *Rome*, and the Emperor: He deſired the War might be-
" gin that Year, the Emperor being ſo low, that for all his Millions,
" he had not a Peny.

On all this the Admiral ſeemed wonderfully ſet; *Paget* excuſed himſelf from entering further into theſe Matters, and deſired that they might be propoſed to the King by the *French* Ambaſſador then at *London*; yet being preſſed by the Admiral, he promiſed to lay all before the King, and he did it very fully, but with many Excuſes, and much Submiſſion. The King's Council writ a ſhort Anſwer to this long Letter: They expreſſed their Confidence in the Admiral, with great Acknowledgments for his Affection to the King; but they ſeemed to ſuſpect the King of *France*, that all his Profeſſions were only to get Money from the King. 200000 Crowns ſeemed nothing when they were willing to forgive him a Million: But by this Letter it ſeems the *French* Ambaſſadors did ſtill inſiſt on 600000 Crowns to be paid down: So this Matter was let fall; but to ſay all that relates to the Duke of *Orleans* at once:

Paper-Office.

The Duke of *Orleans* promiſed to declare himſelf a Proteſtant.

Mr. *Le Vaſſor* has publiſhed Inſtructions, of which a collated Copy was found among Cardinal *Granvill*'s Papers. It is a Queſtion that cannot be anſwered how he came by it; whether the Original was taken with the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, or by what other way, is not certain: It bears dears Date at *Rhemes* the 8th of *September* 1543. " It expreſſes the great Deſire that he had, that the Holy Goſpel " might be preached in the whole Kingdom of *France*: But the Re-
" ſpect that he owed to the King his Father, and to the Dauphin
" his Brother, made that he did not order it to be preached freely
" in his Dutchy of *Orleans*; that being under their Obedience. But
" he ſent to the Duke of *Saxony*, to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and
" the other Proteſtant Princes, to aſſure them that he was reſolved,
" and promiſed it expreſsly to them, that he would order that the
" Goſpel ſhould be preached in the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, and in all
" other Places that ſhould belong to him by the Right of War: He de-
" ſired to be received into their Alliance, and to a League Offenſive
" and Defenſive with them. He deſired earneſtly that they would grant
" this Requeſt, not to be aided by them againſt any Prince, but only on
" the Account of the Chriſtian Religion, of which he deſired the Increaſe
" above all Things; that by theſe Means Light may be ſpread into other
" Dominions, and into the Kingdom of *France*, when the King his
" Father ſhould ſee him ſo allied to thoſe Princes, which will be the
" Cauſe of making him declare the Good Zeal he has to that Matter;
" and will be able always to excuſe it to him, and to defend it
" againſt all his Enemies: He deſires therefore, that as ſoon as he
" ſhall give order that the Goſpel ſhall be preached in the Dutchy
" of *Luxemburgh*, this League and Alliance may begin: He hopes
" this will not be delayed, from the Opinion that they may have
" that he cannot quickly ſhew what Power he has to ſupport the
" Love he bears to this Cauſe; he hopes in a little Time to ſhew,
" if it pleaſes God, ſome good Effect of it: and he offers at preſent,
" not only all his own Force, but the whole Force of the King
" his Father, who has given him Authority to employ it in every

" Thing that he ſhall judge to be good for them, and in every Thing 1543.
" that may concern their Welfare, their Profit and Freedom.

It is impoſſible to read this, and to doubt either of his being ſincerely a Proteſtant, or at leaſt that he was willing to profeſs it openly: And it can as little be doubted, that in this he had his Father's Leave, to do what he did. The Retaking of *Luxemburgh* put an End to this Propoſition: But, it ſeems, the Emperor apprehended, that the Heat of this young Prince might grow uneaſy to him; therefore he took all Methods to ſatisfy his Ambition. For, on the 18th of *December* 1544, the Ambaſſadors at the Emperor's Court write over, That he was Treating a Match between his own Eldeſt Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleans*; and that he offered to give with her the Ancient Inheritance of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, the Two *Burgundies*, and the *Netherlands*: Or if he would Marry his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Second Daughter, to give the Dutchy of *Milan* with her. They alſo mention in *April* therafter, that he came to the Emperor, and ſtayed ſome Days with him at *Antwerp*, and then went back. On this they all concluded that the Treaty was like to go on, but do not mention which of the Two Ladies he liked beſt; for there could be no Compariſon made between what was offered with them. But all the Negotiation, and all the Hopes of that Prince vaniſhed on the 11th of *September* 1545; for *Karn* the King's Ambaſſador in *Flanders*, writ over, that on that Day he died of the Plague.

Practices on him end with his Life.

I come next to put together all that I find in the Minutes of Convocation, during this Reign. The *Neceſſary Erudition* was never brought in Convocation: But it was treated by ſome Biſhops and Divines, of both Provinces, and publiſhed by the King's Authority. It ſeems, when the Doctrine was thus ſettled, there was a Deſign to carry on the Reformation further. There was a Convocation held in *January* 1541; in the Second Seſſion of which, the Archbiſhop deliver'd them a Meſſage from the King, That it was his Pleaſure, that they ſhould Conſult concerning the Reforming our Errors. And he deliver'd ſome Books to them, to be examined by them: It does not appear, what Sort of Books, or Errors, thoſe were; whether of Papiſts, Sacramentaries, or of Anabaptiſts; for of this laſt Sort, ſome had crept into *England*. The Buſineſs of *Munſter* had made that Name ſo odious, that Three Years before this, in *October* 1538, there was a Commiſſion ſent to *Cranmer*, *Stokeſly*, *Sampſon*, and ſome others, to enquire after Anabaptiſts, to proceed againſt them, to reſtore the Penitent, to burn their Books, and to deliver the Obſtinate to the Secular Arm: But I have not ſeen what Proceedings there were upon this.

Proceedings in Convocation.

In *October* 1545, there was an Order of Council publiſhed, to take away Shrines and Images: Several Commiſſions were granted for Executing this; in ſome, they add *Bones* to *Images*. The Archbiſhop did likewiſe move the Convocation, in the King's Name, to make Laws againſt Simony, and to prepare a Book of Homilies, and alſo a New Tranſlation of the Bible: For, it ſeems, Complaints were made of the Tranſlation then printed, and ſet up in Churches. The ſeveral Books of the Bible were parcelled out, and aſſigned to

A new Tranſlation of the Bible deſign'd.

ſeve-

1543. ſeveral Biſhops to tranſlate them. This came to nothing, during this Reign; but this ſame Method was followed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time. In the 5th Seſſion, the Perſons were named for this Tranſlation. *Cranmer* had, ſome few Years before this, parcelled out an Old Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, to ſeveral Biſhops and Divines, to be reviſed and corrected by them: But it was then much oppoſed. The *Acts of the Apoſtles* was aſſigned to *Stokeſly*; but he ſent in no Return upon it, ſo the Archbiſhop ſent to him for it. His Anſwer was ſullen: "He wonder'd what the Archbiſhop meant, "thus to abuſe the People, by giving them Liberty to Read the "Scripture, which did nothing but infect them with Hereſy. He "had not looked on his Portion; and never would: So he ſent "back the Book, ſaying, He would never be guilty of bringing the "Simple People into Error. Notwithſtanding this, *Cranmer* had publiſhed a more Correct New Teſtament in *Engliſh*; which is referr'd to in the Injunctions that were formerly mentioned; but now he deſigned a New Tranſlation of the whole Bible. In the 6th Seſſion, which was on the 17th of *February*, a Statute againſt Simony was treated of: There was alſo ſome Diſcourſe about the Tranſlating the Lord's-Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the Vulgar Tongue: And it was conſider'd, how ſome Words in them ought to be tranſlated; but what theſe were, is not mentioned: Only, it ſeems, there was a Deſign to find Faults in every Thing that *Cranmer* had done.

Memor. of *Cranmer*. *Strype*, Ch. 8.

On the 24th of *February* ſeveral Matters were treated of; that in particular is named, That none ſhould let Leaſes beyond the Term of 21 Years. They treated about many of the Rituals, and of *Thomas Becket*, and of the Adorning of Images, and about Reforming ſome ſcandalous Comedies. On the 3d of *March*, the Archbiſhop told them from the King, that it was his Pleaſure, that the Tranſlation of the Bible ſhould be reviſed by the Two Univerſities. The Biſhops did not agree to this; and, it ſeems, they inſiſted much upon Trifles: For they treated of this, Whether, in the Tranſlation of the Bible, *the Lord*, or *our Lord*, ſhould be the Conſtant Form. On the ſame Day, the Lord Chancellor exhibited to them an Act, allowing, that the Biſhops Chancellors might Marry. To this the Biſhops diſſented. Some other Matters were propoſed; but all was referred to the King. Some Homilies were offered on different Subjects, but nothing is marked concerning them. The Archbiſhop alſo told them, that the King would have the Books of the ſeveral Offices, uſed in Churches, to be examined and corrected: In particular, that both at Matins and Veſpers, one Chapter of the New Teſtament, ſhould be read in every Pariſh. Some Petitions were offered by the Clergy: The Firſt was, for Making a Body of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. Of this we hear no more in this Reign: But we are aſſured, that there was a digeſted Body of them prepared; probably it was very near the ſame, that was alſo prepared in King *Edward*'s Time. *Cranmer*, in a Letter that he wrote to the King out of *Kent*, on the 24th of *January* 154⅗, which I did put in my 2d Volume, tells him, "That, according to his Commands, he had "ſent for the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, (*Heath*), to let him know, that "the

2d Vol. Coll. of Rec. N. 61.

" the King's Pleaſure was, to have the Names of ſuch Perſons ſent " him, as he had formerly appointed to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws " for the Realm. The Biſhop promiſed, with all Speed, to enquire out their Names, and the Book which they made, and to bring both the Names and the Book to the King; which, he writes, he had done before that Time. By this it appears, that Perſons had been named for that; and that a Commiſſion was granted, purſuant to which the Work had been prepared: For Things of this Kind were never neglected by *Cranmer*. It ſeems, it had been done ſome Years before, ſo that it was almoſt forgotten; but now, in one of King *Henry*'s Lucid Intervals it was prepared, as Mr. *Strype* has publiſh'd: But how it came to paſs, that no further Progreſs was made during this Reign, in ſo Important and ſo Neceſſary a Work, is not eaſily to be accounted for; ſince it muſt have contributed much to the Exaltation of the King's Supremacy, to have all the Eccleſiaſtical Courts governed by a Code authorized by him. In the Convocation, in the Year 1543, we have only this ſhort Word, That on the 29th of *April*, the Archbiſhop treated of the Sacraments, and on the next Day, on the Article of Free Will. This is all that I could gather from the Copy of the Minutes of the Convocations; which was communicated to me by my moſt Learned and Worthy Brother, the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who aſſured me, it was collated exactly with the only Ancient Copy that remains, to give us Light into the Proceedings in the Convocations of thoſe Times.

1544.

A Reformation of the Eccleſ. Laws was far advanced.

It does not appear to me, what moved *Bell*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to reſign his Biſhoprick. *Rymer* has printed his Reſignation; in which, it is ſaid, that he did it ſimply, of his own accord. He lived till the Year 1556, as his Tomb-ſtone in *Clerkenwell* Church informs us. Whether he inclined to a further Reformation, and ſo withdrew at this Time; or whether the Old Leaven yet remaining with him, made it uneaſy for him to comply, does not appear: If his Motives had been of the former Sort, it may be ſuppoſed, he would have been thought of in King *Edward*'s Time: and if of the latter, then in Queen *Mary*'s Reign he might again have appeared; ſo I muſt leave it in the dark, what his true Motive was.

Bell Biſhop of *Worceſter* reſigned his Biſhoprick. *Rymer*. To. 15.

Audley, who had been Lord Chancellor from the Time that Sir *Thomas More* left that Poſt, fell ſick in the Year 1544, and ſent the Great Seal to the King, by Sir *Edward North* and Sir *Thomas Bland*. The King delivered it to the Lord *Wriotheſly*, and made him Lord-Keeper during the Lord *Audley*'s Infirmity, with Authority to do every Thing that the Lord Chancellor might do; and the Duke of *Norfolk* tendred him the Oaths. It ſeems, there was ſuch a Regard had to the Lord *Audley*, that, as long as he lived, the Title of Lord Chancellor was not given with the Seals; but, upon his Death, *Wriotheſley* was made Lord Chancellor. This ſeems to be the Firſt Inſtance of a Lord Keeper, with the full Authority of a Lord Chancellor.

Audley Lord Chancellor died.

Rymer ibid.

I have not now before me ſuch a Thread of Matters, as to carry me regularly thro' the remaining Years of this Reign; and therefore, hereafter I only give ſuch Paſſages as I have gathered, without Knitting them together in an Exact Series. The Breach between *England*

Practices on ſome Lords of *Scotland*.

1544. *land* and *France* was driven on by the Emperor's Means, and promoted by all the Popiſh Party: So the King, to prevent all Miſchief from *Scotland*, during this War with *France*, entred into an Agreement with the Earls of *Lenox* and *Glencairne*, and the Elect Biſhop of *Caithnes*, Brother to the Earl of *Lenox*, in *May* 1544. The Articles are publiſhed. They promiſed, "That they ſhould cauſe the "Word of God to be truly taught in their Countries. 2*dly*, They "ſhould continue the King's Faithful Friends. 3*dly*, They ſhould "take care, that the Queen be not ſecretly carried away. 4*thly*, "They ſhould aſſiſt the King, to Seize on ſome Caſtles on the Bor-"ders. And they delivered the Elect Biſhop of *Caithnes* to the King, as an Hoſtage, for their Obſerving theſe Things. On the other Hand, "the King engaged to ſend Armies to *Scotland*, both by Sea and "Land; and to make the Earl of *Lenox*, (written in this, *Levi-*"*nax*) as ſoon as he could, Governor of *Scotland*: And that he "ſhould beſtow his Niece, Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, on him. There was a fuller Agreement made with them, with more Particulars in it, on the 26th of *June*; and a Penſion of 250 *l.* was aſſigned to the Earl of *Glencairn*, and 125 to his Son, both during Life. Thoſe in the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, were alſo taken into the King's Protection: And they promiſed to promote the Marriage, and the King's Intereſts; and to deliver up the Caſtle, when demanded. There were alſo private Agreements made with *Norman Leſley*, *Kircaldy* of the *Grange*, and ſome others, all to be found in *Rymer*.

Rymer.

Tom. 15. *Seck.* l. 3. p. 121. *Mount* ſent to *Germany*.

The often-cited *Seckendorf* tells us, that at this Time they in *Germany* began to have greater Hopes of the King than ever. *Mount* was again ſent to offer an Alliance with them: He excuſed all the late Proceedings. He ſaid, *Cromwell* had raſhly ſaid, "That he "hoped to ſee the Time, that he ſhould ſtrike a Dagger into the "Heart of him, that ſhould oppoſe the Reformation; which his Judges thought was meant of the King. He ſaid, *Barnes* had indiſcreetly provoked the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: He alſo blamed their Ambaſſadors, for entring into Diſputes in Writing with the King. He believed, *Melanchthon* and *Bucer* would have managed that Matter with more Succeſs. *Bucer* ſeconded *Mount*'s Motions, and magnified what the King had already done; tho' there was no compleat Reformation yet effected.

This did not move the Elector: He looked on the King, as an Enemy to their Doctrine. His whole Deſign in what he had done, was, to make himſelf the *Head of the Church*, to which he was not called of God. His Government was Tyrannical, and his Life flagitious; ſo he looked for no good from him. The King of *France* moved him to undertake a Mediation between him and the King; but the Elector referred that to a General Meeting of thoſe who were engaged in the Common *Smalcaldick* League. The Princes in *Germany* having their Chief Dependance on the Kings of *France* and *England*, ſaw how much they were weakned, and expoſed to the Emperor, by the War which was going on between thoſe two Kings; ſo they ſent ſome empowered by them, to try if it was poſſible to prevent that War, and to mediate a Reconciliation between them. To theſe, when they delivered their Meſſage to the King, he com-

plained of the Injuſtice and Wilfulneſs of the *French* King: He thought their Interpoſition could have no Effect, and he uſed theſe Words in an Anſwer to their Memorial, *We give them well to underſtand, that we do both repoſe an ampler and a fuller Confidence in them, than the* French *King either doth or will do.* 1544.

De Bellay who being oft employed, underſtood thoſe Matters well, tells us, that the Emperor and King *Henry* had agreed to join their Armies and to march directly into *France*: He tells in another Place, that if King *Henry* had followed the Opinion of his Council, which was for his landing in *Normandy* with 30000 Men, he would have carried that whole Dutchy: And he aſcribes his Error in that Matter to the Providence of God, that protected *France* from ſo great a Danger: The Emperor had propoſed to the King that upon the Junction of their Two Armies, they ſhould march ſtrait to *Paris*: For they reckoned that both their Armies would have amounted to Ninety Thouſand Foot, and Twenty Thouſand Horſe: But after the Emperor had drawn the King into his Meaſures, he went on taking ſome Towns, purſuing his own Ends, and then made his own Peace with *France*, and left the King engaged in the War: So the King finding the Emperor's Main Army was not like to join him, ſome Bodies out of the *Netherlands* only coming to act in Conjunction with him, upon that he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to beſiege *Montrevil*, and he himſelf ſat down before *Bulloigne*. Marſhall *Bies*, Governor of *Buloigne*, apprehending the Importance of *Montrevel*, carried a conſiderable Part of the Garriſon of *Bulloigne* with him, and threw himſelf into *Montrevel*: By this Means he left *Bulloigne* weak, and in ill Hands. In the mean Time the Emperor took *Luxemburgh*, and ſome other Places; ſo all the Project with which he had amuſed the King, vaniſhed, and a Peace was ſtruck up between him and the King of *France*.

P. 1094. P. 1115.

A War with *France*.

Bulloigne taken.

The *French* ſent an Army to raiſe the Siege of *Montrevel*; and they were moving ſo as to get between the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the King's Army: Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* raiſed the Siege, but *Bulloigne* was taken; and that ſmall Conqueſt was out of meaſure magnified by thoſe who ſaw their own Advantage in flattering their Maſter, tho' at a vaſt Charge he had gained a Place, ſcarce worth keeping.

The Emperor had that Addreſs, and he had ſo ſtrong a Party about the King, that even all this was excuſed, and the Intercourſe between the two Courts was not diſcontinued.

The King is forſaken by the Emperor.

In one Point the Emperor was neceſſary to the King, and he kept his Word to him. It is certain the King had great Apprehenſions of the Council that was now ſitting at *Trent*, and the more becauſe *Pole* was one of the Legates ſent to preſide in it; who, as he had Reaſon to apprehend, would ſtudy to engage the Council to confirm the Pope's Cenſure thundred out againſt the King; and it was believed he was named Legate for that End. The King of *France* had offered to *Gardiner*, that if the King would join with him, he would ſuffer no Council to meet, but as the King ſhould Conſent to it. But his fluctuating Temper was ſo well known, that the King truſted in this particular more to the Emperor, whoſe Intereſt in that Council

1544. he knew muſt be great: And the Emperor had promiſed that the Council ſhould not at all intermeddle in the Matter between the Pope and the King: The Effect ſhewed he was true in this Particular.

The King finding himſelf ſo diſappointed, and indeed abandoned by the Emperor, ſent the Earl of *Hartford* with *Gardiner* to him, to expoſtulate with him. A Letter of the King's was ſent by them to the Emperor, written in a very ſevere Strain, charging him with *Perfidy*. The Emperor either had the *Gout*, or pretended to have it, ſo that he could not be ſpoke with: His Chief Miniſters at that Time, who were *Grandville*, and his Son the Biſhop of *Arras*, delayed them from Day to Day, and diſcovered much *Chicane*, as they wrote; upon which they grew ſo uneaſy, that at laſt they demanded a Poſitive Anſwer; and then theſe Miniſters told them, that the Emperor could not carry on the War longer againſt *France*: But he offered to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*. After that they complain that they ſaw the Pretence of Mediation was managed deceitfully; for the Emperor's Deſign upon *Germany* being now ready, he apprehended thoſe Two Kings, if not engaged in War one with another, would ſupport the Princes of the Empire, and not ſuffer the Emperor, under the Pretence of a Religious War, to make himſelf Maſter of *Germany*. Therefore he ſtudied to keep up the War between *France* and *England*. I find *Maurice* of *Saxony* was this Year, during the Emperor's War with *France*, in his Court: Whether he was then Mediating, or Treating, about his Perfidious abandoning the Elector, and the other Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League, I know not.

Paper-Office.

A Litany ſet out in *Engliſh* with other Devotions.

Before the King went out of *England*, a great Step was made towards the Reforming the Publick Offices. A Form of Proceſſion in the *Engliſh* Tongue was ſet out by the King's Authority, and a Mandate was ſent to *Boner* to publiſh it. The Title of it was, *An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his Majeſty and his Clergy, to be Read to the People: Alſo a Litany, with Suffrages to be ſaid, or ſung, in the Time of the Proceſſions.* In the Litany they did ſtill Invocate the Bleſſed Virgin, the Angels and Arch-Angels, and all Holy Orders of Bleſſed Spirits, all Holy Patriarchs and Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, and Virgins, and all the Bleſſed Company of Heaven to pray for them: After the Word *Conſpiracy*, this is added, *from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable Enormities*: The reſt of the Litany is the ſame that we ſtill uſe, only ſome more Collects are put at the End, and the Whole is called a *Prayer of Proceſſion*. To this are added ſome Exerciſes of Devotion, called *Pſalms*; which are collected out of ſeveral Parts of Scripture, but chiefly the *Pſalms*: They are well collected, and the whole Compoſition, as there is nothing that approaches to Popery in it, ſo it is a ſerious and well digeſted Courſe of Devotion. There follows a Paraphraſe on the Lord's Prayer: On the 4th Petition, there are Expreſſions that ſeem to come near a true Senſe of the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament; for by *Daily Bread* as ſome of the Antients thought, the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt* is underſtood, which is thus expreſſed: *The lively Bread of the Bleſſed Body of our Saviour Jeſu Chriſt, and the Sacred Cup of the Precious*

and Bleſſed Blood which was ſhed for us on the Croſs. This agrees with our preſent Senſe that Chriſt is preſent, not as he is now in Heaven, but as he was on the Croſs: And that being a Thing paſſed, he can only be preſent in a *Type* and a *Memorial.* The Preface is an Exhortation to Prayer, in which theſe Remarkable Words will be found: "It is very convenient and much acceptable to God, "that you ſhould uſe your private Prayer in your Mother Tongue; "that you, underſtanding what you aſk of God, may more earneſtly "and fervently deſire the ſame; your Hearts and Minds agreeing "to your Mouth and Words. This is indeed all over of a Pious and Noble Strain, and except the Invocation of the Saints and Angels, it is an unexceptionable Compoſition. At the ſame Time *Katherine Parre*, whom the King had lately married, collected ſome Prayers and Meditations, "wherein the Mind is ſtirred patiently to "ſuffer all Affliction here, to ſet at nought the Vain Proſperity of "this World, and always to long for the Everlaſting Felicity. Which were printed in the Year 1545. 1545.

But ſo apt was the King, whether from ſome Old and Inherent Opinions that ſtill ſtuck with him, or from the Practices of thoſe who knew how to flatter him ſuitably to his Notions, to go backward and forward in Matters of Religion; that though on the 15th of *October* 1545, he ordered a Mandate to be ſent to *Boner*, to publiſh the *Engliſh Proceſſion* ordained by him, which was executed the Day following; yet on the 24th of that Month, there was a Letter written to *Cranmer*, declaring the King's Pleaſure for the ſetting up an Image, that had been taken down by his Injunctions; ordering him at the ſame Time to aboliſh the Uſe of Holy Water, about Saint *John*'s-Tide, and to take down an Image called our *Lady of Pity in the Pew*, for the Idolatry that was committed about it. At this Time it was diſcovered that Great Indulgencies, with all ſuch like Favours were ſent from *Rome* to *Ireland*; ſo that generally in that Kingdom, the King's Supremacy was rejected, and yet at the ſame Time it appears that many were put in Priſon for denying the Preſence in the Sacrament: And a Proclamation was ſet out, both againſt *Tindall*'s New Teſtament, and *Coverdale*'s.

Thirleby, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor, and afterwards Secretary *Petre* was ſent to the ſame Court. *Mount* continued likewiſe to be employed, but without a Character: He ſeems to have been both Honeſt and Zealous; and in many Letters writ both in the Year 1545 and 1546, he warned the King of the Emperor's Deſigns to extirpate *Lutheraniſm*, and to force the whole Empire to ſubmit to the Pope and the Council, then ſitting at *Trent*. The *German* Princes ſent over a Vehement Application to the King, to conſider the Caſe of *Herman* Biſhop of *Colen*, praying him to protect him, and to interceed for him. They gave a great Character of the Man, of which *Mount* makes mention in his Letters, but I do not find that the King interpoſed in that Matter: The Emperor ſeemed to enter into great Confidences with *Thirleby*, and either impoſed on him, or found him eaſily wrought on. He told him that the King of *France* was making great Levies in *Switzerland*, and he was well aſſured that they were not deſigned againſt himſelf; The King neglects the *German* Princes.

So

1546. *Paper-Office.*

So he warned the King to be on his Guard. This being enquired into, was not only denied by the Court of *France*, but was found to be falſe, and was looked on as an Artifice of the Emperor's, to keep up a jealouſy between thoſe Two Courts. By ſuch Practices he prevailed on *Thirleby* to aſſure the King, that the Emperor did not deſign to enſlave *Germany*, but only to repreſs the Inſolence of ſome Princes, and to give Juſtice a free Courſe: All the News he wrote from thence did run in this ſtrain: So that *Germany* was fatally abandoned by both Kings. Yet ſtill the King ſent over to the Emperor repeated Complaints of the ill Treatment his Subjects met with in *Spain*, from Inquiſitors; and that in many Courts, Juſtice was refuſed to be done them, upon this Pretence, that the King and all who adhered to him, were declared Hereticks, and as ſuch, they were Excommunicated by the Pope, and ſo were not to be admitted to ſue in Judicatories: Theſe were ſent over to *Thirleby*, but I do not ſee what was done upon all thoſe Repreſentations.

The Elector of *Saxony*'s ill Opinion of the King.

The laſt Meſſage the King ſent to the *Germans*, was in the Year 1546 by *Mount*, with whom one *Butler* was joined: The *German* Princes, in General Terms, prayed the King to inſiſt on rejecting the Council of *Trent*, aſſuring him that the Pope would ſuffer no Reformation to be made. This Letter was agreed to by the Greater Number of the Princes of the Union, only the Elector of *Saxony* had conceived great Prejudices againſt the King: "He ſaid he was an "Impious Man, with whom he deſired to have no Commerce. He "was no better than the Pope; whoſe Yoke he had thrown off on-"ly for his own Ends: And that he intended out of the Two Religions "to make a Third, only for Enriching himſelf; having condemned "the Principal Points of their Doctrine in his Parliamnet.

Ferdinand diſcontented with the Emperor.

I find at this Time a ſecret Diſguſt the Emperor was in towards his Brother *Ferdinand*; upon which, *Ferdinand* ſent a Meſſage to the King, ſetting forth the juſt Claim he had to his Father's Succeſſion in *Spain*; ſince, by the Agreement of the Marriage between *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, and *Iſabel* of *Caſtile*, a Special Proviſion was made, that whenſoever there was a Second Son iſſuing from that Marriage, the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and all that belonged to it, ſhould be again ſeparated from *Caſtile*. He alſo pretended, that he ought to have had a larger Share in the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Burgundy*; and that inſtead of thoſe Rich Provinces, he was forced to accept of *Auſtria*, and the Provinces about it, which lay expoſed to the *Turks*, and were loaded with great Debts, contracted by his Grandfather *Maximilian*. To this the King ſent an Anſwer ſecretly, and ordered the Perſon (who he was, does not appear; but I think it was *Mount*) that carried it, to inſiſt on the Diſcourſe of his Pretenſions to the *Netherlands*, which were then vaſtly Rich. He was particularly required to obſerve *Ferdinand*'s Behaviour, and all that he ſaid on that Subject: And it ſeems, that our Court being then in a good Underſtanding with the Court of *France*, communicated the Matter to *Francis*: For he wrote, ſoon after that, a Letter to *Ferdinand*, encouraging him to ſtand on his Claim, and promiſing him his Aſſiſtance to Support his Pretenſions on the Emperor. But *Ferdinand*, not being inclined to truſt the Court of *France* with this Se-

cret.

cret, ſent the Letter to the Emperor: So I ſee no more of that Matter. 1546.

The laſt Tranſaction of Importance in this Reign, was the Fall of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and of the Earl of *Surrey*, his Son. I find in the Council-Book, in the Year 1543, that the Earl was accuſed for Eating Fleſh in *Lent*, without Licence; and for Walking about the Streets in the Night, throwing Stones againſt Windows, for which he was ſent to the *Fleet*. In another Letter, he is complained of for Riotous Living. Towards the End of the Year 1546, both he and his Father were put in Priſon: And, it ſeems, the Council wrote to all the King's Ambaſſadors beyond Sea, an Account of this, much aggravated, as the Diſcovery of ſome very Dangerous Conſpiracy; which they were to repreſent to thoſe Princes, in very black Characters. I put in the Collection an Account given by *Thirlby*, of what he did upon it. The Letter is long; but I only Copy out that which relates to this pretended Diſcovery: Dated from *Hailbron*, on *Chriſtmaſs-Day* 1546. The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Impriſonment. *Coll. Numb.* 74.

"He underſtood by the Council's Letters to him, what Ungracious and Ingrateful Perſons they were found to be. He profeſſes, "he ever loved the Father, for he thought him a true Servant to the "King: He ſays, he was amazed at the Matter, and did not know "what to ſay. God had not only on this Occaſion, but on many "others, put a Stop to Treaſonable Deſigns againſt the King, who "(next to God) was the Chief Comfort of all Good Men. He enlarges much on the Subject, in the Stile of a true Courtier. The "Meſſenger brought him the Council's Letters, written on the "15th of *December*, on *Chriſtmas-Eve*; in which he ſaw the malicious Purpoſe of theſe Two ungracious Men: So, according to his "Orders, he went immediately to demand Audience of the Emperor; but the Emperor intended to repoſe himſelf for Three or "Four Days, and ſo had refuſed Audience to the Nuncio, and to all "other Ambaſſadors; but he ſaid, he would ſend a Secretary, to "whom he might communicate his Buſineſs. *Joyce*, his Secretary, "coming to him, he ſet forth the Matter as pompouſly as the Council had repreſented it to him. In particular, he ſpoke of the "Haughtineſs of the Earl of *Surrey*, of all which the Secretary promiſed to make Report to the Emperor, and likewiſe to write an Account of it to *Grandvil*. *Thirlby* excuſes himſelf that he durſt not "write of this Matter to the King: He thought, it would renew in "him the Memory of the Ingratitude of theſe Perſons, which muſt "wound a Noble Heart.

After ſo black a Repreſentation, great Matters might be expected: But I have met with an Original Letter of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, to the Lords of the Council, writ indeed in ſo bad a Hand, that the Reading it was almoſt as hard as Deciphering. It gives a very different Account of that Matter, at leaſt with Relation to the Father. *Collect. Numb.* 75. His Letter to the King.

"He writes, that the Lord Great Chamberlain, and the Secretary of "State, had examined him upon divers Particulars: The Firſt was, "Whether he had a Cypher with any Man? He ſaid, he had never "a Cypher with any Man, but ſuch as he had for the King's Affairs, "when he was in his Service. And he does not remember that ever "he

1546. " he wrote in Cypher, except when he was in *France*, with the Lord " Great Maſter that now is, and the Lord *Rochford*: Nor does he " remember whether he wrote any Letters then, or not; but theſe " Two Lords ſigned whatſoever he wrote. He heard; that a Letter " of his was found among Biſhop *Fox*'s Papers, which being ſhewed " to the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, he adviſed to throw it into the Fire. " He was examined upon this: He did remember, the Matter of it " was, the ſetting forth the Talk of the *Northern* People, after the " Time of the Commotions: But that it was againſt *Cromwell*, and " not at all againſt the King: (ſo far did they go back, to find Mat- " ter to be laid to his Charge) but whether that was in Cypher, or " not, he did not remember. He was next asked, If any Perſon " had ſaid to him, that if the King, the Emperor, and the *French* " King came to a good Peace, whether the Biſhop of *Rome* would " break that by his Diſpenſation; and whether he inclined that way. " He did not remember he had ever heard any Man ſpeak to that " Purpoſe: But, for his own Part, if he had twenty Lives, he would " rather ſpend them all, than that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have " any Power in this Kingdom again. He had read much Hiſtory, " and knew well how his Uſurpation began, and increaſed: And " both to *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Scots*, he has upon all Occaſions ſpo- " ken vehemently againſt it. He was alſo asked, if he knew any " thing of a Letter from *Gardiner* and *Knevet*, the King's Ambaſſa- " dors at the Emperor's Court, of a Motion made to them for a Re- " conciliation with that Biſhop, which was brought to the King at " *Dover*, he being then there.

" In Anſwer to this, he writes, He had never been with the King " at *Dover* ſince the Duke of *Richmond* died: But for any ſuch O- " verture, he had never heard any thing of it; nor did any Perſon " ever mention it to him. It had been ſaid in Council, when Sir " *Francis Bryan* was like to have died, as a Thing reported by him, " that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had ſaid, he could deviſe a Way, to " ſet all Things right between the King and the Biſhop of *Rome*. " Upon which, as he remembers, Sir *Ralph Sadler* was ſent to Sir " *Francis*, to ask the Truth of that: But Sir *Francis* denied it; and " this was all that ever he heard of any ſuch Overture. It ſeems, " theſe were all the Queſtions that were put to him; to which, thoſe " were his Anſwers. He therefore prayed the Lords, to intercede " with the King, that his Accuſers might be brought Face to Face, " to ſay what they had againſt him: And he did not doubt, but it " ſhould appear, he was falſely accuſed. He deſir'd to have no more " Favour than *Cromwell* had; he himſelf being preſent when *Crom-* " *well* was examined. He adds, *Cromwell* was a falſe Man; but " He was a true, poor Gentleman. He did believe, ſome falſe Man " had laid ſome great Thing to his Charge. He deſired, if he might " not ſee his Accuſers, that he might at leaſt know what the Mat- " ters were; and if he did not anſwer truly to every Point, he de- " ſired not to live an Hour longer.

" He had always been purſued by great Enemies about the King; " ſo that his Fidelity was tried like Gold. If he knew wherein he

" had offended, he would freely confeſs it. On *Tueſday* in the laſt 1546.
" *Whitſon*-Week, he moved the King, that a Marriage might be
" made between his Daughter (the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*) and Sir
" *Thomas Seymour*; and that his Son *Surrey*'s Children might, by
" Croſs-Marriages, be allied to my Lord Great Chamberlain's Chil-
" dren, (the Earl of *Hertford.*) He appealed to the King, whether
" his Intention in theſe Motions did not appear to be honeſt. He
" next reckons up his Enemies. Cardinal *Wolſey* confeſſed to him
" at *Aſher*, that he had ſtudied for Fourteen Years, how to deſtroy
" him, ſet on to it by the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exe-*
" *ter*, and the Lord *Sandys*, who often told him, that if he did not
" put him out of the way, he would undo him. When the Mar-
" quis of *Exeter* ſuffered, *Cromwell* examined his Wife more ſtrictly
" concerning him, than all other Men; of which She ſent him
" word by her Brother, the Lord *Mountjoy*. And *Cromwell* had
" often ſaid to himſelf, that he was a Happy Man, that his Wife
" knew nothing againſt him, otherwiſe She would undo him. The
" late Duke of *Buckingham*, at the Bar, where his Father ſate Lord
" High Steward, ſaid, that he himſelf was the Perſon in the World,
" whom he had hated moſt, thinking he had done him ill Offices
" with the King: But he ſaid, he then ſaw the contrary. *Rice*,
" that married his Siſter, often ſaid, He wiſhed he could find the
" Means to thruſt his Dagger in him. It was well known to many
" Ladies in the Court, how much both his Two Nieces, whom it
" pleaſed the King to marry, had hated him. He had diſcovered to
" the King that, for which his Mother-in-Law was attainted of Miſ-
" priſion of Treaſon. He had always ſerved the King faithfully,
" but had of late received greater Favours of him, than in Times
" paſt: What could therefore move him, to be now falſe to him? *A Poor*
" *Man, as I am, yet I am his own near Kinſman. Alas! alas my*
" *Lords*, (writes he) *that ever it ſhould be thought any Untruth to*
" *be in me.* He prays them to lay this before the King, and jointly
" to beſeech him, to grant the Deſires contained in it. So he
" ends it with ſuch Submiſſions, as he hoped might mollify the
" King.

Here I muſt add a ſmall Correction, becauſe I promiſed it to the late Sir *Robert Southwell*, for whoſe great Worth and Virtues I had that Eſteem, which he well deſerved. Sir *Richard Southwell* was concerned in the Evidence againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*: He gave me a *Memorandum*, which I promiſed to remember when I reviewed my Hiſtory. There were Two Brothers, Sir *Richard* and Sir *Robert*, who were often confounded, an *R* ſerving for both their Chriſtned Names. Sir *Richard* was a Privy-Councellor to *Henry* the VIIIth, King *Edward*, and Queen *Mary*: The Second Brother, Sir *Robert*, was Maſter of the *Rolls*, in the Time of *Henry* the Eighth, and in the Beginning of *Edward* the Sixth. I had confounded theſe, and in Two ſeveral Places called Sir *Richard* Maſter of the *Rolls*.

I have now ſet forth all that I find concerning the Duke of *Norfolk*; by which it appears, that he was deſigned to be deſtroyed only upon Suſpicion: And his Enemies were put on running far back to Old Stories, to find ſome Colours to juſtify ſo black a Proſecu-

1546. tion. This was the laſt Act of the King's Reign; which, happily for the Old Duke, was not finiſh'd, when the King's Death prevented the Execution.

A Recapitulation of King *Henry*'s Reign.

Thus I have gone over all thoſe Paſſages in this Reign, that have fallen in my way, ſince I wrote my Hiſtory. I have ſo carefully avoided Repeating any Thing that was in my former Work, that I have, perhaps, not made it clear enough, into what Parts of it every Thing here related, ought to be taken in. Nor have I put in my Collection any of thoſe Papers, that either the Lord *Herbert* or Mr. *Strype* had publiſhed, One or Two only excepted in each of them: But theſe I put in it, both becauſe I Copied them from the Originals, when I did not reflect on their being publiſhed by thoſe Writers, and becauſe they ſeemed of great Importance to the Parts of my Hiſtory, to which they belonged. Some of theſe being very ſhort, and the others not long, I thought, the inſerting them made my Collection more compleat. I would not leſſen the Value of Books, to which I have been too much beholden, to make ſo ill a Return; to the laſt eſpecially, from whoſe Works I have taken that which ſeemed neceſſary, to make the Hiſtory as full as might be, but refer my Reader to ſuch Vouchers, as he will find in them.

His Mind corrupted by a Courſe of Flattery.

And now having ended what I have to ſay of King *Henry*, I will add a few Reflections on him, and on his Reign. He had certainly a greater Meaſure of Knowledge in Learning, more particularly in Divinity, than moſt Princes of that, or of any Age: that gave Occaſion to thoſe exceſſive Flatteries, which in a great Meaſure corrupted his Temper, and disfigured his whole Government. It is deeply rooted in the Nature of Man to love to be flatter'd; becauſe Self-Love makes Men their own Flatterers, and ſo they do too eaſily take down the Flatteries that are offered them by others; who, when they expect Advantages by it, are too ready to give this Incenſe to their Vanity, according to the Returns that they expect from it.

Few are ſo honeſt and diſintereſted in their Friendſhip, as to conſider the Real Good of others; but chuſe rather to comply with their Humour and Vanity. And ſince Princes have moſt to give, Flattery (too common to all Places) is the Natural Growth of Courts; in which, if there are ſome few ſo unfaſhion'd to thoſe Places, as to ſeek the Real Good and Honour of the Prince, by the plain Methods of blunt Honeſty, which may carry them to contradict a miſtaken Prince, to ſhew him his Errors, and with a true Firmneſs of Courage, to try to work even againſt the Grain; while they purſue that, which, tho' it is the Real Advantage and Honour of the Prince, yet it is not agreeable to ſome weak or perverſe Humour in him: Theſe are ſoon overtopped by a Multitude of Flatterers, who will find it an eaſy Work to undermine ſuch Faithful Miniſters; becauſe their own Candor and Fidelity, makes them uſe none of the Arts of a Countermine. Thus the flatter'd Prince eaſily goes into the Hands of thoſe who humour and pleaſe him moſt, without regarding either the true Honour of the Maſter, or the Good of the Community.

If weak Princes, of a ſmall Meaſure of Knowledge and a low Capacity, fall into ſuch Hands, the Government will dwindle into an unactive Languiſhing; which will make them a Prey to all about them, and expoſe them to Univerſal Contempt both at home and abroad: while the Flatterers make their own Advantages the Chief Meaſure of the Government; and do ſo beſiege the abuſed and deluded Prince, that he fanſies he is the Wonder and Delight of all the World, when he is under the laſt Degrees of the Scorn of the Worſt, and of the Pity of the Beſt of his People. 1546. The Courſe of all Courts.

But if theſe Flatterers gain the Aſcendant over Princes of Genius and Capacity, they put them on Great Deſigns, under the falſe Repreſentations of Conqueſts and *Glory*: They engage them either to make or break Leagues at Pleaſure, to enter upon Hoſtilities without any previous Steps or Declarations of War, to ruin their own People for ſupporting thoſe Wars that are carried on with all the Methods, both of Barbarity and Perfidy; while a ſtudied Luxury and Vanity at Home is kept up, to amuze and blind the Ignorant Beholders, with a falſe Shew of Luſtre and Magnificence.

This had too deep a Root in King *Henry*, and was too long flattered by Cardinal *Woolſey*, to be ever afterwards brought into due Bounds and juſt Meaſures; yet *Wolſey* purſued the true Maxims of *England*, of maintaining the Ballance during his Miniſtry. Our Trade lay then ſo entirely in the *Netherlands*, without our ſeeming to think of carrying it further, that it was neceſſary to maintain a good Correſpondence with thoſe Provinces: And *Charles*'s Dominions were ſo wildly ſcattered, that till *Francis* was taken Priſoner, it was viſibly the Intereſt of *England* to continue ſtill jealous of *France*, and to favour *Charles*. But the taking of *Francis* the Firſt, changed the Scene; *France* was then to be ſupported. It was alſo ſo exhauſted, and *Charles*'s Revenue was ſo encreaſed, that without great Sums both lent him, and expended by *England*, all muſt have ſunk under *Charles*'s Power, if *England* had not held the Ballance. *Wolſey* began it, but was a wiſe Miniſter

It was alſo a Maſter-piece in *Wolſey* to engage the King to own that the Book againſt *Luther* was written by him, in which the Secret of thoſe who, no doubt, had the greateſt Share in compoſing it, was ſo cloſely laid, that it never broke out. *Seckendorf* tells us, that *Luther* believed it was writ by *Lee*, who was a Zealous *Thomiſt*, and had been engaged in Diſputes with *Eraſmus*, and was afterwards made Archbiſhop of *York*. If any of thoſe who ſtill adhered to the Old Doctrines had been concerned in writing it, probably when they ſaw King *Henry* depart from ſo many Points treated of in it, they would have gone beyond Sea, and have robbed him of that falſe Honour, and thoſe exceſſive Praiſes which that Book had procured him. It is plain *More* wrote it not: For the King having ſhewed it him before it was publiſhed, he (as he mentions in one of his Letters to *Cromwell*) told the King that he had raiſed the Papacy ſo high, that it might be objected to him, if he ſhould happen to have any Diſpute with the Pope, as was often between Princes and Popes: And it will be found in the Remarks on the former Volumes, that he in another Letter ſays he was a *Sorter* of that Book. This ſeems to relate only to the Digeſting it into Method and Order. A great Occaſion of Flattery given by his Book.

1546. How far K. *Henry* was ſincere in pretending Scruples of Conſcience, with Relation to his Firſt Marriage, can only be known to God. His Suit of Divorce was managed at a vaſt Expence, in a Courſe of many Years; in all which Time, how ſtrong ſoever his Paſſion was for *Anne Boleyn*, yet her being with Child ſo ſoon after their Marriage, is a clear Evidence that till then they had no Unlawful Commerce. It does not appear that *Wolſey* deſerved his Diſgrace, unleſs it was that by the Commiſſion given to the Two Legates, they were empowered to act conjunctly or ſeverally: So that though *Campegio* refuſed to concur, he might have given Sentence legally, yet he being truſted by the Pope, his acting according to Inſtructions, did not deſerve ſo ſevere a Correction: And had any material Diſcovery been made to render *Wolſey* Criminal, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed it would have been publiſhed.

The Character of *More*. The New Flatterers falling in with the King's Paſſion, out-did and ruined *Wolſey*. *More* was the Glory of the Age; and his Advancement was the King's Honour more than his own, who was a true Chriſtian Philoſopher. He thought the Cauſe of the King's Divorce was juſt, and as long as it was proſecuted at the Court of *Rome*, ſo long he favoured it: But when he ſaw that a Breach with that Court was like to follow, he left the Great Poſt he was in, with a Superior Greatneſs of Mind. It was a Fall great enough to retire from that into a Private State of Life; but the carrying Matters ſo far againſt him as the King did, was one of the juſteſt Reproaches of that Reign. *More*'s Superſtition ſeems indeed contemptible, but the Conſtancy of his Mind was truly wonderful.

Cromwell's Miniſtry. *Cromwell*'s Miniſtry was in a conſtant Courſe of Flattery and Submiſſion, but by that he did great Things that amaze one, who has conſidered them well. The ſetting up the King's Supremacy, inſtead of the Uſurpations of the Papacy, and the rooting out the Monaſtick State in *England*, conſidering the Wealth, the Numbers, and the Zeal of the Monks and Fryars in all the Parts of the Kingdom, as it was a very bold Undertaking, ſo it was executed with great Method, and performed in ſo ſhort a Time, and with ſo few of the Convulſions that might have been expected, that all this ſhews what a Maſter he was, that could bring ſuch a Deſign to be finiſhed in ſo few Years, with ſo little Trouble or Danger.

But in Concluſion, an Unfortunate Marriage to which he adviſed the King, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to deſtroy what he himſelf had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the Deſign of breaking it, when the King had told him of it. And then upon no other viſible Ground, but becauſe *Anne of Cleeve* grew more obliging to the King than ſhe was formerly, the King ſuſpected that *Cromwell* had betrayed his Secret, and had engaged her to a ſofter Deportment on Deſign to prevent the Divorce, and did upon that Diſgrace and Deſtroy him.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was never till *Cromwell*'s Fall the Firſt in Favour: But he had ſtill kept his Poſt by perpetual Submiſſion and Flattery. He was ſacrificed at laſt to the King's Jealouſy; fearing that he might be too Great in his Son's Infancy; and being conſidered as the Head of the Popiſh Party, might engage in an uneaſy Competition

petition with the *Seymours*, during the Minority of his Son: For the Points he was at firſt examined on, were of an Old Date, of no Conſequence, and ſupported by no Proof. 1546.

When the King firſt threw off the Pope's Yoke, the Reformers offered him in their turn, all the Flatteries they could decently give: And if they could have had the Patience to go no further, than as he was willing to parcel out a Reformation to them, he had perhaps gone further in it: But he ſeemed to think that as it was pretended in Popery, that Infallibility was to go along with the Supremacy; therefore thoſe who had yielded the one, ought likewiſe to ſubmit to the other. He turned againſt them when he ſaw that their Complaiſance did not go ſo far: And upon that, the Adherers to the Old Opinions returned to their Old Flatteries, and for ſome Time ſeemed to have brought him quite back to them; which probably might have wrought more powerfully, but that he found the Old Leaven of the Papacy was ſtill working in them: So that he was all the while Fluctuating: Sometimes making Steps to a Reformation, but then returning back to his Old Notions: One Thing probably wrought much on him. It has appeared that he had great Apprehenſions of the Council that was to meet at *Trent*, and that the Emperor's Engagements to reſtrain the Council from proceeding in his Matter, was the main Article of the New Friendſhip made up between them: and it may be very reaſonably ſuppoſed that the Emperor repreſented to him, that nothing could ſecure that Matter ſo certainly as his not proceeding to any further Innovotions in Religion: More particularly his adhering firmly to the received Doctrine of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament, and the other Articles ſet forth by him: This agreeing with his own Opinion had as may be well imagined no ſmall Share in the Change of his Conduct at that Time. The King's Inconſtancy in Matters of Religion.

The dextrous Application of Flattery had generally a powerful Effect on him: But whatſoever he was, and how great ſoever his Pride and Vanity, and his other Faults were, he was a great Inſtrument in the Hand of Providence for many good Ends: He firſt opened the Door to let Light in upon the Nation: He delivered it from the Yoke of Blind and Implicit Obedience: He put the Scriptures in the Hands of the People, and took away the Terror they were formerly under by the Cruelty of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts: He declared this Church to be an entire and perfect Body within it ſelf; with full Authority to Decree and to Regulate all Things, without any Dependance on any Foreign Power: And he did ſo unite the Supreme Headſhip over this Church, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, that it ſeemed a juſt Conſequence that was made by ſome in a Popiſh Reign, that he who would not own that this Supremacy was in him, did by that Renounce the Crown, of which that Title was made ſo Eſſential a Part, that they could no more be ſeparated.

He attacked Popery in its ſtrong Holds the Monaſteries, and deſtroyed them all. And thus he opened the way to all that came after, even down to our Days: So that while we ſee the Folly and Weakneſs of Man in all his Perſonal Failings, which were very many and very Enormous, we at the ſame Time ſee both the Juſtice, the Wiſdom, and the Goodneſs of God, in making him who was once

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1546. the Pride and Glory of Popery, became its Scourge and Deſtruction: And in directing his Pride and Paſſion ſo, as to bring about under the Dread of his unrelenting Temper, a Change that a milder Reign could not have compaſſed, without great Convulſions and much Confuſion: Above all the Reſt, we ought to adore the Goodneſs of God in reſcuing us by his Means from Idolatry and Superſtition; from the Vain and Pompous Shews in which the Worſhip of God was dreſſed up, ſo as to vye with Heatheniſm it ſelf, into a Simplicity of believing, and a Purity of Worſhip, conform to the Nature and Attributes of God, and the Doctrine and Example of the Son of God.

May we ever Value this as we ought; and may we, in our Tempers and Lives, ſo expreſs the Beauty of this Holy Religion, that it may ever Shine among us, and may Shine out from us, to all round about us; and then we may hope that God will preſerve it to us, and to Poſterity after us for ever.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

1547.

Of what happen'd during the Reign of King Edward *the* VIth, *from the Year* 1547, *to the Year* 1553.

I HAD ſuch Copious Materials when I wrote of this King, partly from the Original Council-Book, for the Two firſt Years of that Reign, but chiefly from the Journal writ in that King's own Hand, that I ſhall not be able to offer the Reader ſo many New Things in this, as I did in the former, and as I may be able to do in the ſucceeding Reign. Some Gleanings I have, which I hope will not be unacceptable.

A true Account of a Paper of *Luther's* wrong publiſhed in my Hiſtory.

I begin with acknowledging a great Error committed, in Copying out a Letter of *Luther's*, that I found among *Bucer's* Collections. The Noble *Seckendorf* was the firſt that admoniſhed me of this; but with a Modeſty ſuitable to ſo Great a Man: without that Rancour, in which ſome among our ſelves have vented their ill Nature againſt me. I took the ſure Method to confeſs my Error, and to procure an exact Collated Copy of that Paper, from that Learned Body, to whoſe Library it belongs; which will be found in the Collection. It is an Original in *Luther's* own Hand; but it could not have been eaſily read, if *Bucer* had not writ out a Copy of it, which is bound up in the ſame Volume with the Original. It was an Inſtruction that *Luther* gave to *Melanchthon*, when he went into *Heſſe*, in the Year 1534, to meet and treat with *Bucer*, upon that fatal Difference, concerning the Manner of the Preſence in the Sacrament. *Coll. Numb.* I.

" In which it appears, that *Luther* was ſo far from depart-
" ing from his Opinion, that he plainly ſays, he could not Commu-
" nicate with thoſe of the *Zuinglian* Perſwaſion; but he would
" willingly tolerate them, in hope that in Time they might come
" to Communicate together. And as for a Political Agreement, he
" does not think the Diverſity of Religion ought to hinder that;
" no more than it was a Bar to Marriage or Commerce, which
" may be among thoſe of different Religions. And now I have, I hope, delivered my ſelf from all the Cenſures, to which the wrong Publiſhing of that Paper had expoſed me.

I ſhould next enter into the Hiſtorical Paſſages of King *Edward's* Reign; but a great Diſcovery, made with Relation to the moſt important Foreign Tranſaction, that happen'd both in King *Henry* and King *Edward's* Reign, (I mean the Council of *Trent*; the Firſt Seſſion of which was in the former Reign, and the Second in this) has

1547. given me an Opportunity of acquainting the World with many extraordinary Paſſages relating to it.

Vargeſs's Letters concerning the Council of *Trent.*

There was a large Parcel of Original Letters writ to *Grandville*, then Biſhop of *Arras*, afterwards Cardinal, and the Chief Miniſter of *Charles* the Emperor, that, when he left the *Netherlands*, were in the Hands of ſome of his Secretaries; and were not carried away by him. About 50 Years after that, Mr. *William Trumball*, then King *James* the Iſt's Envoy at *Bruſſels*, Grandfather to Sir *William Trumball*, (a Perſon eminently diſtinguiſh'd by his Learning and Zeal for Religion, as well as by the Embaſſies, and other great Employments he has ſo worthily born) got theſe into his Hands: no doubt, under the Promiſe of abſolute Secreſy, during the Lives of thoſe who had them: Since if they had been then publiſhed, it might have been eaſily traced, from whence they muſt have come; which would have been fatal to thoſe who had parted with them, in a Court ſo bigotted, as was that of *Albert* and *Iſabella*. I have read over the whole Series of that worthy Gentleman's own Letters to King *James* the Firſt, and ſaw ſo much Honeſty and Zeal running thro' them all, that, it ſeems, nothing under ſome Sacred Tie, could have obliged both Father and Son, to keep ſuch a Treaſure ſo ſecret from all the World, eſpecially *Padro Paulo*'s Hiſtory coming out at that Time in *London*; to which theſe Letters, as far as they went, which is from the 7th of *October* 1551, to the laſt of *February* 155$\frac{1}{2}$, would have given an Authentick Confirmation. I have been truſted by the Noble Owner, with the Peruſal of them. It is impoſſible to doubt of their being Originals: The Subſcriptions and Seals of moſt of them, are ſtill entire.

Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Dr. *Gedde's.*

Theſe were by Sir *William* depoſited in Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s Hands, when he was ſent to his Foreign Employments; that ſuch Uſe might be made of them, when he found a Perſon that was Maſter of the *Spaniſh* Tongue, as the Importance of the Diſcovery might deſerve. Soon after that, my very worthy Friend, Dr. *Geddes*, return'd from *Lisbon*, after he had been above Ten Years Preacher to the *Engliſh* Factory there: And ſince he is lately dead, I hope I ſhall be forgiven, to take the Liberty of ſaying ſomewhat concerning him. He was a Learned, and a Wiſe Man. He had a true Notion of Popery, as a Political Combination, managed by Falſhood and Cruelty, to Eſtabliſh a Temporal Empire in the Perſon of the Popes. All his Thoughts and Studies were chiefly employed in detecting this; of which he has given many Uſeful and Curious Eſſays, in the Treatiſes he wrote, which are all highly Valuable. When Biſhop *Stillingfleet* underſtood that He was Maſter of the *Spaniſh* Tongue, he put all theſe Papers in his Hands. He tranſlated them into *Engliſh*, intending to Print the Originals in *Spaniſh* with them: But none of our Printers would undertake that; they reckoning, that where the Vent of the Book might be looked for, which muſt be in *Spain* and *Italy*, they were ſure it would not be ſuffer'd to be ſold: He was therefore forced to Print the Tranſlation in *Engliſh*, without Printing the Originals.

Since

Since that Time, that Learned and Judicious *Frenchman*, Monſieur *Le Vaſſor*, has publiſhed a Tranſlation of them in *French*, with many Curious Reflections: But tho' he found, that a Compleat Edition of the Letters in *Spaniſh*, was a Thing that the Bookſellers in *Holland* would not undertake, yet he has helped that all he could, by giving the Parts of the Letters that were the moſt Critical, and the moſt Important, in *Spaniſh*. Both theſe Books are highly Valuable. The Chief Writer of thoſe Letters, *Vargas*, was a Man not only very Learned, but of a Superior Genius to moſt of that Age, as appears both by the Letters themſelves, and by the Great Poſts he went thro'. He was ſpecially employed by the Emperor, both in the Seſſion that was held in the former Reign, and in that which ſat in this Reign; to which only theſe Letters do relate. He was the Chief of the Council that the Emperor's Ambaſſadors had, in Matters, in which either Divinity or Canon-Law (the laſt being his particular Profeſſion) were neceſſary: And ſuch a Value was ſet on him, that the Emperor ſent him Ambaſſador to the Republick of *Venice*. And when the laſt Seſſion was held by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, *Philip* ſent him Ambaſſador to *Rome*, as the Perſon that underſtood beſt how to manage that Court, with Relation to the Seſſion of the Council. 1547. And into *French* by M. *Le Vaſſor*.

I think, it may give the Reader a juſt Idea of that Council, both of the Fraud and Inſolence of the Legate, and of the Method in which Matters were carried there, to ſee ſome of the more Signal Paſſages in thoſe Letters; that it may both give him true Impreſſions of what was tranſacted there, and may move him to have Recourſe to the Letters themſelves. "He ſets forth, how much the *Octob.* 7. "Pope and his Miniſters dreaded the Coming of the Proteſtants to "the Council: We can plainly perceive that they are not themſelves, nor in a Condition to treat about any Buſineſs, when they "are brought to touch on that Point. ——Theſe may, to their "Mortification, deliver their Minds freely againſt Abuſes, and ſome "other Things. ——Whoſoever offers any Thing that is not grateful to the Legate, or that doth not ſuit exactly with ſome People's "Prepoſſeſſions; he is reported to have Spoke ill, and to Think "worſe; and to have taken what He ſaid, out of I do not know "whom. ——There are ſeveral Matters, which the Legate ought "to treat with more Deliberation, than he hath hitherto handled "Things: I pray God give him Grace to underſtand this. The Fraud and Inſolence of the Legate.

"In the next Letter, without Date, mention is made of a Letter, "that the Emperor wrote to the Pope; in which he did aſſure him, "that nothing ſhould be done in the Council, but that which he "had a mind ſhould be done in it: And that he would oblige the "Prelates to hold their Tongues, and to let Things paſs without "any Oppoſition. The Copy of this being ſhewed the Ambaſſador, he was aſtoniſhed at it: But *Vargas* ſaid, it was not to be "underſtood *Literally*; (in the Original it is *Judaically*) it was "only writ, to bring the Pope to grant the Bull: But that it was "not intended by it, that the Pope ſhould be ſuffer'd to do ſuch "Things, as would bring all to Ruin; but only to do ſuch Things "as are reaſonable. He adds in *Latin*, That the Liberty the Pope *Judaicè.* The Promiſe that the Emperor made the Pope.

1547. " took, was not only a Diſeaſe and Sickneſs of Mind, but was re-
" ally grown to a Fury, and a Madneſs. Here the *Spirit* of the
Promiſe, is ſet up againſt the *Letter*; and a ſtrict Adhering to Words,
is counted a Part of the Yoke of *Judaiſm*, from which ſome moſt
Chriſtian Princes have thought fit, on many Occaſions, to emanci-
pate themſelves.

Octob. 12. In another Letter, he ſets forth the Behaviour of the Prelates:
" The Legate never ſo much as acquaints them with the Matter; all
" Things appearing well to them at firſt Sight, and, who knowing
The Biſhops knew not what they did. " nothing of Matters, until they are juſt ready to be pronounced,
" paſs them without any more ado.——I am willing to let you
" know how Things are carried here; and what the Pope's Aims
" are; who ſeeks to authorize all his own Pretenſions by the Coun-
" cil.——There are ſeveral other Things I am not at all ſatisfied
" with, which were carried here with the ſame Slight, that Pope
" *Paul* made uſe of.——And is not this a Bleſſed Beginning of a
" Council!——As to the Canons of Reformation,----they are of
" ſo trivial a Nature, that ſeveral were aſhamed to hear them; and
" had they not been wrapped up in good Language together, they
" would have appeared to the World to be what they are.

Octob. 28. In another Letter he writes, " I cannot ſee, how either Catho-
" licks or Hereticks can be ſatisfied with what is done here. ——All
" that is done here, is done by the way of *Rome*: For the Legate,
" tho' it were neceſſary to ſave the World from Sinking, will not
" depart one Tittle from the Orders he receives from thence; nor
" indeed from any Thing, that he has once himſelf reſolved on.

Nov. 12. In another he writes; " As for the Legate, he goes on ſtill in
" his old Way; conſuming of Time, to the laſt Hour, in Diſpu-
" tations and Congregations, concerning Doctrines; and will at laſt
" produce ſomething in a Hurry, in falſe Colours, that may look
" plauſible: By which means, they have no Time to read, and much
" leſs to underſtand what they are about. ——Words, or Per-
" ſuaſions, do ſignifie but very little in this Place; and, I ſuppoſe, they
" are not of much greater Force at *Rome*. ——By what I can
" perceive, both God and his Majeſty are like to be very much
" diſhonoured by what will be done here. And if Things ſhould
" go on thus, and be brought to ſuch an Iſſue, as the Pope and
" his Miniſters aim at, and give out, the Church will be left in a
" much worſe Condition, than She was in before.——I pray God,
" the Pope may be prevail'd on to alter his Meaſures: Tho' I ſhall
" reckon it a Miracle, if he is; and ſhall thank God for it, as
" ſuch.

Nov. 26. In another he writes; " There are not Words to expreſs the
The Pride and Impudence of the Legate. " Pride, the Diſreſpect and Shameleſneſs, wherewith the Legate
" proceeds.——The Succeſs and End of this Sinode, if God by
" a *Miracle* does not prevent it, will be ſuch as I have foretold.
" I ſay, by a *Miracle*; becauſe it is not to be done by any Human
" Means: So that his Majeſty does but tire himſelf in vain, in Ne-
" gotiating with the Pope, and his Miniſters.——The Legate has
" hammer'd out ſuch an infamous Reformation, (for it deſerves no
" better

" better Epithet) as muſt make us a Jeſt to the World. The Prelates 1547.
" that are here reſent it highly: Many of them reckoning that they
" Wound their Conſciences by holding their Tongues, and by ſuf-
" fering Things to be carried thus.

Upon the Point of collating to Benefices, he writes, " we ought
" to put them to ſhew what Right the Pope has to collate to any
" Benefice whatſoever: I will undertake to demonſtrate from the
" Principles and Foundations of the Law of God, and of Nature,
" and of Men; and from the Antient Uſage of the Church, and
" from good Policy, that he has no manner of Right to it: And all
" this without doing Injury to his Dignity, and the Plenitude of
" his Power. He adviſes the leaving thoſe Matters to a better Time,
" in which God will purge the Sons of *Levi*: Which Purgation
" muſt come, and that with a ſevere Scourge; it being impoſſible
" that a Thing ſo violent, and ſo fraught with Abuſes, ſhould hold
" long: The whole Nerve of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline being broke,
" and the Goods of the Church made a perfect Trade and Mer-
" chandize.

Speaking of General Councils, he writes, " This which is now
" ſitting here, will totally undeceive the World, ſo as to convince it, No good to be expected from a Council.
" that by reaſon of the Oppoſition and Induſtry of the Popes to en-
" groſs all to themſelves, nothing of Reformation is ever to be ex-
" pected from a General Council. I would not have Things wherein
" the Pope and his Court have ſuch great Intereſt and Pretentions, to
" be decided, or handled here: Since it cannot be done, but to our
" great Prejudice, and to the great Detriment of the Whole Church;
" which at preſent, has neither Strength, nor Courage, to reſiſt;
" and if God do not remedy it, I do not ſee when it will.

Speaking of Exemptions, he writes, " The Canoniſts have made He complains of the Exemption of Chapters.
" ſtrange Work; having made many Jeſts, as well as Falſhoods, to
" paſs for current Truths. When I ſpeak of the Canoniſts, I ſpeak
" as a Thief of the Family, being ſenſible of the Abuſes which have
" been authorized by them in the Church. The Exemption of
" Chapters ought to have been quite taken away, that ſo there might
" be ſomething of Order and Diſcipline, and that they who are the
" Head, ſhould not be made the Feet. It troubles me to ſee how
" thoſe Matters are managed and determined here; the Legate do-
" ing whatever he had a Mind to, without either numbring, or
" weighing the Opinions of the Divines and Prelates; hurrying and
" reſerving the Subſtance of Things, which ought to have been well
" weighed and digeſted, to the laſt Minute: The major Part not
" knowing what they are a doing. I mean before the Fact; for
" believing that Chriſt will not ſuffer them to Err in their Determi-
" nations, I ſhall bow down my Head to them, and believe all the
" Matters of Faith that ſhall be decided by them: I pray God every
" Body elſe may do the ſame. The taking no Care to reform innu-
" merable Abuſes, has deſtroyed ſo many Provinces and Kingdoms;
" and it is juſtly to be feared, that what is done in this Council, may
" endanger the deſtroying of the Reſt. I muſt tell you further,
" that this Council drawing ſo near an End, is what all People re-
" joyce at here exceedingly; there being a great many who wiſh

1547. " it never had met: And for my own Part, I would to God it " had never been called; for I am miſtaken if it do not leave Things " worſe than it found them.

In another of the ſame Date, if there is no Error in Writing,

A Decree ſecretly amended after it was paſt.

" He complains that the Decree of the Doctrine was not finiſhed, " till the Night before the Seſſion: So that many Biſhops gave their " *Placet*, to what they neither did, nor could underſtand. The " Divines of *Louvain* and *Cologn*, and ſome *Spaniſh* Divines, being " much diſſatisfied with ſeveral of thoſe Matters, have publickly de- " clared they were ſo. This is a very bad Buſineſs, and ſhould " Things of this Nature come once to be ſo Publick, it muſt totally " ruin the Credit of all that has been done, or ſhall be done here- " after; and muſt hinder the Council from being ever received, " either in *Flanders*, or in *Germany*. The Biſhop of *Verdun* ſpeak- " ing to the Canons of Reformation, ſaid, they would be unpro- " fitable, and unworthy of the Synod, calling it a *Pretended Refor-* " *mation*: The Legate fell upon him with very rude Language, " calling him a Boy, an Impudent Raw Man, with many other hard " Names: Nor would he ſuffer him to ſpeak a Word in his own " Defence, telling him with great Heat, he knew how to have him " chaſtiſed. It is really a Matter of Amazement to ſee how Things " appertaining to God, are handled here; and that there ſhould not " be one to contend for him, or any that have the Courage to ſpeak " in his Behalf; but that we ſhould be all Dumb Dogs that cannot " Bark.

Nov. 28. In another he writes, " That the Legate himſelf wiſhed that the " Decrees were corrected as to ſome Particulars: And in another " without Date, he tells how the Divines were employed in correct- " ing them. This Secret was never heard of before: Father *Paul* knew nothing of it. A Decree after it has paſſed in Council was thus ſecretly corrected by Divines, ſo the Infallability was removed from the Council, and lodged with the Divines.

Decemb. 19. In another he writes, " it would have been a happy Thing that

It had been happy that the Council had never met.

" this Council had never met; which is no more than what I have " often wiſhed and declared: By Reaſon of the many Miſchiefs it " has already done, and is ſtill doing. It is to little Purpoſe, either " in this, or any following Age, to hope for any Thing of a Refor- " mation from a General Council; or to ſee any better Order therein " than is in this. He ſuppoſes the Emperor will ſtill continue to " ſolicit the Pope that Things may not be carried there, at ſuch a ſcan- " dalous rate as they have been hitherto: And that he will take care " that no Occaſion be given to the Council for to diſperſe it ſelf upon " the Prelates ſpeaking their Mind freely; or denying their Conſent " to ſuch Matters as are not convenient; which is a Thing that may " very juſtly be feared.

Jan. 10. In another he writes, " This Synod muſt End Tumultuouſly,
Jan. 19. " and Inglorioufly. In another he writes, " That it was an Aſto- " niſhing Thing that the Legate had foiſted in ſeveral Paſſages into " the Doctrine of Orders, which muſt of Neceſſity Ruin all. By " the Brutal Violences, Pretentions, and Obſtinacy of the Legate, " Things are running into ſuch a State, as muſt in the End, if I am

" not

‘ not miſtaken, make both himſelf, and the whole Earth to tremble: 1547.
“ Or if it does not make him tremble, it muſt be becauſe he is given
“ over to a Reprobate Senſe: As in Truth, he ſeems to be abun-
“ dantly, in every Thing that he does.

In another he writes, “ All they drive at, is to get the Pope's
“ Pretentions eſtabliſhed under the Doctrine of Order; and ſo in- *Jan.* 20.
“ ſtead of Healing, to deſtroy and ruin all: Thoſe being Matters
“ which were never ſo much as propoſed, or diſputed in the Council:
“ Neither is it fitting, as Things ſtand here, that they, or any Thing
“ elſe of the ſame Nature ſhould be meddled with, in this Synod.

He enlarges on the Authority of Biſhops being derived from Chriſt,
“ though ſubjected to the Pope; and he writes that upon this Bot-
“ tom only, the Hierarchy of the Church can be eſtabliſhed: To ſettle
“ it on any other, is in Effect to confound and deſtroy it. Never-
“ theleſs, the Pope if he could carry this Point, though all Things
“ elſe were ruined, and whatever was done in the Antient Church
“ condemned, would find his own Account in it: For after that
“ there would be no poſſibility of ever having any Thing redreſſed.

The Decree of Order, on which the Legate had ſet his Heart, is ſet down at the End of this Letter, the Tranſlation of it into *Engliſh* runs thus.

“ This may be called the New *Jeruſalem*, that comes down from The Decree
“ Heaven: Which was by the moſt exactly regulated Policy of the concerning
“ Old *Jeruſalem*, ſhadowed only as a Pattern to repreſent the Hea- the Pope's
“ venly *Jeruſalem*: For as ſhe had many different Orders, under Authority,
“ one Chief Governor, ſo the Viſible Church of Chriſt, has his propoſed, but
“ Chief Vicar; for he is the *only* and *Supreme Head* in Earth, by not paſſed.
“ whoſe Diſpenſation Offices are diſtributed ſo to all the other
“ Members, that in the ſeveral Orders and Stations in which they
“ are placed, they may execute their Functions to the Good of the
“ Whole Church, with the greateſt Peace and Union. A Deputa-
“ tion of 20 was named to conſider of this. The Legate and the
“ Two Preſidents making Three of that Number; it was ſeverely
“ attacked by the Biſhop of *Guadix*.

“ In his laſt Letter he writes that the Legates would one way or The laſt of
“ other bring about the Diſſolution of the Synod: Which will be *February*.
“ certainly done, if they can but get the ſaid Clauſes determined;
“ becauſe in them they will have gained all that they Deſire: And
“ after that they will never ſtand in need of any more Councils, for
“ to ſerve their Pretentions. And in Caſe they ſhould not be
“ able to carry thoſe Points, they will then, to rid themſelves of
“ this Yoke that is upon their Neck, and of their Fears they will be
“ under, when they ſhall find that they are not able to bring the
“ Synod to do all the Miſchief to the Church, and to the Authority
“ of the preſent, and all future General Councils, that the Pope and
“ his Miniſters would have them do, they will then perplex and
“ confound all.

Theſe are very clear Diſcoveries of the Zeal and Indignation He expreſſes the ſame Opi-
which poſſeſſed this great States-Man, during this Whole Seſſion: nion of the
He ſhews alſo the Opinion he had of the former Seſſion under Pope former Seſſion
Paul, (in which he had likewiſe aſſiſted) in the Directions he gives under Pope *Paul*.

concerning

1547. concerning the Government of a Council, and of the Office of an Ambaſſador, which he drew up before the Council was re-aſſembled, in this its Second Seſſion, in which theſe Words are:

" In the whole Conduct of this Council of *Trent*, there does not " appear the leaſt Footſteps of any of the forementioned Eſſentials of " a General Council: On the contrary, the moſt Pernicious and " Effectual Methods that can be contrived, have been taken to de- " ſtroy Liberty totally; and to rob Councils of that Authority, " which in Caſe of Great Storms, uſed to be the Sheet Anchor of " the Church; by which means they have cut off all Hope of ever " having any Abuſes that infeſt the Church redreſſed, to the great " Diſparagement of all paſt, as well as future Councils; from which " no Good is ever to be expected.

No Shadow of Liberty in the Council.

" The Conduct of this Council has been of Pernicious Conſe- " quence: In which, under the Title of directing it, the Pope's " Legates have ſo managed Matters, that nothing but what they " have a Mind to can be propoſed, diſcuſſed, or defined therein; " and that too after ſuch a Manner, as they would have it. All " the Liberty that is here being only imaginary: So that their " naming it, is nothing but Cheat and Banter: Which is ſo Noto- " rious, that ſeveral of the Prelates even among the Pope's Penſio- " ners, have not the Face to deny it. The Clauſe that they have " inſerted into the Canons of Reformation; which is, *ſaving in all* " *Things the Authority of the Apoſtolical See*, is telling the World " in plain Terms, that what the Pope does not like ſhall ſignify no- " thing. He writes of certain Methods that the Legates have uſed " in Negotiating with People to change their Minds: This they " have done ſo often, that it is now taken Notice of by every Body: " Neither can there be any Courſe more Pernicious, or Deſtruſtive " of the Liberty of the Council. The Legates many Times when they " propoſed a Thing, declared their Opinion of it firſt. Nay, in the " Middle of Voting, when they obſerved any Prelate not to Vote " as they would have him, they have taken upon themſelves to " ſpeak to it, before another was ſuffered to Vote, doing it ſometimes " with ſoft Words, and at other Times with harſher; letting others " to underſtand thereby, how they would have them Vote. Many " Times railing at the Prelates, and expoſing them to Scorn, and " uſing ſuch Methods as would make ones Heart Bleed to hear of, " much more to ſee.

" The common Method was, the Legates aſſembled the Prelates " in a General Congregation, the Night before the Seſſion was to " be held. Then they read the Decrees to them, as they and their " Friends had been pleaſed to form them. By which means, and " by their not being underſtood by a great many Prelates, ſome not " having the Courage to ſpeak their Minds, and others being quite " tired out with the Length of the Congregation, the Decrees were " paſt. We, who ſaw and obſerved all theſe Doings, cannot but la- " ment both our own Condition, and the loſt Authority of Coun- " cils.

" He

" He ſhews, the Legate's Drift was to Canonize all the Abuſes of 1547.
" the Court of *Rome* : ſo they never ſuffer'd them to be treated of
" freely, but managed them like the Compounding of a Law-Suit : The Legates
" In all which Courſes, it is certain, the Holy Ghoſt did not aſſiſt : Way in Cor-
" They ſtriving ſtill to authorize Abuſes ; and giving the World to recting mani-
" underſtand that the Pope is Gracious, in granting them any thing, feſt Abuſes.
" as if all were his own : Taking Abuſes, tho' never ſo pernicious,
" and ſplitting them as they thought good : By which Artifice, that
" Part of the Abuſe which was approved of by the Synod, becomes
" perpetual ; and for the Part that was reprobated, they will, ac-
" cording to their Cuſtom, find Ways to defeat its Condemna-
" tion.

" There is nothing that can be ſo much as put to the Vote, with-
" out the Conſent of the Legates : Who, notwithſtanding that they
" are (by reaſon of the great Number of Penſioners, which the
" Pope has here) always ſure of a Majority, do nevertheleſs make
" uſe of Strange Tricks, in their Conduct of the Council. Beſides,
" by having made their own Creatures the Secretaries, Notaries, and
" all the other Officers of the Council, they have made it thereby a
" Body, without any thing of Soul or Strength in it : Where-
" as, all thoſe Officers ought to have been appointed by the Coun-
" cil, and eſpecially the Notaries.

" This is the Courſe that has been hitherto taken in the Council
" of *Trent*, which is employed rather in ſtruggling with the Pope
" and his Legates, who ſeek to engroſs all to themſelves, than in
" Reforming and Remedying the Evils, under which the Church
" groans. I pray God it do not increaſe them, by the Courſe it
" takes, by Artifice and Diſſimulation, to reduce the whole Synod
" to the Will of the Pope. ——It may be truly ſaid, we are in a
" Convention of Biſhops, but not in a Council.——It would have
" been much better, not to have celebrated a Council at this Time,
" but to have waited, till God had put the Chriſtian Commonwealth
" in a better Diſpoſition ; —rather than to have celebrated one after
" this manner, with ſo little Fruit, to the great Sorrow of Catho-
" licks, the Scorn of Hereticks, and the Prejudice of the preſent,
" and of all future Councils. So much may ſerve, to ſhew the Senſe
that *Vargas* had of the Firſt, as well as of the Second Seſſion of the
Council of *Trent*.

Malvenda, one of the Emperor's Divines, that was there, com- *Malvenda* and
plains in one Letter, " that the Decrees, but eſpecially the Matters others made
" of Doctrine, were communicated to them very late. So that not- the ſame
" withſtanding the Subſtance of theſe Decrees may be found, which Complaints.
" it is well if it is, nevertheleſs conſidering that they are to cor- *Octob.* 12.
" rect them upon a bare hearing them read, on the Eve of a Seſſion,
" that muſt in my Opinion hinder them from having that Authority
" and Majeſty, which ſuch Matters do uſe to have. I pray God
" give them Grace to mend this.——He confeſſes, it was not fit any
" Thing ſhould be done without the Pope's Conſent : Yet that ought
" to be managed with all poſſible Secrecy, in order to prevent the
" *Lutherans*, if they ſhould come to know it, from reflecting on
" the Liberty of the Council, and the Freedom that the Prelates

" ought

1547. " ought to have; who might ſafely enjoy more, without having any
" thing paſs to the Prejudice of his Holineſs.

Nov. 22. In another he writes, " As there will not want thoſe that write
" of this Council, ſo, for my own Part, I pray God it may not do
" more Harm than Good, and eſpecially to the *Germans* that are
" here; who ſeeing how little Liberty it enjoys, and how much it
" is under the Dominion of the Legate, cannot poſſibly have that
" Reſpect and Eſteem for it, as is convenient.

Octob. 12. There are ſome Letters from the Biſhop of *Oren*, written in the ſame Strain. In one he writes, " That for what concerns a Refor-
" mation, the Emperor muſt ſet himſelf about it in earneſt, both
" with the Pope, and the Fathers: For if he does it not, we ſhall
" have our Wounds only ſkinned over, but ſhall have the rotten
" Core left, to the Corrupting of all quickly again.——The Pre-
" lates here are all very much troubled, to ſee with how ill a Grace,
Nov. 28. " People that ſay any thing of a Reformation, are heard. In ano-
ther he writes, " They diſcover here little or no Inclination, for to
" do any Thing that deſerves the Name of a true Reformation. Se-
" veral Things might be done, that would be of great Advantage to
" the People, and would be no Prejudice to his Holineſs, or to his
" Court. May God remedy Things! Under whom, unleſs his Ma-
" jeſty and your Lordſhip labour very hard, there will be no Reme-
" dy left for the Church. In a Poſtſcript, he tells the ſame
" Story that *Vargas* had told, of the Legate's treating the Biſhop of
" *Verdun* ſo ill, for his calling the Reformation offered, a *pretended*
" *Reformation*: And he commanded him to be ſilent, when he was
" about to ſay ſomewhat in his own Juſtification. The Biſhop an-
" ſwered, that at this Rate there was no Liberty; and having ob-
" tained Leave of the Emperor, by whom he was ſent thither,
" he would be gone. The Legate told him, he ſhould not go, but
" ſhould do what he commanded him.——He writes, that it was a
" great Reproach to the Biſhops, from whom the World expected
" Canons of Reformation; that in truth they could give them no-
" thing, but what the Legate pleaſes.——It were juſt with the Peo-
" ple, if we do not treat about their Intereſt more in Earneſt than
" we have done hitherto, for to Stone us, when we return
" Home.

Reflections upon thoſe Proceedings. I have ſet all this out ſo copiouſly, that it may appear, from what thoſe, who were far from being in any Sort Favourers of the Reformation, who were at *Trent*, and were let into the Secret of Affairs, wrote of the Council to the Emperor's Chief Miniſter, how little not only of Liberty, but even of Common Decency, there appeared in the whole Conduct of that Council.

This Digreſſion is, I hope, an acceptable Entertainment to the Reader; and it muſt entirely free every conſidering Perſon, from a vulgar but weak Prejudice, infuſed into many by practiſing Miſſionaries, which was objected to my ſelf by a Great Prince, That no Nation ought to have Reformed it ſelf, in a Separation from the reſt of the Church: But that there ought to have been a General Acquieſcing in ſuch Things as were commonly received, till by a Joint Concur-

rence

rence of other Churches the Reformation might have been agreed and ſettled in a General Council. Theſe Letters do ſo effectually diſcover the Vanity of this Conceit, that at firſt Sight it evidently appears that even thoſe Abuſes and Corruptions that could not be juſtified, yet could not be effectually Reformed at *Trent*; and that every Thing was carried there, partly by the Artifices of the Legates, and partly by the many poor *Italian* Prelates, who were all Penſioners of the Court of *Rome*: So that no Abuſe, how groſs, or crying ſoever, could be amended, but as the Popes for their own Ends thought fit to give it up. This appears ſo evidently in the Letters, out of which I have drawn this Abſtract, that I hope any Prejudice formed upon the Proſpect of an Univerſal Reformation, is by it entirely removed. I turn next to the Affairs of *England*. 1547.

The Earl of *Hertford*, advanced to be Duke of *Somerſet*, depended much on *Paget*'s Advices. He told him on the Day that King *Henry* died, that he deſired his Friendſhip; and promiſed to him, that he would have a great Regard to his Advice. But tho' *Paget* put him oft in mind of this, he forgot it too ſoon. His great Succeſs in his firſt Expedition to *Scotland*, was a particular Happineſs to him, and might have eſtabliſhed him; but his Quarrelling ſo ſoon with his Brother, was fatal to them both.

Thirlby was ſtill Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court: He ſtudied to make his Court to the Protector, and wrote him a very hearty Congratulation upon his Exaltation; and added, That the Biſhop of *Arras* ſeemed likewiſe to rejoice at it. At the ſame time, he warned him of the Deſigns of the *French* againſt *England*. He gave him a long Account of the *Interim*, in which he writes, that *Malvenda* had ſecretly a great Hand: He himſelf ſeems to approve of it; and ſays, that it was as high an Act of Supremacy, as any in all King *Henry*'s Reign; for by it, not only many of the Doctrines of Popery had mollifying Senſes put on them, different from what was commonly received; but the Sacrament was allowed to be given in both Kinds, and the Married Prieſts were ſuffered to Officiate. It is true, all was ſoftned by this, that it was only a prudent Connivance in the *Interim*, till the Council ſhould be reaſſembled, to bring all Matters to a final Settlement. *Thirlby* writes of the *Interim*.

The Protector either miſtruſted *Thirlby*, or he called him Home, to aſſiſt *Cranmer* in Carrying on the Reformation. He ſent Sir *Philip Hobby* in his Stead. He was a Man marked in King *Henry*'s Time, as a Favourer of the Preachers of the *New Learning*, as they were then called. There was one *Parſon*, a Clerk, known to have evil Opinions (ſo it is entred in a Part of the Council-Book, for the Year 1543,) touching the *Sacrament of the Altar*; who was maintained by *Weldon*, one of the Maſters of the Houſhold, and by *Hobby*, then a Gentleman-Uſher: for which they were both ſent to the *Fleet*; but they were ſoon after diſcharged. *Hobby* ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

Hobby was therefore ſent over Ambaſſador, as a Perſon on whoſe Advices the Government here might depend, with Relation to the Affairs of *Germany*. I have ſeen a Volume of the Letters, writ to him by the Protector and Council, with Copies of the Anſwers that he wrote.

1547. The Emperor's Confeſſor refuſed him Abſolution for not perſecuting Hereticks.

His firſt Diſpatch mentioned a particular Diſpute between the Emperor and his Confeſſor. The Confeſſor refuſed to give him Abſolution, unleſs he would recal the Decree of the *Interim*, and, inſtead of Favouring Hereſy, would with the Sword extirpate Hereticks. The Emperor ſaid, he was ſatisfied with what he had done in the Matter of the *Interim*, and that he would do no more againſt the *Lutherans*: If the Fryar would not give him Abſolution, others would be found, who would do it. So the Fryar left him.

At that Time, a Propoſition of a Marriage for the Lady *Mary* was made by the Emperor, who ſeemed to apprehend that She was not ſafe in *England*. It was with the Brother of the King of *Portugal*. He was called at firſt the Prince of *Portugal*; and it was then hearkned to: But when the Council underſtood he was the King's Brother, they did not think fit to entertain it. And in the ſame Letter, Mention is made of *Geofrey Poole*, who was then beyond Sea, and deſired a Pardon: The Council wrote, that he was included in the laſt Act of Pardon; yet ſince he deſired it, they offer him a Special Pardon. This Letter is ſigned *T. Cant. Wiltſhire, Northampton, Wentworth, T. Ely, T. Cheyne, A. Wyngfield, Herbert, N. Walton, J. Gage.*

The Perfidy of the *French* King.

The next Diſpatch to him, has a particular Account of Two Perſons, whom the King of *France* had corrupted to betray one of their Forts to him. The King of *France* had ſaid to their Ambaſſador, *Par la Foy de Gentilhomme*, By the Faith of a Gentleman, he would make no War, without giving Warning firſt. This he promiſed on the 20th of *July*; yet hearing of the Commotions that were in *England*, he began Hoſtilities againſt *Bullogne* within Three or Four Days after. This is ſigned *E. Somerſet, T. Cant. R. Ryche* Can. *W. St. Johns, W. Paget, W. Petre, J. Smith, E. Watton.* So long ago did it appear, that the *Bona Fide* of that Court, was not a Thing to be much relied on. I would have printed theſe Letters, if they were in my Power: But having had the Originals in my Hands about 30 Years ago, I did not then Copy them out, but contented my ſelf with taking Extracts out of them, to which I ſhall upon other Occaſions have Recourſe.

The Progreſs of the Reformation.

As for the Progreſs in the Reformation at Home, *Cranmer* was deliver'd from too deep a Subjection, in which he had lived to King *Henry*. The Load of great Obligations, is a Weight on a Generous Mind: The Hope he had of gaining on the King, to carry him to a further Reformation, did, no doubt, carry him too far in his Compliances to him. He did, perhaps, ſatisfy himſelf, as I have Reaſon to believe many in the *Roman* Communion do, to this Day, that he did not in his Mind, or with his Thoughts, go along in thoſe Devotions, that they cannot but think unlawful; but what, thro' a Fearfulneſs of Temper, or an ill-managed Modeſty, they do not depart from eſtabliſh'd Practices, even tho' they think them unlawful. The Compliances that we find in the Apoſtles, particularly in St. *Paul* himſelf, the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, in order to the Gaining the *Jews*, might all meet together, to carry him too far in his Submiſſions to King *Henry*. This can neither be denied, nor juſtified; but the Cenſures paſſed on it, may be much ſoftned, when all theſe Things

Things are laid together. Now he was delivered from that Servitude so he resolved to set about a further Reformation, with much Zeal, tho' perhaps still with too great Caution. He studied if it was possible to gain upon *Gardiner*: he had reason to believe from his Forwardness in complying with King *Henry*, that he had no great Scrupulosity in his own Thoughts; so he tried to draw him to assist, at least not to oppose the Steps that were to be made; and judging that it was necessary to give the People due Instruction, to carry them to a further Measure of Knowledge, he set about the preparing a Book of *Homilies* to be read in Churches: And to give some more Light into the Meaning of the New Testament, he chose *Erasmus*'s *Paraphrase* as the most unexceptionable Book that could be thought on: Since he had been so much favoured in *England*; and as he had written against *Luther*, so he lived and died in the *Roman* Communion. 1547.

Cranmer communicated his Designs, with the Draught of the *Homilies* to *Gardiner*: But he was resolved to set himself at the Head of the Popish Party: He had no doubt great Resentments, because he was left out of the Council, which he imputed to the *Seymours*: *Cranmer* tried if the Offer of bringing him to sit at that Board, could overcome these; yet all was in vain. He insisted at first on this, that during the King's Minority, it was fit to keep all Things quiet, and not to indanger the publick Peace by venturing on new Changes. He pressed the Archbishop with the only thing that he could not well answer: Which was, that he had concurred in setting forth the late King's Book of *a necessary Doctrine*: *Gardiner* wrote that he was confident *Cranmer* was a better Man than to do any such Thing against his Conscience upon any King's Account; and if his Conscience agreed to that Book, which he himself had so recommended, he wished Things might be left to rest there. *Cranmer* pressed him again and again in this Matter, but he was intractable. In particular he excepted to the Homily of *Justification*, which was thought to be of *Cranmer*'s own composing: Because *Justification* was ascribed to *Faith* only, in which he thought *Charity* had likewise its Influence; and that without it *Faith* was dead, and a dead Thing could not be the Cause of *Justification*. But the Archbishop shewed him his Design in that, was only to set forth the Freedom of God's Mercy, which we relying on, had by that, the Application of it to our selves; not meaning that *justifying Faith* was ever without *Charity*; for even Faith did not justify as a meritorious Condition, but only as it was an Instrument applying God's Mercy to Sinners. Upon this there was perhaps too much of Subtilty on both Sides. As for *Erasmus*'s Paraphrase, *Gardiner* excepted to it as being in many Things contrary to the *Homilies*: So he thought since they agreed so little together, they ought not to be joined and recommended by the same Injunctions: To this it was said that the Paraphrase was a good and useful Book, tho' in some Particulars, the Homilies differed from it.

Gardiner at the Head of the Opposition to it.

But as they had the Perverseness of the Popish Party to deal with, so it was not easy to restrain their own Side. Those whose Heat could not be well managed, were apt to break out into great Disorders; some insulting the Priests as they were officiating, others talk-

1547. ing irreverently of the Sacrament; ſome defining the manner of the Preſence, and others aſſerting the Impoſſibility of it, as it was explained. Theſe Diſorders gave Occaſion to two Proclamations this Year; the firſt was on the 12th of *November*, againſt Inſolence towards Prieſts, ſuch as the reviling them, toſſing them, and taking their Caps and Tippets violently from them: The other was on the 27th of *December* againſt irreverent Talkers of the Sacrament, and againſt thoſe who in their Sermons went to define the Manner, the Nature and Faſhion, and the Poſſibility or Impoſſibility of the Preſence. The Viſitors went about with their Injunctions. They are regiſtred in the Books of the Dean and Chapter of *York*; where the Viſitation was held in *September*. It came not to *Wincheſter* till *October*, for the Monition concerning it was made on the 7th of *October*. Whether the Slowneſs of the Viſitors coming thither was occaſioned by any ſecret Practice with *Gardiner*, and upon the Hopes of gaining him or not, I cannot tell. He it ſeems, had before that refuſed to receive or obey the Injunctions: for which he was put in the *Fleet*: And when he wrote his Letter to the Protector, complaining of the Proceedings againſt him, he had been then ſeven Weeks there.

Proceedings in Convocation.

I can ſay nothing new of the Parliament that ſate this Year. When the Convocation was opened on the 5th of *November*, the Archbiſhop told them, that it was with the King and the Lords Conſent that the Prelates and Clergy ſhould conſult together about ſettling the Chriſtian Religion right, and delivering it to the People. He ſent them to chuſe their Prolocutor, and to preſent him the *Friday* following. It is ſet down in the Minutes, that the lower Houſe conſulted how they might be joined to the lower Houſe of Parliament: And about the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. On the 9th of *December* ſome were appointed to know if the Archbiſhop had obtained Licence (in the Minutes called Indemnity or Immunity) for them to treat of Matters of Religion. In the 5th Seſſion on the laſt of *November*, the Prolocutor exhibited an Order given him by the Archbiſhop for receiving the Communion in both Kinds, to which in the next Seſſion they agreed, no Man ſpeaking againſt it; 64 agreed to this; *Polydore Virgil* and *Weſton* being two of them. And in the 8th Seſſion on the 17th of *December*, a Propoſition was offered to them, in theſe Words: "That all ſuch Canons, Laws, Statutes, Decrees, Uſa-
".ges, and Cuſtoms, heretofore made or uſed, that forbid any Per-
" ſon to contract Matrimony, or condemn Matrimony already con-
" tracted, by any Perſon, for any Vow or Promiſe of Prieſthood,
" Chaſtity or Widowhood, ſhall from henceforth ceaſe, be utterly
" void, and of none effect". Here it was that *Redman*'s Opinion was read which I had in my Hiſtory, put as read the following Year. This Propoſition went to all Monaſtick Vows, as well as to the Marriage of Prieſts. The Propoſition was ſubſcribed by 53 who were for the Affirmative, only 22 were for the Negative: After which a Committee was named to draw the Form of an Act for the Marriage of Prieſts. But all that is in the often cited Minutes as to this Matter, is, *Item* propounded for the Marriage of Prieſts; and to it is added, and that the Eccleſiaſtical Laws ſhould be promulgated; there is no more in the Minutes of the Convocations during this Reign.

They affirm that it was free for the Clergy to marry.

Strype

Strype adds to this a particular Remark out of the Defence of the Prieſts Marriage, that diverſe of thoſe who were for the Affirmative, did never marry: And that ſome of thoſe who were for the Negative yet did afterwards marry. *Cranmer* went on gathering Authorities out of Scripture and the Fathers againſt unwritten Traditions: He wrote a Book on this Subject in *Latin*; but in Queen *Mary*'s Time it was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed by an *Engliſh* Exile beyond Sea. He took a ſpecial Care to furniſh *Canterbury* with good Preachers: But tho' their Labours were not quite without Succeſs, yet Superſtition had too deep a Root there to be eaſily ſubdued: And in the Univerſities, the old Doctrines were ſo obſtinately perſiſted in, that when ſome in *Cambridge* offered to examine the Maſs by the Scriptures and the Fathers, and to have a Diſputation upon it, the Vice-Chancellor did forbid it. The Archbiſhop had procured a Confirmation of their Privileges, of *Cambridge* at leaſt; for *Strype* only mentions that: The Mildneſs he expreſſed towards all who oppoſed him, even with Inſolence, was remarkable: When one who thought he carried this too far, told him that if ever it came to the Turn of his Enemies, they would ſhew him no ſuch Favour; he anſwered, *Well, if God ſo provide, we muſt abide it.* 1547. *Cranmer*'s Labours and Zeal.

I did in the Account of the Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantion, mention a Letter of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s to *Ceſarius*, of which *Peter Martyr* brought over a Copy in *Latin* to *England*. Since that Time the Popiſh Clergy were ſenſible, that by that Letter it appeared plainly, that St. *Chryſoſtom* did believe that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine remained ſtill in the Sacrament; as the Human Nature remained in the Perſon of Chriſt: So that by this, all the other high Figures uſed by that Father muſt be underſtood ſo, as to reconcile them to this Letter: therefore they have uſed all poſſible Endeavours to ſuppreſs it. When the Learned *Bigot* had brought a Copy of it from *Florence* to *France*, and printed it with other things relating to that Father, they ordered it to be cut out in ſuch a manner, that in the printed Book it appeared that ſome Leaves were cut out; yet one Copy of it was brought to the preſent Learned and Pious Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then Chaplain to our Ambaſſador at *Paris*, who firſt printed it here in *England*; as the Learned *Le Moyne*, having another Copy ſent to him, printed it about the ſame time in *Holland*. St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Letter to *Ceſarius* brought to *England*.

I have nothing to add concerning the Tumults of the Year 1549, but that the Popiſh Clergy were generally at the Head of the Rebels. Many of theſe were Prieſts that had complied and ſubſcribed the new Book; ſome of them were killed in every Skirmiſh, and very few of the Clergy ſhewed much Zeal againſt them: So that the Earl of *Bedford* could have none but *Miles Coverdale*, to go along with the Force that he carried into *Devonſhire* to ſubdue them. Troubles at *Frankfort*, p. 187.

Upon ſome Information, that the Lady *Mary*'s Servants were active in aſſiſting thoſe Commotions, the Protector and Council wrote to her on the 17th; that Letter being delivered to her on the 20th of *July*, ſhe preſently wrote an Anſwer, which I had from Sir *William Cook*, and it will be found in the Collection. In it, "ſhe expreſſes her "Diſlike of thoſe Revolts. A Chaplain of hers in *Devonſhire* had "been The Lady *Mary* denies, that ſhe or her Servants were concerned in the Riſings. *Coll. Numb.* 2.

1547. " been named, but ſhe writes ſhe had not one Chaplain in thoſe " Parts. Another that was named, lived conſtantly in her Houſe: " She juſtifies all her Servants, that had been named; and aſſured " them, that all of her Houſhold were true Subjects to the King. " The Council had likewiſe charged her, that her Proceedings in " Matters of Religion had given the Rebels great Courage: Which " ſhe wrote, appeared to be untrue; ſince the Rebels in her Neigh- " bourhood touched upon no Point of Religion. She prayed God, " that their new Alterations, and unlawful Liberties, might not ra- " ther be the Occaſion of ſuch Aſſemblies: As for *Devonſhire*, ſhe " had neither Lands nor Acquaintance in thoſe Parts.

In the ſuppreſſing theſe Tumults, the Protector did viſibly eſpouſe the Peoples Intereſt, and blamed the Lords for their Incloſures, and the other Oppreſſions that had, as he ſaid, occaſioned all thoſe Diſorders. By this he came to be univerſally beloved by the People; but truſting to that, he began to take too much upon him: and was ſo wedded to his own Thoughts, that he often oppoſed the whole Council. Upon which *Paget* wrote him a long Letter, in which, as a Faithful Friend, he ſet before him his Errors; chiefly his Wilfulneſs, and his affecting Popularity too much. He deſired to be diſmiſſed the Council; for while he was there, he was reſolved to deliver his Opinion, according to his Reaſon, and not ſeek to pleaſe another: He had offered him faithful Advices, and warned him of the Cloud that he ſaw gathering againſt him. This he wrote on the 6th of *July*, ſome Months before it broke out: It ſeems the Protector took this Freedom well from him, for he continued firm to him to the laſt. His Brother, the Lord *Seimour*'s Fall lay heavy on him: Tho' that Lord had almoſt compaſſed another Deſign, of marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*: So I find it in the Council's Letters to *Hobby* of the 18th of *January* $154\frac{8}{9}$.

Cotton Libr. *Titus*, D. 3.

The Entertaining Foreign Troops in *England*.

As for the other Matter with which he was loaded, the entertaining ſome *German* Troops, I find among Sir *Philip Hobby*'s Letters, a great many Orders and Letters, ſigned by the whole Council, as well as by the Protector, which ſhew that they all concurred in that Matter. The true Secret of it on both Sides was this: The Bulk of the People of *England* was ſtill poſſeſſed with the old Superſtition to ſuch a degree, that it was viſible they could not be depended on, in any Matter that related to the Alterations that were made, or were deſigned to be made: Whereas the *Germans* were full of Zeal, on the other ſide; ſo that they might well be truſted to: And the Princes of *Germany*, who were then kept under by the Emperor, ſo that they neither durſt nor could keep their Troops at home, but hoped they might at ſome better time have an Occaſion to uſe them, were willing to put them in the Hands of the preſent Government of *England*. Howſoever, this had an odious Name put on it, and was called a ruling by Strangers: So that it very much ſhook the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Popularity; for tho' it could not be denied, that all the Council had concurred with him in it, yet the Load and Blame of all was laid on him.

The Popiſh Party was very active in procuring the Change of Meaſures that followed. The Council wrote over to the Emperor, to let him

him know that the Neceſſity of their Affairs was like to force them to treat for the delivering up of *Bullogne* to the *French*; tho' this was a Secret, not yet communicated to the whole Privy Council. 1547.

Boner's being removed was not much reſented, neither at home nor abroad. He was a brutal Man, few either loved or eſteemed him: And *Ridley*, who came to ſucceed him, was the moſt generally eſteemed Man of all the Reformers. One thing that made it more acceptable to thoſe who favoured the Reformation, was the ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter*, and the removing *Thirleby* to *Norwich*, where it was thought he could do leſs Miſchief than where he was: For tho' he complied as ſoon as any Change was made, yet he ſecretly oppoſed every thing, while it was ſafe to do it. He had a ſoft and an inſinuating Way with him; which, as was thought, prevailed too much even on *Cranmer* himſelf. But *Gardiner* was a dextrous Man, and much more eſteemed, tho' as little beloved as *Boner* was: So the falling on him gave a greater Alarm to the whole Party. He who was ſo well known both in the Emperor's Court, and in the *French* Court, ſent over tragical Accounts of the Uſage he met with. This was writ over hither by our Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*: Upon which a very ſevere Character of him is given in a Letter ſigned *E. Somerſet*, *T. Cant. R. Rich.* C. *W. Wiltſhire*, *J. Warwick*, *J. Bedford*, *W. Northampton*, *G. Clinton*, *W. Petre*, *W. Cecyl.* In it they gave an Account of the Proceedings againſt him; and add, "He "had ſhewed not only a wilful Pride, but a cankered Heart, guilty of "open and ſhameful Lies; by which impudent Falſhood, he ſhewed "himſelf moſt unworthy to be a Biſhop, whatſoever Strangers may "think of him. For Religion, he is as far from any Piety or "Faſhion of a good Biſhop, as a Player of a Biſhop in a Comedy is "from a good Biſhop indeed.

Whether the Protector deſigned any thing againſt the Conſtitution of the Church, or at leaſt to ſwallow up the great Endowments that were not yet devoured, I cannot tell. But there is an Advice in one of *Hobby*'s Letters, dextrouſly enough propoſed, that gives Reaſon to ſuſpect this might be on Deſign to broach a Buſineſs that was to be ſo cunningly propoſed: And *Hobby* being a Confident of the Protector's, he may be ſuppoſed to have written as he was directed by him. He wrote it in *September* 1548. He tells the Council, "that the Pro-"teſtants of *Germany* hoped that the King, ſeeing that the late Wars "in *Germany* happened chiefly by the Biſhops continuing in their "Princely and Lordly Eſtate, would, for preventing the like, ap-"point the Godly Biſhops an honeſt and competent Living, ſuffici-"ent for their Maintenance, taking from them the reſt of thoſe "worldly Poſſeſſions and Dignities, and thereby avoid the Vain-Glo-"ry that letteth them truly and ſincerely to do their Office, and "preach the Goſpel and Word of Chriſt. On the other ſide he "wrote, the Papiſts ſay they doubt not but my Lords the Biſhops, "being a great Number of ſtout and well learned Men, will well "enough weigh againſt their Adverſaries, and maintain ſtill their "whole Eſtate; which coming to paſs they have good Hope, that "in time theſe Princely Pillars will well enough reſiſt this Fury, and "bring all things again into the old Order.

I have

1547. The Popiſh Party deceived in their Hopes on the Protector's Fall.

I have no Particulars to add concerning the Protector's Fall, and the new Scene; but that ſoon after, when it appeared that the Papiſts were not like to be more favourably dealt with, than they were under the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Biſhop of *Arras* did expoſtulate upon it with *Hobby*. He ſaid, they had been aſſiſting to the pulling down of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and that Hopes of better Uſage had been given them; yet things went worſe with them than before: Upon that he fell to rail at *Bucer*, and ſaid, he believed he inflamed Matters in *England*, as much as he had done in the Empire. For at this Time many were forced to come to *England* for Shelter, the chief of whom were *Bucer*, *Fagius*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Bernardin Ochinus*; all theſe were entertained by *Cranmer*, till he got good Proviſions to be made for them, in the Univerſities; which were now moſt violently ſet againſt every Step that was made towards a Reformation. *Hobby* came over to *England*, and tried what Service he could do to his Friend the Duke of *Somerſet*: But the Faction was grown too ſtrong to be withſtood. Upon his Submiſſion, the Matter went for ſome Time very high againſt him, and his Friends. On the 13th of *October*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *John Thynne*, and *Edward Wolfe*, called Adherents to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the principal Inſtruments of his Ill Government, were ſent to the *Tower*; and on the 14th, he himſelf was ſent thither. No more Mention is made of them till the 6th of *February*, that the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſet at Liberty; but bound in a Recognizance of 10000 *l.* not to go above Four Mile from *Schene*, or *Syon*, nor to come into the King's Preſence, unleſs he was called for by the King, and his Council. And when he knew that the King was to come within Four Miles of theſe Houſes, he was to withdraw from them. Yet, it ſeems, his Enemies were ſtill in ſome Apprehenſion of him; and probably, ſome Meſſages went between him and his Friends in the *Tower*: For, on the 18th of *February*, they were all made Cloſe Priſoners, and their Servants were not ſuffered to attend upon them. But it ſeems, upon Examination, this was found not to be of a Criminal Nature; ſo, on the 22d, they were diſmiſſed upon their Recognizances. And upon the 10th of *April*, the Duke of *Somerſet* was again brought to the Council-Board, being that Day ſworn of the Privy-Council.

Council-Book.

On the 20th of *April*, *Hobby* being ſent back to the Emperor's Court, had Orders to try if the Propoſition for a Marriage of the Lady *Mary* to the Prince of *Portugal*, might be again ſet on foot: And in Excuſe for its being rejected before, he had Orders to ſay, that few of the Council had been made acquainted with it: He was deſired therefore to enquire, what that Prince's Eſtate was. Whether this flowed from the Earl of *Warwick*'s Ambitious Deſigns, which might make him wiſh to have her ſent away far out of *England*; or, if it flowed from the Uneaſineſs the Council was in, by reaſon of her perſiſting in the Old Way of Religion, I cannot determine. *Hobby* had alſo Orders to repreſent to the Emperor, that they had hitherto connived at her Maſs, in hopes that She would by that Connivance be moved to conform her ſelf to the Laws:

Diverſi-

Diverſity of Rites in Matters of Religion, ought not to be ſuffer'd. The Laws were ſo ſtrict, that no Licence could be granted, in Oppoſition to them: Yet they were reſolved to connive a little longer, tho' She abuſed the King's Favour; for She kept as it were an open Church, not only for her Servants, but for all her Neighbours: They therefore wiſhed, that the Emperor would give her good Advice in this Matter. The Letter was ſigned by *Cranmer*, by the Earls of *Wiltſhire* and *Warwick*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and *Paget*, *Petre*, *Herbert*, *Darcy* and *Maſon*. To all this, it ſeems, the Emperor had little Regard: For not long after that, the Ambaſſador wrote over, that by the Emperor's Command, an Order was ſerved on him, not to have the *Engliſh* Service in his Houſe. The Council looked on this, as contrary to the Privileges of Ambaſſadors, by the Law of Nations. So they ordered, that the Emperor's Ambaſſador ſhould not have Maſs in his Houſe, and gave him Notice of it. When the Emperor knew this, he complained of it, as a High Violation of the Dignity of that Character: But the Council-Books ſhew that they ſtood firm, and would not recal their Order, till the Emperor recalled his Order againſt the New Service in the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Houſe. What further Proceedings were of either Side in this Matter, does not appear to me. I find by the Council-Books, that the Carrying on the Reformation was cordially eſpouſed, and purſued at that Board. 1549.

Proceedings againſt *Gardiner*.

Gardiner had been long a Priſoner; and his being detained in the *Tower*, no Proceedings being had againſt him, occaſioned a great Outcry: So, on the 8th of *June* 1550, it was reſolved to ſend ſome to him, to ſee if he repented of his former Obſtinacy, and would apply himſelf to advance the King's Proceedings; upon which the King would receive him into Favour, and all paſſed Errors ſhould be forgiven. So the Duke of *Somerſet*, and others, were ſent to him. They made Report on the 10th of *June*, that he deſired to ſee the Book of the King's Proceedings, and then he would make a full Anſwer. He ſeemed to them in all Things willing to conform himſelf to it, promiſing that if he found any Thing in it againſt his Conſcience, he would open it to none but to the Council. So the Book was ſent him; and he was allowed the Liberty of the Gallery and Gardens in the *Tower*, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was not in them. On the 13th of *June*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* reported, that he had given him back the King's Book; and that he ſaid, he would make no Anſwer to it, till he was ſet at Liberty; and that then he would ſpeak his Conſcience: So the Lords, who had been with him, were appointed to go to him again. The Matter reſted till the 8th of *July*.

In an Imperfect Book of the Minutes of the Council, that I have by me, it is ſet down, that *Gardiner* did at laſt ſubſcribe Six Articles. The Two firſt appear not. The Third is, "That the Book of Com-
"mon-Prayer was a Godly and Chriſtian Book, to be allowed and
"obſerved by all the King's true Subjects. 4th. That the King, in
"his young and tender Age, was a full and entire King: And that
"the Subjects were bound to obey the Statutes, Proclamations, and
"Commands ſet forth in this Age, as well as if he were Thirty or

1550. " Forty Years old. 5th, That the Statute of the Six Articles " was, for juſt Cauſes, repealed by the Authority of Parliament. " 6th, That the King, and his Succeſſors, had full Authority in the " Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, to Reform and Correct Errors and " Abuſes, and to alter Rites and Ceremonies Eccleſiaſtical, as ſhall ſeem " moſt convenient for the Edification of his People; ſo that the Al- " teration is not contrary to the Scriptures, and the Laws of God. To all this he ſubſcribed his Name: But no Date is added in thoſe Minutes; but it is entred, that he did it in the Preſence of the Council, who alſo ſubſcribed as Witneſſes to it. Their Names are, *E. Somerſet*, *W. Wiltſhire*, *J. Warwick*, *J. Bedford*, *W. Northampton*, *E. Clinton*, *G. Cobham*, *W. Paget*, *W. Herbert*, *W. Petre*, *E. North*. It was reſolved to carry his Submiſſions further; ſo Twenty New Articles were drawn up: In which, " the Obligation to Celibacy, and " all the Vows made by the Monks, all Images, Relicks, and Pilgri- " mages are condemned. It is affirmed, that the Scriptures ought to " be read by all: That the Maſs was full of Abuſe and Superſtition, " and was juſtly taken away: That the Euchariſt ought to be recei- " ved in both Kinds: That Private Maſſes were not agreeable to Scri- " pture: That the Sacrament ought not to be adored: That the " Book of Homilies was Godly and Wholeſome: That the Book of " Ordaining Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, ought to be received and " approved by all; and that the Leſſer Orders were not neceſſary. " That the Scriptures contained all Things neceſſary to Salvation: And " that *Eraſmus* Paraphraſe was, upon Good and Godly Conſiderations, " ordered by the King to be put in all Churches.

But to this a Preface was added, ſetting forth, " That whereas he " had been ſuſpected as Favouring the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, " and that he did not approve of the King's Proceedings, in Alter- " ing ſome Rites in Religion: Upon which, he had been brought " before the Council, and admoniſhed; and was ordered to Preach, " declaring himſelf in thoſe Things. But tho' he promiſed to do it, " he had not done this, as he ought to have done: By which, he " had not only incurred the King's Diſpleaſure, but divers of the " King's Subjects were encouraged by his Example, (as the King's " Council was certainly informed) to repine at his Majeſties Pro- " ceedings: For which he was very ſorry, and confeſſed that he " had been condignly puniſhed. And he thanked the King for his " Clemency, treating him not with Rigor, but Mercy. And that it " might appear how little he did repine at his Highneſs Doings, " which in Religion were moſt Godly, and to the Commonwealth " moſt Prudent: He did therefore of his own Will, and without " any Compulſion, ſubſcribe the following Articles. But on the Margin of the Minutes, the Biſhop's Anſwer to this is thus ſet down. " I cannot in my Conſcience confeſs the Preface: Knowing my ſelf " to be of that Sort, I am indeed, and ever have been———. The reſt is torn out. On the 15th of *July*, it is entred, that Report was made by thoſe who were ſent to him, that he ſaid he had never offended the King: So he prayed that he might be brought to his Trial, in which he aſked no Mercy, but only Juſtice. When he had

paſſed

paſſed his Tryal and was releaſed, it ſhould then appear what he would do with relation to the Articles: But it was not reaſonable that he ſhould ſubſcribe them, while he was yet in Priſon. 1550.

Some of the Privy-Councellors were ſent again to him, and they were ordered to carry with them a Divine and a Temporal Lawyer; ſo they took with them *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and Mr. *Goodrick*: His Anſwer was to the ſame Purpoſe, and was next Council Day reported. Upon which he was brought before the Council, and required to ſubſcribe the Paper; but he ſtill refuſing to do it, the Sentence of Sequeſtration was read, with a Denunciation of Deprivation, if he did not conform within Three Months: Nevertheleſs (it is added in the Council-Book) upon divers good Conſiderations, and eſpecially upon hope that within that time he might be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the ſaid Biſhop's Houſe and Servants ſhould be maintained in their preſent Eſtate, until the Time that this Intimation ſhould expire: And the Matter in the mean time was to be kept private. Theſe are all the Additional Paſſages taken from the Council-Book relating to *Gardiner*.

Thoſe Steps, in which the Reformation was advancing but ſlowly, occaſioned great Diſtractions over moſt Parts of the Kingdom: While thoſe who adhered to the Old Practices and Doctrines preached ſeverely againſt all Innovations, and others as ſeverely againſt all Corruptions and Abuſes. The ill Effects of theſe contradictory Sermons had given occaſion to a Proclamation on the 24th of *April* 1550, prohibiting all Preaching, except by Perſons licenſed by the King, or the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: And the Diſorders occaſioned by Mens divorcing their Wives, or marrying more Wives than one, were likewiſe ordered to be proceeded againſt by the ſame Proclamation. On the 9th of *Auguſt*, there came out another Proclamation, prohibiting all Plays till *Allhollontide*: What the Reaſon of this laſt was, does not appear. That againſt all Preaching was much cenſured. It was repreſented, that by reaſon of the Proclamation againſt Preaching, the People were running into great Ignorance and Diſſoluteneſs. So Letters were ordered to be written to the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Ely*; and Eight Days after to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and other Biſhops, to appoint their Chaplains, and others by their Diſcretion, to preach in their Dioceſes, notwithſtanding the Proclamation againſt Preaching. There was alſo an Order made in Council, that ſome Biſhops, and other Learned Men, ſhould deviſe an Order for the Creation of *Biſhops* and *Prieſts*. I uſe the Words in the Council-Book. Twelve were appointed to prepare it. *Heath*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was one of them. It ſeems there was a digeſted Form already prepared, probably by *Cranmer*, for that Service: For the Order was made on the 2d of *February*, and on the 28th it was brought to the Council, ſigned by Eleven of the Number, *Heath* only refuſing to ſign it: He ſaid, as it is entred in the Council Book, that all that is contained in the Book was Good and Godly; he alſo ſaid he would obey it; but added that he would not ſign it. The Matter was reſpited for ſome Days, and great Pains was taken by *Cranmer*, and others, to perſuade him to ſign it; but he ſtill refuſing it (as the Council Book has it) *obſtinately*; He was on the 4th of *March*

All Preaching is forbidden, except by Perſons eſpecially Licenced.

Heath refuſes to ſubſcribe the Book of Ordinations.

1550. ſent to the *Fleet*. He was in *September* called again before the Council, and required to ſubſcribe the Book: And divers Learned Men argued to perſuade him, that the Book was expedient and allowable: His Obſtinacy was charged on him, for which they ſaid he had deſerved a longer Impriſonment: But he might ſtill recover the King's Favour if he would ſubſcribe it. He acknowledged he had been very gently uſed, rather like a Son than a Subject: He inſiſted on what he had formerly ſaid, that he would not diſobey the Order ſet forth in the Book: Every one in the Council took Pains on him, for it ſeemed a Contradiction to ſay he would Obey it, and yet not Subſcribe it. He was offered more Time for Conferences. He ſaid he knew he could never be of another Mind; adding, that there were other Things to which he would not Conſent, as to take down *Altars*, and to ſet up inſtead of them *Tables*. The Matter ended with a Charge given him to ſubſcribe under the Pain of Deprivation: At this Time Two Entries made in the Council Books ſhew the good Effects of *Latimer*'s Zealous Preaching. On the 10th of *March* he brought in 104 *l.* recovered of one who had concealed it from the King: And a little after 363 *l.* of the King's Money: Of which for his Attendance in *Lent*, 50 *l.* was allowed to him. I find there was in this Reign, as in the former, a Peculiar Seal for Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which was in Secretary *Petre*'s keeping: Many took out Licences under this Seal, for eating Meat in *Lent*; ſome only for a Man and his Wife; and ſome for Four, Six, or Ten, that did Eat with them: And ſome for as many as ſhould come to their Houſe. Licences of another Nature, I find were often taken out for keeping a Number of Retainers, above what was allowed by the Statute.

Day Biſhop of *Chicheſter* in Trouble for not removing Altars.

All Endeavours were too weak to overcome the Averſion that the People had to the Steps that were made towards a Reformation. Dr. *Cox* the King's Almoner and Preceptor was ſent to *Suſſex*, to Preach and Inſtruct the People there, who were much diſturbed, (as the Council Book has it) by the Sedicious Preaching of *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and others. *Day* denied this: So an Order was made in Council, that he ſhould bring in Writing that which he had Preached. The Duke of *Somerſet* reported to the Council, that *Day* had been with him, and owned that he had received the Order that the Council had made for the taking down of Altars, and ſetting Tables in their ſtead: But anſwered that he could not in Conſcience obey it: This ſeemed indeed unaccountable: But he inſiſted that he could not in Conſcience obey it, and prayed to be excuſed: Upon that he was ſummoned to appear before the Council, and there, he ſaid, he could not Conform himſelf to their Order: For he thought he followed in that both the Scriptures, and the Doctors, and Fathers of the Church: And that he did not perceive any Strength in the Six Reaſons, given by the Biſhop of *London*, to juſtify the Change. He quoted a Paſſage in *Iſaiah*, which the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhop of *London*, and the reſt of the Council thought not at all to the Purpoſe: So he was ordered to confer with the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhops of *Ely* and *London*, and to appear before them on the 4th of *December*. When he was again before the Council, he entred into a Diſpute with the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of *Ely*. They preſſed him to give his

his Reaſons for being ſo poſitive; he inſiſted on thoſe Words in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *We have an Altar*: And though they thought it was clear, that by the Altar Chriſt himſelf was meant, yet that did not ſatisfy him: They alſo ſhewed him from *Origen*, that the Chriſtians in thoſe Days had no Altars: He might call the Table an Altar if he pleaſed: So the Antient Writers did; but all this had no Effect on him. A few more Days were given him to conſider of the Matter: He poſitively anſwered he could not obey their Order with a good Conſcience: And rather than do it, he was reſolved to ſuffer the Loſs of all he had. Two Days more were given him: But he was ſtill firm. So on the 11th of *December* 1550, he was ſent to the *Fleet*. Further Proceedings againſt him were ſtopt for many Months; in which Time it is ſaid that the King himſelf wrote to him: But all was in vain. So in *September* 1551, a Commiſſion was given to judge him; and on the 14th of *October*, it ſeems both *Heath* and he were deprived: For then an Order paſſed in Council for ſeizing the Temporalities of both their Biſhopricks. Letters were written in *June* 1552, concerning them to the Biſhops of *Ely* and *London*; the former was to receive *Day*, and the latter *Heath*, and to uſe them as in Chriſtian Charity ſhould be moſt ſeemly. It ſeems that both *Heath* and *Day* ſaw the Change of Doctrine that was preparing, with relation to the Sacrament: So they were willing to lay hold on the firſt Colour to break off from any further Compliances; for the Points they ſtood upon did not ſeem of ſuch Importance, as to ſuffer Deprivation, and Impriſonment for them. 1550.

There was at that Time a very Scandalous Venality of all Offices and Employments, which was ſo much talked of at the Court of *France*, that the Ambaſſador whom the King had there, wrote over an Account of it; and it was ſaid that whereas King *Henry* had by his Endowments made ſome Reſtitution, yet for all the Wealth they had ſeized on in Chantries and Collegiate Churches, no Schools, nor Hoſpitals were yet endowed. Here a very memorable Paſſage in *Ridley*'s Life deſerves to be remembred: He wrote to *Cheek*, that he being to give *Grindal* a Prebend in St. *Paul*'s, had received a Letter from the Council to ſtop Collation: For the King was to keep that Prebend for the Furniture of his Stable. "Alas, Sir, (he writes) "this is a heavy hearing. Is this the Fruit of the Goſpel? Speak, "Mr. *Cheek*, ſpeak for God's Sake, in God's Cauſe, unto whomſo- "ever you think you may do any Good withal: And if you will "not ſpeak, then I beſeech you let this my Letter ſpeak. There was nothing that opened all Mens Mouths, more than a Complaint entred in the Council Book, made by one *Norman* againſt the Archbiſhop of *York*, that he took his Wife and kept her from him. The Council gave ſuch Credit to this, that as a Letter was written to that Archbiſhop, not to come to Parliament, ſo they ordered a Letter to be written to Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, and Mr *Chaloner* to examine the Matter. What they did, or what Report they made, does not appear to me. *Holgate* during all the Time he was Archbiſhop of *York*, was more ſet on enriching himſelf than on any Thing elſe. He ſeemed heartily to concur in the Reformation, but he was looked on as a Reproach to it, rather than a Promoter of it. This might have a ſhare

Scandals given by many.

1550. ſhare in the Cenſure, that as was reported King *Edward* paſſed on the Biſhops in that Time, *Some for Sloth, ſome for Ignorance, ſome for Luxury, and ſome for Popery, are unfit for Diſcipline and Government.* At this Time the Anabaptiſts were again enquired after, and a Commiſſion was granted to *Cranmer, Thirleby, Cox,* and Sir *Thomas Smith,* to enquire after them, and to judge them.

Gardiner is deprived. Now *Gardiner*'s Buſineſs was brought to a concluſion. On the 23d of *November,* a Committee of the Council was appointed to conſider how to proceed further againſt him: On the 14th of *December* an Order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to carry him to *Lambeth* on the 16th, and after that as often as they required him. The Commiſſion to try him was directed to *Cranmer,* and others: He deſired Council, it was granted; and his Lawyers had free acceſs to him. On the 19th of *January* his Servants moved in Council, that ſome of that Board might be Sworn as his Witneſſes: They ſaid they would Anſwer upon their Honour, but would not be Sworn: And on the 15th of *February,* the laſt mention made of him in the Council Book, is in theſe Words, "For as much as the Biſhop had "at all Times before the Judges of his Cauſe, uſed himſelf Unreve- "rently to the King's Majeſty, and very Slanderouſly towards his "Council; and eſpecially Yeſterday being the Day of the Judgment "given againſt him, he called the Judges Hereticks and Sacramen- "taries; theſe being there, as the King's Commiſſioners, and of his "Highneſs's Council, it was ordered that he ſhould be removed from "his preſent Lodging into a meaner one in the *Tower,* and have but "one Servant to wait on him: That his Books and Papers ſhould "be taken from him, and that from henceforth he ſhould have nei- "ther Pen, Ink, nor Paper given him, but be ſequeſtred from all "Conference, and from all Means that may ſerve him to practice any "ways. Here was Severity upon Severity, which as it raiſed him to be depended on as the Head of the Popiſh Party, ſo it muſt have recommended him to the Compaſſions of all equitable People.

Whether theſe hard Orders were rigorouſly executed or not, does not appear to me. I find in a Letter of *Hooper*'s to *Bullinger,* one Circumſtance relating to *Gardiner.* It is without Date. In it, as he tells him that *Crome* did with Zeal oppoſe their Doctrine concerning the Sacrament; but commends him, as a Perſon of great Learning, and a Man of a moſt Holy Life; he tells him alſo, That *Gardiner* had a Month before ſent him a Challenge to a publick Diſputation upon that Head; promiſing, that if he did not clearly carry away the Victory, he would ſubmit himſelf to the Laws, and would willingly ſuffer the Cruelleſt Hardſhips. *Hooper* accepted the Challenge, and a Day was ſet for them to diſpute: But when the Day came near, *Gardiner* ſaid, he muſt be firſt ſet at Liberty: So all this Shew of a Readineſs to maintain the Old Doctrine, vaniſhed to nothing. Concerning the King, *Hooper* writes in that ſame Letter, That theſe Thouſand Years, there had not been any Perſon of his Age, who had ſuch a Mixture both of Piety and Learning, with ſo true a Judgment, as appeared in him. If he lived, and went on ſuitably to theſe Beginnings, he would be the Wonder and the Terror of the World. He took Notes of all the Sermons he heard; and after Din-

ner, he aſked the Young Perſons that were bred up with him, an Account of what they remembred of the Sermon; and went over the whole Matter with them. He wrote further in this Letter, That then they were every Day expecting that the Duke of *Somerſet* ſhould be again called, to Sit in the Council. 1550.

Poinet, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was Tranſlated to *Wincheſter*, being Nominated to it the 8th of *March*: And on the 5th of *April*, he took his Oath of Homage. While he was Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, he had no Houſe to live in, ſo he kept his Benefice in *London*. But it is entred in the Council-Book, that no Biſhop after him, was to have any Benefice, beſides his Biſhoprick.

An Account of Bp. *Hooper*.

A New Scene of Contention was at this Time very unhappily opened. *Hooper*, a Zealous, a Pious, and a Learned Man, had gone out of *England* in the latter Years of King *Henry*'s Reign; and had lived at *Zurick*, at a Time, when all *Germany* was in a Flame, on the Account of the *Interim*. Upon that, a great Queſtion aroſe among the *Germans*, concerning the Uſe of Things in themſelves indifferent. For, a great Part of the Deſign of the *Interim* was, to keep up the exterior Face of Things, as it had been in Popery, with the Softnings of ſome other Senſes put on them. It was ſaid, "If "Things were Indifferent in themſelves, it was Lawful, and that it "became the Subjects Duty to obey them when commanded. Many thought, that *Melanchthon* himſelf went in that Matter too far. It was viſible, the Deſign in it, was, to make the People think the Difference was not great between that and Popery: So the Rites were ordered to be kept up on purpoſe, to make it eaſy to draw the People over to Popery. Out of this another Queſtion aroſe; Whether it was Lawful to Obey in Indifferent Things, when it was certain they were enjoined with an Ill Deſign? Some ſaid, the Deſigns of Legiſlators were not to be enqured into, nor judged: And whatever they were, the Subjects were ſtill bound to Obey. This created a vaſt Diſtraction in *Germany*, while ſome obeyed the *Interim*, but many more were firm to their Principles, and were turned out of all for their Diſobedience. Thoſe who ſubmitted were for the moſt part *Lutherans*, and carried the Name of *Adiaphoriſts*, from the *Greek* Word that ſignifies Things Indifferent. The Reformed were generally firmer. Thoſe of *Switzerland*, particularly at *Zurick*, had at this Time great Apprehenſions of a Deſign of Introducing Popery, by keeping up an Exterior, that reſembled it. Of this I find a very late Inſtance, the Year before this, in a Letter that *Mont* wrote from *Straſburg*, on the 18th of *February* 1548, to *Muſculus*, which will be found in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 3.

"When he left *Augsburg*, there were no Changes then begun "there; but they expected every Day, when the New Superſtitious Practices were to be ſet up. One of the Miniſters told him, "that the Magiſtrates had deſired the Miniſters, not to forſake "them in that Time of Diſtreſs. They promiſed that they would "give them Timely Notice, when thoſe Rites were to be brought "in among them. They prayed them likewiſe, to recommend the "*Interim* in the ſofteſt Manner, and with the beſt Colours they "could. This was refuſed by the greater Number of them; who "ſaid,

1550. " ſaid, they could never approve that, which was by an unanimous " Conſent condemned. He did not doubt, but they had heard what " was done in *Saxony*. He wiſhes, the *German* Courage and Firm- " neſs might now appear: That if they could not act with their " uſual Courage, they might at leaſt ſhew their Courage in Suffer- " ing. The Duke of *Deux-Ponts* had left *Augsburg*; and ſaid, " the Publiſhing the *Interim* did not belong to him, but to the Bi- " ſhops. Thoſe of *Breme* had ſuch a heavy Compoſition laid on " them by the Emperor, that they ſaid, it was not in their Power " to comply with it, tho' they had a Mind to it. So it was " thought, this was done on Deſign to take their Town, as a Conve- " nient Poſt for a Garriſoned Place, to keep that Countrey in Order. " He concludes, deſiring to know what Agreement there was, as " to theſe Matters, in the *Helvetick* Churches. They were, indeed, much inflamed on this Occaſion; and very Zealous againſt any Compliance with the *Interim*, or the Uſe of the Rites preſcribed by it: So *Hooper* came from *Zurick*, in the Heat of this Debate, and with this Tincture upon his Mind.

When he came to *Bruſſels*, on the 20th of *April* 1549, he wrote *Coll. Numb.* 4. a Letter to *Bullinger*, that is in the Collection. " He ſets forth in it, " very tragically, the Miſery of the *Netherlands*, under the Vio- " lent Oppreſſions of the *Spaniards*. Complaints were heard in all " Places, of Rapes, Adulteries, Robberies, and other Inſolencies, " every Day committed by them: So that an Hoſteſs of a Pub- " lick Houſe ſaid to him, If She could but carry her Children in " her Arms with her, She would chuſe to go and beg from Door " to Door, rather than ſuffer their Brutalities every Day, as they " were forced to do. He hoped this would be a Warning, to put " others on their Guard.

" The Emperor came ſeldom out of his Chamber. *Hooper* had " been at the Duke of *Saxony*'s Houſe, who had about Thirty of " his Servants ſtill attending on him: He deſigned to have talked " with *Hooper*, but the *Spaniards* hindred it. He had no Hope of " obtaining his Liberty, tho' his Health was much broken: But he " continued firm in his Religion, and did not deſpair of Things, " but hoped Religion would be again revived. The Landgrave was " kept at *Oudenard*. He was both uneaſy, and inconſtant. Some- " times he was ready to ſubmit to the Emperor, and to go to " Maſs: At other Times, he railed at the Emperor; and at the *In-* " *terim*, (*Hooper* was entertained by *Hobby*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſa- " dor, from whom probably he heard theſe Things;) he prayed " God to pity him, for he ſuffered juſtly for his Treachery. The " Pope's Legate was there, and preached all that *Lent* in his own " Court.

" The Pope and the Emperor were then in very ill Terms. The " Pope preſſed the Emperor to own the Council at *Bologna*; for he " was afraid to let it Sit again in *Trent*: But the Emperor was as " poſitive for their Coming back to *Trent*; and ſaid roundly, He " would break with the Pope, if that were not done. The Ambaſ- " ſador told him, That if the Emperor's Confeſſor were to any de-

" gree right ſet, there might be good Hope of the Emperor: But 1550.
" both he, and all his Miniſters, were ſtrangely governed, and in a
" manner driven by the Confeſſor. About Seven Months before
" this, he had left the Emperor, becauſe he would not be more Se-
" vere, and would not reſtore Popery entirely in *Germany*. The
" Emperor had offered him a Biſhoprick in *Spain*, worth 20000
" Crowns: But he refuſed it, and ſaid, He would be tied to the
" Church, but not to him, unleſs he would ſerve the Church with
" more Zeal. The Emperor ſeemed to deſign to break the Peace of
" *Switzerland*, and *Hooper* underſtood that ſome of *Lucern* were
" then hanging on at Court, probably with no good Deſign. He
" wiſhes they would fear God, lead Holy Lives, and Fight bravely:
" And ſo they might expect to be protected by God: Yet he under-
" ſtood that the Emperor was troubled that he had meddled ſo much
" as he had done in Matters of Religion in *Germany*: He found that
" was like to croſs his other Deſigns, which might have ſucceeded
" better if he had left that Matter more at liberty. His Army lay
" then near *Bremen*, but was undertaking nothing. The Cities there
" had furniſhed themſelves with Stores and Proviſions for Five Years;
" and were making no Submiſſions. This Account I thought no
Digreſſion from my chief Deſign in Writing, ſince this Intelligence came, no doubt, from the Ambaſſador. Upon *Hooper*'s coming to *England* he applied himſelf much to Preaching, and to the Explaining the Scriptures. He was much followed, and all Churches were crowded where he preached. He went through the Epiſtle to *Titus*, and Ten Chapters of the Goſpel of St. *John*: His Fame came to Court. *Poinet* and he were ordered to preach all the Lent at Court; *Hooper* on *Wedneſdays*, and *Poinet* on *Fridays*: He was alſo ſent to Preach both in *Kent* and in *Eſſex*. At this Time *Bullinger* wrote to the King, and ſent with it a Book that he dedicated to him, which was preſented to the King by the Marquiſs of *Northampton*; for an Order was made, that none but Privy Counſellors might bring Books, or Papers to the King. The King ſaid to *Hooper*, that he had read the Letter, and would read *Bullinger*'s Book: and ſpoke to the Marquis of a Preſent to be ſent him: But *Hooper* told him, He never took any: beſides, that it was forbidden by the Laws of *Zurick*. *Hooper*, in his Letters to *Bullinger*, on the 8th of *February* 1550, ſays, The Archbiſhop of *Canrerbury*, the Biſhops of *Roche-ſter*, *Ely*, St. *David*'s, *Lincoln* and *Bath*, were ſincerely ſet on advancing the Purity of Doctrine, agreeing in all Things with the *Helvetick* Churches. He commends particularly the Marquis of *Dorcheſter*, afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*, who at that Time put on ſuch a Shew of Zeal, that *Hooper* calls him a moſt Holy Inſtrument, and the beſt affected to the Word of God. He writes of *Cranmer*, that he wiſhes he were not too feeble. He was at *London*, when the Council divided from the Duke of *Somerſet*, but had not meddled in that Matter: And he ſays not a Word of it, but that he bleſſes God, the Duke of *Somerſet* was to be ſet at Liberty. In *June*, he was named to be Biſhop of *Gloceſter*; for he gives an Account of

1550. *Fœdum & impium.*

it in a Letter to *Bullinger*, on the 29th of *June*. He declined it, as he writes, both for the Oath, which he ſays was *foul* and *impious*, and by reaſon of the *Aaronical* Habits. The King aſked, What his Reaſons were? He told them very freely to him. He ſays of him, that the World never ſaw ſuch a Prince as He was, for his Age. He likewiſe ſays, the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Siſter, was wonderfully Zealous, and very Knowing: She read both *Greek* and *Latin*; and few could maintain an Argument againſt Her, particularly in Matters of Religion.

Among the Letters ſent me from *Zurick*, I find ſome written upon the Occaſion of the Difficulty that was made in *Hooper*'s Buſineſs, to *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, preſſing them very earneſtly to write to the King, to let fall all the Ceremonies: They tell them, that *Ridley*, tho' he ſtood upon the Forms of the Law, yet was very earneſt to have *Hooper* made a Biſhop. They ſeem alſo to reflect on the Biſhops, for their Earneſtneſs in that Matter, as if they were aſhamed to have that to be blamed, to which they themſelves had ſubmitted: And they reflect on *Bucer*, for Supporting the Matter too much. Thoſe of *Zurick* were more diſcreet and modeſt, than to interpoſe in ſuch a manner. It would have been too great a Preſumption in them, to have made any ſuch Application; but it ſeems, *Bullinger* wrote about it to the King's Præceptor, *Cox*. I have not found his Letter: But I find, by *Cox*'s Letter to him, that he himſelf was for Proceeding eaſily in this Matter. He wrote to him in *May*, in theſe Words. "I think all Things in the Church ought to be Pure and "Simple, removed at the greateſt Diſtance from the Pomps and E-"lements of this World. But, in this our Church, what can I do, "in ſo low a Station? I can only endeavour to perſwade our Bi-"ſhops, to be of the ſame Mind with my ſelf. This I wiſh "truly, and I commit to God the Care and Conduct of his own "Work. Of the King he writes, "Believe me, there appears in "Him an incredible Beginning of Learning, with a Zeal for Reli-"gion, and a Judgment in Affairs almoſt already ripe. *Traheron*, at the ſame time, writes of Him, "We are Training up a Prince, "that gives the greateſt Hopes of being a moſt Glorious Defender "of the Faith, even to a Miracle. For, if God is not ſo provoked "by our Sins, as to take him too early from us, we do not doubt, "but that *England* ſhall again give the World another *Conſtantine*, "or rather, one much better than he was.

This Matter took up much Time, and was managed with more Heat than might have been expected; conſidering the Circumſtances of that Reign: He being named to be Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, was recommended by *Dudley* to *Cranmer*, that he would not Charge him with an Oath that was (as is expreſſed) burdenous to his Conſcience. This was the Oath of Supremacy. He next deſired to be excuſed from accepting the Biſhoprick, or from the Ceremonies uſed in the Conſecration; upon which the King writ to *Cranmer* in *Auguſt*, freeing him from all Dangers and Penalties that he might incur by omiting thoſe Rites, but left the Matter to the Archbiſhop's Diſcretion, without any Perſuaſion or Command to omit them. The Archbiſhop did

did not think fit upon that Letter to act againſt the Laws: There were ſeveral Conferences between *Ridley* and *Hooper*, not without heat: *Hooper* maintaining that if it was not unlawful, yet it was highly inexpedient to uſe thoſe Ceremonies. The Council apprehending the ill Effects of Controverſies between Men of the ſame Profeſſion, ſent for *Hooper*, and wiſhed him to let this Oppoſition of his fall. He deſired leave to put his Reaſons in Writing; that was granted him: And when he offered his Reaſons, they were communicated to *Ridley*. I gave an Account in my former Work how honeſtly and modeſtly both *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* behaved themſelves on this Occaſion. *Peter Martyr* mentions *Hooper*'s unſeaſonable and bitter Sermons, which it ſeems his Heat carried him to; and probably that was the Reaſon that moved the Council to command him to keep his Houſe, unleſs it were to go to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; or to the Biſhops of *Ely*, *London*, or *Lincoln*, for the Satisfaction of his Conſcience, and not to preach, or read, 'till he had further Licenſe. But he did not obey this Order: He writ a Book on the Subject, and printed it. This gave more diſtaſt. He alſo went about and complained of the Council, for which being called before the Board, he was committed to the Archbiſhop's Cuſtody, to be reformed by him, or to be further puniſhed. The Archbiſhop repreſented that he could in no ſort work upon him, but that he declared himſelf for another way of Ordination: Upon that he was on the 27th of *January* committed to the *Fleet*. 1550.

Micronius, a Miniſter of the *German* Church at *London*, in a Letter to *Bullinger* on the 28th of *Auguſt*, 1550, tells him that the Exception that *Hooper* had to the Oath of Supremacy, was becauſe the Form was, *by God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Goſpels*. This he thought Impious; and when he was before the Council, the King being preſent, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an Oath, for he only knew the Thoughts of Men. The King was ſo fully convinced by this, that with his own Pen he ſtruck theſe Words out of the Oath, ſaying that no Creature was to be appealed to in an Oath. This being cleared, no Scruple remained but with relation to the Habits. The King and Council were inclined to order him to be diſpenſed with as to theſe. But *Ridley* prevailed with the King not to diſpenſe in that Matter. The Thing was indifferent, and therefore the Law ought to be obeyed. This had ſuch an Effect, that all *Hooper*'s Exceptions were after that heard with great Prejudice. *Micronius* was on *Hooper*'s ſide as well as *Alaſco*. *Ridley* had oppoſed the ſettling the *German* Church in a different way from the Rites of the Church of *England*: But *Alaſco* had prevailed to obtain an entire Liberty for them to continue in the ſame Forms of Worſhip and Government, in which they had been conſtituted beyond Sea, in which he had been aſſiſted by *Cranmer*. It is added in that Letter, that it was believed that the Emperor had ſent one over to carry away the Lady *Mary* ſecretly, but the Deſign was diſcovered and defeated. To explain this Matter of the Oath, I ſhall inſert in the Collections the Oath of the Biſhops, as it was practiſed in King *Henry*'s Reign, and continued to be uſed to that Time, which is on Record, and is among Mr. *Rymer*'s Manuſcripts. *Hooper*'s Matter hung in ſuſpence Nine *Coll. Numb.* 5.

1550. whole Months; in which Time he ſeemed poſitively reſolved not to yield, not without ſevere and indecent Reflections on thoſe who uſed the Habits. *Cranmer* expreſſed a willingneſs to have yielded to him; But *Ridley* and *Goodrick* ſtood firm to the Law; while many reflected on them, as inſiſting too much on a Thing practiſed by themſelves, as if Vain-Glory and Self-Love had been their chief Motives: They ſaid they wiſhed that Diſtinction of Habits was aboliſhed, but they thought the breaking through Laws was ſo bad a Precedent, and might have ſuch ill Conſequences, that they could not conſent to it. *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* expreſſed their diſlike of the Habits, but thought the Thing was of it ſelf indifferent; ſo they blamed him for inſiſting ſo much on it. *Alaſco* on the other Hand encouraged him to continue in his Refuſal to ſubmit to the Laws in that Matter: In concluſion, he was prevailed on to ſubmit, and was conſecrated. This was written to *Bullinger* by one of the Miniſters of the *German* Church. His ſtanding out ſo long, and yielding in the End, loſt him much of the Popularity, that, to ſpeak freely, he ſeemed to be too fond of; yet his great Labours in his Dioceſe, and his Patience and Conſtancy during his Impriſonment, and in his laſt moſt extreme Sufferings, made all good People willing to forget what was amiſs, and to return to a juſt Eſteem of what was ſo truly Valuable in him.

In concluſion, he ſubmitted, and was Conſecrated according to the eſtabliſhed Form, and went into his Dioceſe, which he found overrun with Ignorance and Superſtition; he applied himſelf to his Duty with great and indefatigable Induſtry; Preaching often twice, ſometimes thrice in a Day, to inſtruct the People, and to reform the Clergy: He did earneſtly wiſh that the Articles of Religion, which he knew were under Conſideration, might be quickly publiſhed. He found the greateſt Oppoſition in his Dioceſe roſe from the Prebendaries of his Church. Of this he made great Complaints; as indeed all the Biſhops that were well affected to the Reformation, found the greateſt Oppoſition in their Cathedrals; though none of them expreſſed it ſo ſeverely as *Ferrar* Biſhop of St. *David*'s, who wrote to a Lord, deſiring that he might have leave to defend himſelf, againſt thoſe *high-minded*, *arrogant*, *ſtubborn*, *ambitious*, *covetous Canons*, who for private Revenge were ſet againſt him: Yet on the other Hand there were great Complaints made of his Behaviour in his Dioceſe as both indiſcreet and contentious. A Petition was ſent up to the Council in the Name of the Inhabitants of his Dioceſe againſt him, complaining of his inſatiable Covetouſneſs, and his daily vexing his Poor Tenants and Clergy without Cauſe; and indeed his Firmneſs and Sufferings afterwards raiſed his Character, more than his Conduct in his Dioceſe had done.

The laſt and the moſt eminent of all the Popiſh Clergy, that fell in Trouble during this Reign, was *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme*. He was a generous and well Tempered Man, Learned far above the Common Rate. He retained his Old Opinion concerning the Preſence in the Sacrament; but he had hitherto ſubmitted, and gone along in all that was done: He had no Heat, nor a Spirit of Oppoſition in his Temper, yet his Opinion was known. The true Account of his Matter has been taken out of the Council Book, which has come

to Light ſince I wrote my Hiſtory. One *Ninian Mainvil* charged him as conſenting to a Conſpiracy in the *North*, for raiſing a Rebellion there; to this the Biſhop anſwered, and *Mainvil* made Replication: The Council Book only refers to theſe, and gives no Account of the Biſhop's Anſwer. *Mainvil* had a Letter of the Biſhops, which was his main Evidence, upon which the Iſſue of the Trial depended: But that was then wanted, and as appeared afterwards, the Letter was put in the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Hands, and he ſtill kept it, but whether he did it out of Kindneſs to him, or to have this as a Check to over-awe *Tonſtall*, does not appear. 1550.

This Letter was found among the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Papers, after his laſt Apprehenſion: Upon which *Tonſtall* was ſent for, and his Letter was produced againſt him. He could not deny it to be of his own Hand; and not being able to make any further Anſwer, he was on the 20th of *December* ſent to the *Tower*. *Whitehead* Dean of *Dureſme*, and *Handmarſh*, *Tonſtall*'s Chancellor, were accuſed of the ſame Crime by *Mainvill*. The Dean's Death put an end to his Trouble, but *Tonſtall* lay in the *Tower* till Queen *Mary* ſet him at Liberty: And there, in the 77th Year of his Age, he wrote his Book aſſerting the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament. It ſeems, the Evidence againſt *Tonſtall* did not at all amount to a Conſent to a Conſpiracy; for he was only charged with Miſpriſion of Treaſon; whereas the conſenting to it would have been carried further, to High Treaſon it ſelf: But even that muſt have been by a Stretch of his Words; ſince if his Letter had imported that, *Cranmer* could not have oppoſed, much leſs have proteſted againſt the Bill attainting him for Miſpriſion, if the Evidence had been clear. This is confirmed by the Oppoſition made in the Houſe of Commons, where the Bill fell. So ſince the Parliament would not attaint him, a Commiſſion was iſſued out ſome Months after; and on the 22d of *September* 1552. a Letter was written to the Lord Chief Juſtice, ſignifying to him, that there was a Commiſſion addreſſed to him, and to ſome others, for determining the Biſhop of *Dureſme*'s Caſe, with Eight Letters, and other Writings touching the ſame; which he is required to conſider and to hear, and to give order in the Matter as ſoon as the Reſt of his Colleagues were brought together. He was brought before theſe Commiſſioners: He deſired Council, and Time convenient to make his Anſwer: Both were denied him, as is ſet forth in the Sentence that reverſed this. He was charged as a Conſpirator againſt the King and the Realm: The Commiſſion empowered them to proceed againſt him for all Offences, both according to the Eccleſiaſtical and the Temporal Laws: He made divers Proteſtations againſt the ſeveral Steps of their Proceedings: And at laſt he Appealed from them to the King: The Commiſſioners on the 11th of *October* depriv'd him of his Biſhoprick; but did not attaint him of Miſpriſion of Treaſon; for the Judgment in that Caſe muſt have been the Forfeiture of his Goods, and Impriſonment for Life: But he was by Order of Council on the 31ſt of *October* to receive Money for his Neceſſities, remaining Priſoner in the *Tower*, till further Order ſhould be given, touching the Money and Goods lately appertaining to him.

This

1550. This was one of the Violent Effects of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Ambition, who was all this while a concealed Papiſt, as himſelf declared at his Execution. I have laid all theſe Things relating to the Deprivation of the Biſhops, that oppoſed the Reformation together, to give a full View of that Matter. But now I muſt look back to ſome Matters that happened while theſe Proceedings went on. There was an Information brought to the Council, of ſome at *Bocking*, who were irregular in the Worſhip of God, who thought that to ſtand, or to kneel at Prayer, or to be covered, or bare-headed, was not material, and that the Heart only was neceſſary: When they were brought before the Council, they confeſſed that they met together; ſometimes to confer about the Scriptures, and that they had refuſed to receive the Communion above Two Years, as was judged upon very Superſtitious and Erroneous Principles; (ſo it is entred in the Council Book) with diverſe other Evil Opinions, worthy of great Puniſhment: Five of them were ſent to Priſon, and Seven gave Bonds to appear when called for: They were required to reſort to their Ordinaries, if they had any doubt in Religion, for Reſolution from them. Theſe were probably ſome of the Anabaptiſts, though that is not objected to them.

The Great Point that was then moſt canvaſſed in the Univerſities, was, the Preſence in the Sacrament. Concerning this, I have, among the Papers ſent me from *Zurick*, a Letter of *Peter Martyr*'s to his Friend *Bullinger*, dated from *Oxford* the 1ſt of *June* 1550, which will be found in the Collection. "He excuſes himſelf, for his "Slowneſs in Anſwering his Letters, by reaſon of the conſtant Labours he was engaged in. For, beſides his Daily Expoſition of "St. *Paul*, which might claim his whole Time, there was a New "Load brought on him: He was commanded, by an Order from "the King, to be preſent at the Publick Diſputations upon Theological Matters; which were held Once a Fortnight. And in the College, in which he was placed, there was a Diſputation, where he "was appointed to be preſent, and to Moderate. He was in a perpetual Struggle with moſt obſtinate Adverſaries. The Buſineſs of "Religion did not go on with the Zeal and Succeſs to be wiſhed "for: yet it made a better Progreſs, than he had expected Four "Months before. The Number of their Adverſaries was great: "They had few Preachers on their Side; and many of thoſe who "profeſſed the Goſpel, were guilty of groſs Vices. Some, by a human Policy, were for purging Religion, but for altering Outward Things as little as might be. They being Secular Men, "apprehended, that upon a more viſible Change, ſuch Diſorders "would follow, as might prove fatal: whereas, it was evident, that "the innumerable Corruptions, Abuſes and Superſtitions, that had "overrun the Church, were ſuch, that it was impoſſible to reform "it, without bringing Matters back to thoſe pure Fountains, and to "the firſt Sound Principles of Religion. The Devil ſtudied to undermine thoſe Good Deſigns, by keeping up ſtill many Relicks of "Popery, that by theſe, the Memory of the Old Abuſes might be "preſerved, and the Return to them rendred eaſier. On the other "Hand, they had this great Comfort, that they had a Holy King,

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"full

" full of fervent Zeal for true Religion. He writes, That he ſpeaks 1550.
" in all this tender Age, with that Learning, that Prudence, and
" that Gravity, that it amazes all People who hear it. Therefore,
" they were all bound, to pray God earneſtly, to preſerve him long
" for the Good of the Church. There were ſeveral of the Nobili-
" ty well inclined, and ſome Biſhops not of the worſt Sort, among
" whom the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was the Standard-Bearer. *Hooper*
" was lately made a Biſhop, to the Joy of all Good Men; who was
" to paſs thro' *Oxford*, in his Way to his Dioceſe. He believed,
" that he himſelf had given *Bullinger* an Account of his being made
" a Biſhop, otherwiſe he would have wrote it. He alſo commends
" *Coverdale*'s Labours in *Devonſhire*: and adds, That if they could
" find many ſuch Men, it were a great Happineſs. *Alaſco* being
" forc'd to leave *Friezeland*, by reaſon of the *Interim*, was then
" about the Settling his Congregation in *London*. He was at that
" Time in the Archbiſhop's Houſe. The Peace with *France* gave
" them ſome Hopes. All were under great Apprehenſions, from the
" Pope's Deſigns of bringing his Council again together: but they
" muſt ſtill truſt in God. And after ſomewhat of their private Con-
" cerns, he deſires his Prayers, for the Progreſs of God's Word in this
" Kingdom.

" He alſo, in a Letter written on the 6th of *Auguſt* 1551, la- 1551.
" ments the Death of the Young Duke of *Suffolk*, looking on him
" as the moſt promiſing of all the Youth in the Nation, next to the
" King himſelf. After ſome more on that Subject, he adds this
ſad Word, " *There is no End put to our Sins, nor any Meaſure in* *Peccatis neque finis neq; modus imponitur.*
" *Sinning*. He commends *Hooper*'s Labours in his Dioceſe mighti-
" ly, and wiſhes that there were many more ſuch Biſhops as he
" was.

Upon the Death of the Two young Dukes of *Suffolk*, *Grey*, Marquis of *Dorcheſter* was made Duke of *Suffolk*. He had married their Siſter, but had no Sons by her. He had Three Daughters, of whom the Eldeſt, Lady *Jane*, was eſteemed the Wonder of the Age. She had a Sweetneſs in her Temper, as well as a Strength of Mind, that charmed all who ſaw her. She had a great Aptneſs to learn Languages, and an earneſt Deſire to acquire Knowledge. Her Father found out a very extraordinary Perſon, to give her the firſt Impreſſions: *Ailmer*, who was afterwards, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, advanced to be Biſhop of *London*. Under his Care, She made an amazing Progreſs. He found, it ſeems, ſome Difficulty in bringing her to throw off the Vanities of Dreſs, and to uſe a greater Simplicity in it. So, on the 23d of *December* 1552, he wrote to *Bullinger*, " That the Lady *Elizabeth* was a Pattern to all, in the Mode-
" ſty of her Dreſs; and yet no body was prevailed on by ſuch an
" Illuſtrious Example to follow it; and, in all this Light of the
" Goſpel, to abſtain from wearing Gold, or Gems, or Platting of Hair.
He was particularly charged with the Education of Lady *Jane Gray*, whom he calls his Scholar: But, it ſeems, he could not prevail in this particular; ſo he deſires *Bullinger*, to write his Thoughts to her on that Head.

There

1551. There was nothing done for almoſt Two whole Years, purſuant to the Act paſſed in *November* 1549, for Making a New Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws: Concerning which, it is not eaſy to gueſs what was the Clauſe in it, that gave the Biſhops ſo much Offence, that the greateſt Part of the Bench proteſted againſt it. For both the Archbiſhops, and the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Dureſm*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Rocheſter*, and St. *David*'s, joined in the Proteſtation. There were only Two Clauſes, that I can imagine could give them this Diſguſt. One is, That only Four Biſhops, and Four Common Lawyers, were made neceſſary to be of the Number of the Thirty two Perſons. The other might be, the Limitation of the Time to Three Years: Tho' that ſeems deſigned, to make the Act have its Effect in a little Time. Two Years were almoſt ended, before any Steps were made towards the Execution of it. On the 6th of *October* 1551, the Council wrote to the Lord Chancellor, to make out a Commiſſion for Thirty two Perſons, to Reform the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. Theſe were, the *Archbiſhop*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Exeter*, *Gloceſter*, *Bath*, and *Rocheſter*. The Eight Divines were, *Taylor*, *Cox*, *Parker*, *Latimer*, *Cook*, *Peter Martyr*, *Cheek*, *John Alaſco*. The Eight Civilians were, *Petre*, *Cecyl*, *Smith*, *Taylor* of *Hadley*, *May*, *Trahern*, *Lyell*, *Skinner*. The Eight Common Lawyers were, *Hales*, *Bromley*, *Goodrick*, *Goſnald*, *Stamford*, *Caryl*, *Lucas*, *Brook*.

1552. This, it ſeems, brought *Peter Martyr* from *Oxford* to *London*, in *March* 1552. And on the 8th of that Month, he wrote to *Bullinger* from *Lambeth*, being lodged with the Archbiſhop. He tells him, "That the King did earneſtly preſs the Biſhops, that "ſince the Papal Authority was caſt out of this Church, the Ec- "cleſiaſtical Laws might be ſo reformed, that none of the Papal De- "crees might continue to be of any Authority in the Biſhops Courts; "and that another Body of Laws ought to be compiled for them. "He had therefore appointed Two and thirty Perſons, to ſet about "it, of which Number he himſelf was one. He ſays, the greater "Number of them, were Perſons both eminently Learned, and "truly Pious: In this, he deſires both their Advices, and their "Prayers. This Work muſt be ſo prepared, as to receive a Confir- "mation in Parliament; in which he foreſaw ſome Difficulties. It ſeems, that this Number was thought too great, to bring any Thing to a good Concluſion, or theſe Perſons had not all the ſame Views: For ſoon after, on the 9th of *November* after this, a New Commiſſion was ordered to be made out to Eight Perſons, for preparing the ſame Work. Theſe were the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctor *Cox*, *Peter Martyr*, *Taylor*, *May*, *Lucas*, *Goodrick*. *Strype* tells us he ſaw the Digeſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, written out by the Archbiſhop's Secretary: The Title being prefixed to each Chapter, with an Index of the Chapters in the Archbiſhop's own Hand. In many Places there are Corrections and Additions in his Hand, and ſome Lines are ſcored out: Some of them were alſo reviſed by *Peter Martyr*: the 7th Chapter in the Title *de Preſcriptionibus* is all written by *Peter Martyr*. Several Chapters are added to the Firſt Draught, which

Life of *Cranmer*, B. 1. C. 30.

which is probably that which was prepared in King *Henry*'s Time. There was a later, and more perfect Draught of this Work, prepared for King *Edward*, which coming into *Fox*'s Hands, he printed it in the Year 1571 : The Differences between the Two Draughts, as Mr. *Strype* assures us, are not very material. But all this was brought to no Conclusion. 1552.

I find somewhat to be added, concerning the Duke of *Somerset*'s Tragical Death, in a Letter that one *John ab Ulmis*, a *Switzer*, then in *England*, wrote from *Oxford* the 4th of *December* 1552, to *Bullinger*; That the Duke of *Somerset* was censured, as having been too gentle to the Lady *Mary*, in conniving at her Mass : But when he proposed the doing that in Council, the Earl of *Warwick* answered, " The Mass is either of God, or of the Devil : If it is of " God, we ought all to go to it : If it is of the Devil, why should " it be connived at in any Person ? Yet still the Gentleness of the Duke of *Somerset*, made him suffer it to go on. But now, he adds, since the Earl of *Warwick* had the greatest Share in the Government, he had put her Priests in Prison, and had given strict Orders, to suffer no Mass to be said in her House. The D. of *Somerset*'s last Fall.

He tells one Remarkable Particular in the Duke of *Somerset*'s Trial : " That after he was found guilty of the Conspiracy against the " Earl of *Warwick*, (upon which the People expressed a great Con- " cern) the Earl of *Warwick* addressed himself to the Duke, and " told him, That now, since by the Law he was adjudged to dye, " He, as he had saved him formerly, so he would not now be " wanting to serve him, how little soever he expected it from him. " He desired him, therefore, to fly to the King's Mercy, in which " he promised he would faithfully serve him. Upon this, the Duke " did petition the King ; and it was hoped, that he would reconcile " those Two Great Men, and that by this means the Duke of *Somerset* should be preserved.

It seems, there was some Treaty about his Pardon : For tho' he was condemned on the 1st of *December*, he was not executed till the 22d of *January*. What made it to be respited so long, and yet executed at last, does not appear. It is probable, it was from a Management of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s, who, by the Delay, did seem to act in his Favour, that so he might be cover'd from the Popular *Odium*, which he saw his Death was like to bring upon him ; and, at the same time, by the Means of some who had Credit with the King, he possessed him with so bad an Opinion of the Duke of *Somerset*, that He, looking on him as an implacable Man, capable of black Designs, resolved to let the Sentence be executed upon him.

In the same Letter, he gives an Instance of *Hooper*'s impartial Zeal in the Discharge of his Function in his Diocese : That while he was Censuring some Inferior People, for their scandalous Life, one said to him, " We Poor People must do Penance for these " Things ; while Great and Rich Men, as guilty as we, are over- " looked. Upon that, He said, Name any Person, how Great so- " ever, that was guilty of Adultery, so that it could be proved " against him, and he would leave himself in their Hands, to be " used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against *Hooper*'s Impartial Zeal.

1552. " all. So, in a few Days, Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, a Great Man in " thoſe Parts, being accuſed of Adultery, he cited him into his " Court. He, for ſome Time, refuſed to appear. At laſt he came; " and when the Biſhop was Charging his Sin ſeverely upon him, he " gave him very foul Language, and at laſt fell to beat him. This " was preſently followed ſo ſeverely, that he was Fined in 500 *l.* and " forced to ſubmit to do Penance.

This raiſed the Biſhop's Character, as it contributed not a little to eſtabliſh his Authority in his Dioceſe. He ſet himſelf to do his Duty there with ſo much Zeal, that his Wife, who was a *German*, wrote to *Bullinger*, praying him to write to her Husband, to take a little more Care of himſelf: For he preached commonly Thrice, ſometimes Four times in One Day. The Crowds of thoſe who came conſtantly to hear him, made him look on them, as Perſons that were hungring for the Word of Life. So She apprehending, that his Zeal made him labour beyond his Strength, ſtudied to get others to put ſome Stop to that, which, it ſeems, She could not prevail with him ſo far as to reſtrain.

About this Time, the Biſhops and Divines were employed in the Review of the Common-Prayer; but I have met with nothing new with Relation to that Matter, ſave that on the 6th of *May* 1551, there was an Order of Council, for Preſerving Peace, ſent to all the Reg. *Exon.* Cathedrals, at leaſt to that of *Exeter*, for it is in that Regiſter. And on the 18th of *January*, there was a Commiſſion iſſued out for the Repreſſing of Hereſy, and for Obſerving the Common-Prayer. And on the 27th of *October* 1552, the Council-Book mentions alſo a Letter, written to the Lord Chancellor, to add in the Edition of the new Common-Prayer-Book, a Declaration touching Kneeling at the Receiving the Communion.

The Articles of Religion prepared.

It remains that I give the beſt Account I can of the Articles of Religion. It ſeemed to be a great Want that this was ſo long delayed, ſince the Old Doctrine had ſtill the Legal Authority of its ſide. One Reaſon of delaying the publiſhing them, probably was, that the King, in whoſe Name, and by whoſe Authority they were to be publiſhed, might be ſo far advanced in Years, and out of the Time of Pupillage, that they might have the more Credit, and be of the more Weight: For though it was a Point ſettled in Law, that the King's Authority was at all Ages the ſame, yet the World would ſtill make a Difference in their Regard to Things paſſed while he was a Child, and thoſe Things Authorized by him when he was in the 16th Year of his Age.

Not paſſed in Convocation.

The Firſt Impreſſion of theſe Articles appeared with a Title apt to make one think they had been agreed on in the Convocation. It runs thus in *Engliſh*, *Articles which were agreed to in the Synod of* London, *in the Year* 1552, *by the Biſhops and other Godly and Learned Men, to root out the Diſcord of Opinions, and eſtabliſh the Agreement of true Religion.* But there is Reaſon to believe that no ſuch Articles were offered to the Convocation. *Weſton* objected afterwards to *Cranmer* that he had ſet forth a Catechiſm in the Name of the Synod in *London*, and yet, ſaid he, there be 50 which witneſſing that they were of the Number of the Convocation, never heard one Word of

this *Catechiſm.* And in a long and much laboured Sermon of *Brooks*, preached at St. *Paul*'s Croſs in *November* 1553, there is an Intimation that makes it indeed probable that the Articles were brought into the Upper-Houſe of Convocation. For when he complains that they were ſet forth as allowed by the Clergy, he adds, Whereas the Convocation without all doubt (for the Lower-Houſe at leaſt) was never made Privy thereto: That Reſerve ſeems to make it probable that they were brought into the Upper-Houſe. In the Firſt Impreſſion of the Articles, the Catechiſm is printed Firſt before the Articles: So this is to be underſtood of that whole Book, which is indeed a very ſmall one. 1553.

When this was objected to *Cranmer*, he anſwered, *I was Ignorant of the ſetting to of that Title, and as ſoon as I had knowledge thereof I did not like it. Therefore when I complained thereof to the Council, it was anſwered by them, that the Book was ſo Entitled, becauſe it was ſet forth in the Time of the Convocation.* In the Interrogatories that were afterwards exhibited to him, in order to his Final Cenſure, the 7th Ends thus, *That he did compile and cauſed to be ſet abroad divers Books*: The laſt Part of his Anſwer to that was, *As for the Catechiſm, the Book of Articles, with the other Book againſt* Winchester, *he grants the ſame to be his Doings.*

It is true in the Firſt Convocation under Queen *Mary*, when the Prolocutor charged *Philpot* with this, that a Catechiſm was put forth without their Conſent, He anſwered on the ſudden, that the Houſe had granted an Authority to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to certain Perſons to be appointed by the King's Majeſty: And what was ſet forth by them, might be well ſaid to be done in the Synod of *London*, altho' the Houſe had no notice thereof before the Promulgation. But *Weſton* alſo ſaid, *That the Catechiſm beareth the Title of the laſt Synod before this, although many of them who were then preſent were never made privy thereof in ſetting it forth:* So that both *Weſton* and *Philpot* agree that the Book was never brought before the Convocation. In this Matter *Philpot*, as he could not deny the Fact, ſo he made uſe of the beſt Anſwer that then occurred to him, without conſidering that the Convocation had not agreed to any ſuch Deputation of 32 Perſons: For that was ſettled by an Act of Parliament; nor did the Deputation relate to Matters of Doctrine, but only to the Canons and Proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts: For as it was a Revival of the Acts paſt in King *Henry*'s Time, ſo it run in the ſame ſtrain with them. Theſe Evidences make it plain that the Articles of Religion did not paſs in Convocation. We have *Cranmer*'s own Word for it, that he drew them, and that he, who was always plain and ſincere, did not approve of that deceitful Title that was prefixed to them, to impoſe upon the unwary Vulgar. He alſo owns that they were his doings. One Reaſon that may ſeem probable, for his not offering them to the Convocation, might be, that he had obſerved that many made a difference between obeying Orders already made, and the conſenting before-hand to the making of them: A greater degree of Authority and Evidence ſeemed neceſſary for the one, than for the other: Beſides that the offering Things to debate, while it was free to argue on either ſide of the Queſtion, might carry ſome to engage themſelves

1553. ſo far, that they could not after that ſubmit with any Decency. This as far as I can judge, ſeems to be *Cranmer*'s Reaſon for not offering the Articles to be debated and paſſed in Convocation.

But Publiſhed by the King's Authority.

But now that they were to be publiſhed with Authority, that was to be done in the King's Name: So a very few Days before the King's Death, he ſent a Mandate to *Cranmer* to publiſh the Articles, and to cauſe them to be ſubſcribed: This was done purſuant to the Archbiſhop's Motion to the King and Council; for he had deſired, "That all Bi-"ſhops might have Authority from him to cauſe all their Preachers, "Archdeacons, Deans, Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, with "all their Clergy, to ſubſcribe the ſaid Articles: And he truſted that "ſuch a Concord and Quietneſs in Religion ſhould ſhortly follow "thereon, as elſe is not to be looked for in many Years. God ſhall "thereby be glorified: His Truth ſhall be advanced, and your Lord-"ſhips (for he writes it to the Privy Council) ſhall be rewarded of "him, as the Setters forward of his true Word and Goſpel. Dated from *Ford* the 24th of *November*. It ſeems they were prepared ſome Time before that, for on the 20th of *October*, in the Year 1552, the Council had written to the Six Preachers, *Harley*, *Bell*, *Horn*, *Grindall*, *Pern*, and *Knox*, to conſider of ſome Articles then offered to be ſubſcribed by all Preachers, which can be no other than theſe Articles: But as this Matter was long delayed formerly, ſo when it was now ordered, it was ſent about with all the Diligence that ſo Important a Work required. The King alſo directed his Orders to all the Archbiſhop's Officers, enjoining them to cauſe all Rectors, Vicars, or thoſe in any Eccleſiaſtical Employments to appear before the Archbiſhop, to obey, and do on the the King's Part, as ſhall be ſignified to them.

And ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Collect. Numb.* 7.

The Mandate that upon this was ſent out by the Archbiſhop's Officers, which is in the Collection, though it is in the King's Name, yet was iſſued out by *Cranmer* himſelf, in Execution of the Mandate; it is mentioned in it that it was ſent to him by the King. It was thus put in the King's Name, purſuant to the Act paſſed in the Beginning of this Reign, that all Proceſs in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts ſhould be in the King's Name: But its being Teſted by the Archbiſhop, ſhews it was the Act of his Court. For though there is an Exception in that Act for the Archbiſhops, yet that only related to what they ſhould act in their Provinces as Metropolitans, but not to their Proceedings in their particular Dioceſes; in which it ſeems they were put on the ſame Foot with the other Biſhops. The King's Mandate to himſelf is not in any Record that I was able to find out. After the Mandate, the Execution of it by his Officers was certified to him on the 22d of *June*, which is in his Regiſter, and is added in the Collection to the Mandate. But probably the Time given them run further than the King's Life: For nothing farther appears to have been done upon it. The Clergy of the City of *London* (probably only his Peculiars) appeared before him, and he exhorted them to ſubſcribe the Articles: No mention is made of any ones refuſing to do it; but he compelled none to ſubſcribe, which he affirmed in his Anſwer to an Interrogatory put to him by Queen *Mary*'s Commiſſioners; for he ſaid that he compelled none, but exhorted ſuch to ſubſcribe as were willing to do it,

before they did it. It came to *Norwich* where *Thirleby* was Biſhop, who complied readily with every Thing that he was required to do, though by his ſudden Turn, and his Employments in the next Reign, it appears that he acted, at leaſt, againſt his Heart, if not againſt his Conſcience. 1553.

The Mandate for *Norwich*, which will be found in the Collection, bears Date the 9th of *June*, in the 7th Year of this Reign: And it is not to be doubted but that the like Mandates were directed to all the Biſhops, though they do not appear upon Record. " It ſets forth that " whereas after a long Time of Darkneſs, the Light was now Reveal- " ed to the Ineſtimable Benefit of the Nation: The King thought " it his Duty to have a Uniform Profeſſion, Doctrine, and Preaching " for the evading Dangerous Opinions and Errors: And therefore " he ſent him certain Articles gathered with great Judgment, of the " greateſt Part of the Learned Biſhops of the Kingdom, and ſundry " others of the Clergy: Which he required and exhorted him to " ſign, and in his Preaching to obſerve, and to cauſe them to be ſub- " ſcribed by all others, who do, or ſhall preach, or read within his " Dioceſe: And if any ſhall not only refuſe to ſubſcribe, but ſhall " preach contrary to them, he is required to give Notice of it to the " King and his Council, that further Order may be given in the " Matter. And for ſuch Perſons as came to be admitted to any " Benefice, or Cure, he was to confer with them on theſe Articles, " and to cauſe them to ſubſcribe them, otherwiſe not to admit them " to any ſuch Benefice, to which they were preſented. But if the " Perſon was Ignorant, and did not underſtand them, Pains was to be " taken on him to Inſtruct him; and Six Weeks Time might be given " him to examine them by the Scriptures: But at the End of Six " Weeks, if he did not ſubſcribe them, he was to be rejected. Then " follows an Order for him to receive the Catechiſm, and to give it to " all Maſters of Schools, that it may be taught in them all, and he " is required to make Report to the Archbiſhop of the Province, of " the Obedience given to theſe Orders. This Order was ſo readily executed, that about 50 of the Clergy ſubſcribed it. This Inſtrument was examined, and ſent tome by Dr. *Tanner*, the Learned Chancellor of *Norwich*. And the Biſhop of *Norwich*. *Coll. Numb.* 8.

But beſides the Evidence that appears from the Regiſters of *Canterbury* and *Norwich*, I have a further Proof that the Articles of Religion were only promulgated by the King's Authority, in an Injunction ſent to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, ſigned by the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *Jo. Cheek*, *Mayo*, and *Wendy*, who were the Viſitors of the Univerſity, bearing Date the 1ſt of *June*, 1553; directed to all the Regents, and Non-Regents; ſetting forth that great and long Pains had been taken by the King's Authority, and the Judgments of Good and Learned Men, concerning ſome Articles deſcribed according to the Title with which they were printed; theſe being promulgated by the King's Authority, and delivered to all the Biſhops, for the better Government of their Dioceſes, they did commend them to them, and by their Viſitatorial Authority, they do enjoin that all Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, and all Doctors of Arts ſhould publickly before their Creation ſwear to them, and ſubſcribe them; And to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

and

1553. and ſuch as refuſe to do it, are to be denied their Degree. To this is added the Form of the Oath to be taken: The Injunction will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 9.

Cranmer deſigned to ſet up the Provincial Synods.

Thus it appears by a Variety of Evidences, that theſe Articles were not paſſed in Convocation, nor ſo much as offered to it. And as far as can be judged from *Cranmer*'s Proceedings, he intended to put the Government of the Church in another Method, different from the Common Way by Convocation; and to ſet up Provincial Synods of Biſhops, to be called as the Archbiſhop ſaw Cauſe, he having firſt obtained the King's Licenſe for it. This appears by the 18th Chapter of the *Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws* prepared by him, in which it is plain that theſe Provincial Synods were to be compoſed only of the Biſhops of the Province. The Convocations now in uſe by a long Preſcription, in which Deans, Archdeacons, and Cathedrals, have an Intereſt, far ſuperior in Number to thoſe elected to repreſent the Clergy, can in no ſort pretend to be more than a Part of our Civil Conſtitution: And have no Foundation either in any Warrant from Scripture, or from the Firſt Ages of the Church: But did ariſe out of that Second Model of the Church, ſet out by *Charles* the Great, and formed according to the *Feudal* Law; by which a Right of giving Subſidies, was veſted in all who were poſſeſſed of ſuch Tenures, as qualified them to contribute towards the Supporting of the State.

As for the *Catechiſm*, it was printed with a *Preface* prefixed to it in the King's Name, bearing Date the 24th of *May*, about 7 Weeks before his Death: In which he ſets forth that it was drawn by a pious and learned Man, (ſuppoſed to be Biſhop *Poinet*,) and was given to be reviſed by ſome Biſhops and other Learned Men; he therefore Commands all Schoolmaſters to teach it.

King *Edward's* Scheme of the Succeſſion.

I come now to ſet forth the diſmal Overturning of all that had been done now in a Courſe of Twenty Years. King *Edward* was for ſome Months under a viſible Decay: His Thoughts were much poſſeſſed with the Apprehenſions of the Danger Religion muſt be in, if his Siſter *Mary* ſhould Succeed him. This ſet him on contriving a Deſign to hinder that. He ſeemed to be againſt all Females Succeſſion to the Crown. I have put in the Collection, a Paper that I Copied out of a Manuſcript of the late Mr. *Petyt*'s, all written in that King's own Hand, with this Title, *My Device for the Succeſſion.*

Coll. Numb. 10.

" By it the Crown was to go to the Iſſue Male of his own Body, or " if he had only Female Iſſue, to the Iſſue Male coming of the Iſſue " Female: Next to the Iſſue Male of the Lady *Frances*; then in Succeſſion to her Three Daughters, and to their Iſſue Male: And if " they had only Female Iſſue, to the Firſt Iſſue Male of any of her " Daughters. The Heir Male after 18 was to enter upon the Govern- " ment: But his Mother was to Govern 'till he was of that Age, " with the Advice of Six of that Council of Twenty Perſons, which " he ſhould Name by his laſt Will: But if the Mother of the Iſſue " Male ſhould not be 18, then the Realm was to be governed by the " Council, provided that after the Iſſue Male was of the Age of 14, " all Matters of Importance ſhould be opened to him. If at his " Death there were no Iſſue Male, the Lady *Frances* was to be

" *Governeſs-Regent* ; and after her Life, her Three Daughters were 1553.
" to be Governeſſes in Succeſſion, till an Heir-Male was born : And
" then the Mother of that Heir-Male was to be Governeſs. If Four
" of the Council ſhould die, the Governeſs was ordered, within a
" Month, to ſummon the whole Council, to chuſe Four in their
" Stead, in which the Governeſs was to have Three Voices. But
" after the Death of the Governeſs, the Council was to chuſe the
" New Counſellors, till the King was 14, and then He was to chuſe
" them, but by their Advice.

It may ſeem by this, that the King deſigned this ſome Time before his Death ; while he thought that he himſelf might have Iſſue : But he was prevailed on, to change a great deal of this Scheme ; eſpecially thoſe Clauſes, that kept the Crown as in an Abeyance, till an Iſſue-Male ſhould be born ; which would have totally changed the Government : So he departed from theſe Clauſes.

This was afterwards put in another Form by the Judges ; and that Scheme which they prepared, was, in Six ſeveral Places, ſuperſcribed by the King's Hand. Probably it conſiſted of ſo many Pages. I never ſaw that Paper ; but I have put in the Collection, the Paper that was ſubſcribed by 24 Counſellors and Judges : In which they ſet forth, " That they had often heard the King's earneſt Deſire, " touching the Limitation of the Succeſſion of the Crown, and had " ſeen his Device written in his own Hand : And after that was " Copied out, and delivered to Judges, and other Learned Men, " they did Sign with their Hands, Seal with their Seals, and Pro- " miſe by their Oaths and Honours, to obſerve every Article in that " Writing, and all ſuch other Matter, as the King ſhould by his laſt " Will declare, touching the Limitation of the Crown : and never " to vary from it, but to defend and maintain it to the utmoſt of " their Power. And they alſo promiſed, that they would proſe- " cute any of their Number, or any other, that ſhould depart " from it, and do their uttermoſt to ſee them ſeverely puniſh- " ed.

Much alter'd.

Coll. Numb. 11.

I gave an Account in my Hiſtory, of the Oppoſition that *Cranmer* made to this : But Mr. *Strype* has diſcover'd more Particulars concerning it. He tells us, " that he argued with the King himſelf " once about it, in the Hearing of the Marquis of *Northampton*, " and the Lord *Darcy*. He deſired Leave to ſpeak to the King alone " about it, that ſo he might be more free with him : but that was " not allowed him. He hoped, if he had obtained that Liberty, " he ſhould have diverted the King from it. He argued againſt it " in Council, and pleaded that the Lady *Mary* was Legitimate : " But ſome Lawyers were prevailed on to ſay, That the King being " in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, might diſpoſe of it as He pleaſed. " He ſtood firm, and ſaid, that he could not Subſcribe it with- " out Perjury ; having ſworn to the Obſervance of King *Henry*'s " Will. Some Counſellors ſaid, they had ſworn to that Will, as " well as He ; and that they had Conſciences, as well as He. He " ſaid, Every Man was to anſwer to God for his own Deeds, and " not for other Men's : He did not take upon him to judge any " Man's Conſcience, but his own. He ſpake with the Judges about

Oppoſed long by *Cranmer*.

" the

1553. " the Matter; and they agreed, that the King might Settle the " Succeſſion, notwithſtanding King *Henry*'s Will: Yet he remained " ſtill unſatisfied; till the King himſelf required him to ſet his Hand " to his Will; ſaying, He hoped He alone would not ſtand out, " and be more repugnant to his Will, than all the reſt of the Coun- " cil were. This made a great Impreſſion on him; it grieved him " much: But ſuch was the Love that he bore to the King, that in " Concluſion he yielded, and Signed it.

The Primate of *Ireland* poyſoned.

A little before the King's Death, a very extraordinary Thing happen'd in *Ireland*. I had told in my former Work, that *Goodacre* and *Bale* were ſent over to promote the Reformation in *Ireland*. The former was made Primate of *Armagh*: Of whoſe Death, there is a Report, that has been all along believed by his Poſterity. A Reverend and Worthy Clergyman of *Hampſhire*, not far from *Saliſbury*, (who is the Fourth in Deſcent from that Primate; they having been all Clergymen but one) told me he had it from his Grandfather, who was the Primate's Grandſon. " That he being invited to " a Popiſh Lord's Houſe, a Monk there drank to him in a poyſoned " Liquor, on deſign to poyſon him; of which they both died. This I ſet down from the Venerable Perſon's own Mouth, as a Thing known and believed in the Family.

A Character of the Court in K. *Edward*'s Time.

I have no Particulars to add, neither concerning the Death, nor the Character of that Good Prince, King *Edward*; whoſe untimely End was looked on, by all People, as a juſt Judgment of God, upon thoſe who pretended to Love and Promote a Reformation, but whoſe Impious and Flagitious Lives were a Reproach to it. The open Lewdneſs in which many lived, without Shame or Remorſe, gave great Occaſion to their Adverſaries to ſay, they were in the right, to aſſert Juſtification by Faith without Works; ſince they were, as to every Good Work, Reprobate. Their Groſs and Inſatiable ſcrambling, after the Goods and Wealth, that had been Dedicated with Good Deſigns, tho' to Superſtitious Uſes, without applying any Part of it to the Promoting the Goſpel, the Inſtructing the Youth, and Relieving the Poor, made all People conclude, that it was for Robbery, and not for Reformation, that their Zeal made them ſo active.

I will here give an eminent Inſtance, of fraudulent Proceedings in the Beginning of this Reign; of which the preſent Learned, and Zealous Dean of *Norwich*, was pleaſed to ſend me a Copious Account out of their Regiſters. The Prior, when inducted into that Dignity, took an Oath not to alienate any of their Lands; which was confirmed by Injunctions, exhibited to the Convent in the Royal Viſitation. But the King, upon certain Reaſons ſuggeſted by the Prior and Convent, and approved by him, did diſpenſe with that Oath; ſo that notwithſtanding the Oath, they were left at Liberty to alienate ſome Lands, ſet forth in the Inſtrument dated the 1ſt of *April* 1538. counterſigned by *Cromwell*. A Month after that, on the 2d of *May*, that Year, the Church was converted from a Prior and Convent, to a Dean and Chapter; and the Laſt Prior was made the Firſt Dean of the Church.

But

But on the 26th of *May* 1547, in the Beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, a Letter was ſent to that Church, ſigned by the Duke of *Somerſet*, *Rich* the Lord Chancellor, and Six other Privy-Counſellors; pretending, that they deſigned the Advancement of God's Glory, and the trueſt Intent of the late King's Determination: By which, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Roger Townſhend*, and Sir *William Paſton*, were authorized to receive a full Surrender of the whole Chapter; aſſuring both the Dean, and every one of the Prebendaries, that there ſhould be no Alteration made in their yearly Profits: And that there ſhould be a juſt Contentation given to the Reſidue of the Miniſters there. A Commiſſion was granted on the 27th, to theſe Perſons, to take the Surrender, with Articles and Inſtructions annexed to it: Which, becauſe, probably, many others were of the ſame Sort, are put in the Collection. But, for all this Appearance of fair Dealing, it being pretended, that this was only deſigned that the King ſhould be the Founder, and that the Church ſhould loſe nothing by the Surrender; yet when they had made the Surrender, in the Hope of New Letters-Patents, they could not obtain them. And Lands, to the Value of 200 *l.* a Year, were taken from them. Upon which, that Corporation tried, in Queen *Mary*'s Time, to get a Bill to paſs, to reſtore them to the State they were in, before they were prevailed on to make the Surrender. But the Bill did not paſs. Perhaps it might be ſuggeſted, that it would alarm the Nation too much, if any Alienation of Church-Lands, how fraudulently ſoever obtained, were meddled with. I give this, as a well-atteſted Inſtance; by which it may appear, how Things of this Kind were obtained and managed, chiefly in the Beginnings of this Reign. For I am not ſo much ſet on Juſtifying every Thing that was done in this Reign, as another Voluminous Writer is on Condemning almoſt every Thing done in it, with a particular Virulence againſt the Memory of that Pious Prince. This, from one of another Communion, is that which might have been expected; but it is a little ſingular, when it comes from one, who ſays he is of our Church.

1553.

Coll. Numb. 12.

Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. P. 332. Col. 2.

The irregular and immoral Lives of many of the Profeſſors of the Goſpel, gave their Enemies great Advantages, to ſay, they run away from Confeſſion, Penance, Faſting and Prayers, only that they might be under no Reſtraint, but indulge themſelves in a Licentious and Diſſolute Courſe of Life. By theſe Things, that were but too viſible in ſome of the more Eminent among them, the People were much alienated from them: And as much as they were formerly prejudiced againſt Popery, they grew to have kinder Thoughts of it, and to look on all the Changes that had been made, as Deſigns to enrich ſome Vicious Courtiers; and to let in an Inundation of Vice and Wickedneſs upon the Nation. Some of the Clergy that promoted the Reformation, were not without very viſible Blemiſhes: Some Indiſcretions, both in their Marriages, and in their Behaviour, contributed not a little to raiſe a General Averſion to them.

The bad Lives of thoſe who profeſſed the Goſpel.

1553. It is true, there were Great and Shining Lights among them, whoſe Exemplary Deportment, Continual Labours, Fervent Charity, and Conſtant Zeal, both during their Lives, and at their Deaths, kept up the Credit of that Work, as much as it was diſgraced by others: But They were *Few*, in Compariſon of the *many Bad*, and thoſe of the Clergy, in whom the Old Leaven had ſtill a deep Root, tho' they complied in every Thing that was impoſed on them: Seeing that they had loſt thoſe Perquiſites of Maſſes, and other Practices, which brought them their Chief Gains, and ſaw nothing came in Lieu of them, for their Subſiſtance; they, who in their Hearts hated all that they were forced to profeſs outwardly, did ſecretly poſſeſs ſuch as were influenced by them, with an Abhorrence of all that was done: And they diſpoſed the Nation to be ready to throw it all off.

Much lamented by the Reformers.

That which was above all, was, that God was highly diſhonoured, by Men who pretended Zeal for his Glory, but with their Works diſhonoured him. They talked of the Purity of the Goſpel, while they were wallowing in all Senſuality and Uncleanneſs: Pretending to put all their Confidence in the Merits and Sufferings of Chriſt, while they were Crucifying him afreſh, and putting him to open Shame. In ſuch Lamentations as theſe, I find the Good Men of that Time did often vent their Sorrows, in their Letters to one another, and break out into ſevere Reflections on them. Some did it afterwards Abroad in their Exile, and others at Home in their Sufferings. Their only Human Hope was in the King himſelf; in whom there appeared ſuch a Progreſs, both in Knowledge and Zeal, that they expected to ſee him compleat the Reformation, and redreſs thoſe Crying Abuſes, in which the Men in Power found their Account too evidently, to expect a Remedy from them. They were Men, in whoſe Hands Things grew every day worſe and worſe; and whoſe Arrogance, and other Diſorders, our Chief Reformers were forced in ſome meaſure to connive at, that they might not provoke them to retard a Work, that could in no wiſe be carried on without their Countenance and Authority; tho' they ſaw the Prejudice it brought upon them, to be obliged to apply to, and to make uſe of ſuch Tools, with which the Righteous Souls of our Beſt Reformers were much grieved. They were engaged with Men, that were ready to Pull down, eſpecially when any Thing was to be got by it; but were as backward in Building up, as they were forward in Plucking down. So that they ſeemed to deſign to leave all in a great Ruin. Theſe were great Hindrances to the Progreſs of the Reformation, as they were both the Burden, and the Shame of our Reformers.

I thought it not amiſs to open this as fully as I found it lying before me: And I hope the Reader will not only conſider this as a Part of the Hiſtory of a former Age, but as an Admonition to us in the Preſent: If we fall under the Diſorders and Corruptions that then reigned, why ſhould not we expect ſuch a Calamity as overtook and overwhelmed them? We may juſtly look for worſe, ſince we have the Advantages of much more Light, and many more Bleſſings, as well as many alarming Terrors, which have all gone over us without thoſe

thoſe diſmal Convulſions that we might have looked for: And they have as eaſily ſlipt out of our Thoughts, as if we had never ſeen, or felt them. To the Viciouſneſs of Life, and the Open Immoralities and Neglect of Religion, that were the Sins of the former Age, many among us have added a Studied Impiety, and a Laboured Oppoſition to all Revealed Religion: Which ſome have owned in ſo bare-fac'd a Manner, that perhaps no Age of the World can ſhew any Thing like it. If others with Secular Views have declaimed againſt this, and put on ſome Shew of Zeal, how much more of Party than of True Religion has appeared in it. The divided Parties among us have ſhewed little true Regard to Religion, and to a Courſe of Vertue and Piety, which can only give both Strength and Honour to a Church; and this does too plainly appear in many, who Talk the moſt of it, or for it. 1553.

Have we of the Clergy made the Steps that became us, and that were deſigned in the former Age, for throwing out Abuſes, for regulating the Courts, and reſtoring Diſcipline? While we have for above 150 Years expreſſed once a Year a faint Wiſh that the Primitive Diſcipline were again reſtored, and yet have not made one Step toward it: What a Venality of the Advowſons to Livings do we hear of, and at beſt the Diſpoſing of them goes generally by Secular Regards, by Importunities, Obligations, or Friendſhip: And above all, how few of thoſe that Labour in the Goſpel, do Labour indeed, and give themſelves wholly to it? How much of their Time and Zeal is employed in Things that do not deſerve it ſo well, as the Watching over, the Inſtructing, and the Building up their Flock in their moſt Holy Faith? How few do Faſt and Pray, and Study to prepare themſelves and their People for the Evil Day, that ſeems much nearer us, than the greateſt Part are willing to apprehend; that ſo we may by our Interceſſions deliver our Church and Nation from that which is ready to ſwallow us up; or at leaſt be ſo fortified and aſſiſted, that we our ſelves, and others, by what they ſee in us, may Glorify God in that Day of Viſitation.

The Providence of God towards the Reformed.

I ſhall conclude this Book with one Reflection that may make us hope, that the Reformation was under a particular and watchful Care of Providence: When the Light ſeemed almoſt extinguiſhed in one Place, it broke out in another: By which as it was ſtill kept Shining ſomewhere, ſo there was a Sanctuary opened, to which thoſe who were forced to fly from one Place, might in their Flight find a Covert in another from the Storm. In the Beginning of this Reign, by the breaking of the *Smalcaldick* League, by the taking of the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and by the *Interim*, the Reformation ſeemed to be near extinguiſhed in *Germany*. In this Church it was at that Time advanced; and we kindly then received thoſe who were forced to fly hither for ſhelter. And now in the Year, before the Death of this Good King, there was not only a Revival, but a laſting Settlement procured in *Germany* to the Reformation there. So that thoſe who fled from hence, found a ſafe and kind Harbour in all the Places of the Empire, to which they were driven by the Storm and Tempeſt that aroſe here. Of which I go next to gather up ſuch Gleanings as have come in my way.

BOOK V.

Of what happen'd during Queen Mary's *Reign, from the Year* 1553, *to the Year* 1558.

1553. The Queen's Words were ſoft.

AS ſoon as the Queen came to the *Tower* of *London*, She ſent for the Lord-Mayor, and the Aldermen of the City, and told them, "That though her own Conſcience was "ſtayed in Matters of Religion, yet ſhe meaneth graci-"ouſly not to compel or ſtrain other Peoples Conſciences, otherwiſe "than God ſhall, as ſhe truſteth, put in their Hearts a Perſuaſion of "the Truth. Theſe ſoft Words were not long remembred: Of the Progreſs of the Severities in her Reign, I have a very Authentical Account before me, in the Original Council Book, that begins on the 17th of *Auguſt* 1553, and goes to the End of the Year 1557: But from that to her Death I have not ſo ſure a Thread. The Book begins with Orders for Letters to be written to *Coverdale* and *Hooper* for their undelayed Repair to the Court: And a Complaint being made of a Sermon preached by *Fiſher*, Parſon of *Amerſham*; he was ordered to appear the next Day, and to bring the Notes of his Sermon with him. A Parliament was ſummoned to meet in *November*: On the 14th of *Auguſt* the Writ for the Convocation was directed to *Cranmer*. A Letter was ſoon after written by the Queen and Council to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to ſuffer none to preach without a Special Licence; the ſame Order was intimated to the Lord Mayor of *London*; and the ſame was no doubt Univerſally both ordered and executed.

But her Proceeding ſevere.

On the 20th of *Auguſt* there was an Order for Guards to defend the Preacher at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, occaſioned by what had hap'ned to *Bourn*: It ſeems few came to hear the Sermons, for the Lord-Mayor was ordered "to make the Antients of the Companies reſort to the Ser-"mons, leſt the Preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by a ſmall Audi-"ence: On the 23d of *Auguſt Gardiner* was declared Lord Chan-

Rymer MSS.

cellor: Here I ſhall ſet down the Appointments of the Lord Chancellor as they were ſettled at that Time. There was a Privy Seal given for Wages and Dyets, and for the Maſters in Chancery, for 542 Pound, 15 Shillings, Yearly: Fifty Pound was ordered for attending on the Star-Chamber every Term: And beſides that, a Salary was given of 360 Pound, and 64 Pound for 12 Tun of Wine, and 16 Pound for Wax. All theſe were granted the 21 of *September*, but were to commence from the 23d of *Auguſt*. On the 24 of *Auguſt* there was an

Order ſent to the Keeper of *Newgate* to receive and keep *John Melvil*, a *Scot*, and a very Seditious Preacher; ſo he was called in the Warrant. On the ſame Day a Letter was written to the Mayor of *Canterbury*, to ſet *Panton*, Vicar St. *Dunſtan*'s, and one *Burden*, on the Pillory for Seditious Words againſt the Queen; and to take Bonds at their Diſcretion for their good Abearing. On the 26th of *Auguſt*, a Letter was writ to the Mayor of *Coventry* to apprehend *Symonds*, a Vicar there, and to ſend him up with ſuch Matter as can be procured to charge him with: "And to puniſh at their Diſcretion, ſuch "Slanderous Talkers, as by his leud Preaching have had Diſſolute "and Seditious Talk. 1553.

Here is a great deal of Heat in Ten Days Time. *Cranmer* was called before the Council in the Beginning of *Auguſt*; probably on the Account of his Signing King *Edward*'s Will, and acting upon it: But ſince ſo many of thoſe who had ſigned it, were then at the Council Board, they were perhaps aſhamed to proceed further againſt him, who had oppoſed it ſo much. He had for that Time only a ſevere Reprimand, and was commanded to keep his Houſe. He was brought again before ſome of the Queen's Commiſſioners, being cited to appear, and to bring the Inventory of his Goods with him. He brought it, but no further Proceedings againſt him are mentioned at that Time. On the 29th of *Auguſt Hooper* appeared before the Council: On the 1ſt of *September* he was ſent to the *Fleet*, no Regard being had to the Active Zeal, that he had expreſſed in aſſerting the Queen's Right, and againſt the Lady *Jane*; ſo ſincerely did he follow the Dictates of his Conſcience, when he could not but ſee what Conſequences it was like to have. On the 2d, Order was given that his Servant might attend on him. On the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, *Coverdale* appeared before them, and in reſpect that he was a Foreigner, he was ordered to attend till further Order. On the 2d of *September*, *Sanders*, Vicar in *Coventry*, appeared before the Council, and a Letter was written to the Mayor of *Leiceſter* to bring up their Vicar: On the 4th of *September*, *Latimer* was ſummoned to appear, and a Letter was written to the Mayor of *Coventry* to ſet *Symonds* at Liberty, upon his Repentance, for a Wiſh he had uttered, wiſhing they were hanged that ſaid *Maſs*: If he refuſed to do that, the Mayor was to give Notice of it. Againſt *Cranmer*, *Hooper*, and others.

On the 5th of *September* a Letter was written to Sir *John Sidenham* to let the Strangers depart, and to give them a Paſſport. This related to the Congregation of the Foreigners that had ſettled, in order to ſet up a Manufacture at *Glaſſenbury*. On the 10th of *September* a Letter of Thanks was ordered for the Gentlemen of *Cornwall*, for their honeſt Proceeding in electing Knights for the Parliament: It ſeems there was ſome Debate about it with the Sheriff: For a Letter was written to him to accept of the Election; and not to Trouble the County for any Alteration: On the 13th of *September* it is entred, that *Latimer* for his Seditious Demeanor ſhould be cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, with a Servant to attend him: On the ſame Day *Cranmer* was ordered to appear the next Day at the Star-Chamber. On the 14th in the Star-Chamber, *Cranmer*, as well for his Treaſon againſt the Queen, as for ſpreading Seditious Bills moving Tumults,

to

1553. to the Diſquieting the Preſent State, was ſent to the *Tower*, and referred to Juſtice. There are ſeveral Orders made for reſtoring all Chalices to Churches, together with all others Goods belonging to them, though they had been ſent into the *Great Wardrobe*. On the 4th of *October* the Archbiſhop of *York* was committed to the *Tower* for divers Offences; and *Horn* the Dean of *Dureſme* was ſummoned again and again, but he thought fit to go beyond Sea. Nothing gave more Offence than the promoting Petitions for retaining the Doctrine and Service ſettled in King *Edward*'s Time. Thoſe of *Maidſtone* were charged with it; and this is on ſeveral Occaſions mentioned in the Council Book: But as the Government was thus ſet to overthrow all that had been done in King *Edward*'s Time; ſo the Fierceneſs of the Popiſh Party made them on many Occaſions out-run the Government: Some of the Clergy continued to perform the Daily Worſhip, and to Celebrate the Sacrament: More they durſt not do in Publick, all Preaching being forbidden. The People that favoured the Reformation frequented the Service with great Devotion and Zeal, for all ſaw what was coming on them: And ſo they ſtudied to prepare themſelves for it. Some of the Ruder Multitudes came into their Churches and diſturbed them while they were at their Devotions: They inſulted the Miniſters, and laughed at their Worſhip; and there were every where Informers with falſe Stories to charge the more Zealous Preachers: In many Places the People broke in violently into Churches and ſet up Altars, and the *Maſs* in them, before the Parliament met to change the Laws.

The Duke of *Northumberland* begs his Life, but in vain.

The Duke of *Northumberland* ſhewed that Abjectneſs of Mind, that might have been expected from ſo inſolent a Man, loaded with ſo much Guilt: He begg'd his Life with all poſſible Meanneſs, *That he might do Penance all the Days of his Life, if it were in a Mouſe-Hole.* He went to *Maſs* in the *Tower*, and received the Sacrament in the Popiſh Manner. He ſent for *Gardiner*, and aſked him if there was no hope for him, to live, and do Penance for his Sins. The Biſhop ſaid, his Offence was great, and he would do well to provide for the worſt; eſpecially to ſee that he ſtood well with God in Matters of Conſcience and Religion. For to ſpeak plainly, he ſaid, he thought he muſt Die. The Duke deſired he might have a Learned Prieſt ſent him, for his Confeſſion and Spiritual Comfort. "For "Religion, he ſaid, he could be of no other but of his: He never "was of any other indeed: He complied in King *Edward*'s Days "only out of Ambition, for which he prayed God to forgive him, "and he promiſed that he would declare that at his Death. The Biſhop ſhed many many Tears, and ſeemed to be troubled for him: And as he reported himſelf, he preſſed the Queen ſo much, that he had almoſt gained her Conſent for his Life. But the Emperor who was then deſigning the Marriage, that took Effect afterwards, ſaw what a Struggle there might be againſt that, and what Miſchief ſuch a Man might afterwards do: So he wrote his Advice for his Death poſitively to the Queen: And he was Executed, and Died as he had lived.

Gates

Gates and *Palmer*, who ſuffer'd with him, had tried how far the Going to Maſs, and Receiving the Sacrament in the Popiſh Way, could ſave them: But when they were brought to Suffer, *Gates* confeſſed, "That he had lived as viciouſly, as any in the World. "He was a great Reader of the Scriptures; but no Man followed "them leſs: He read them only to Diſpute. He exhorted People, "to conſider how they read God's Holy Word, otherwiſe it would "be but Poyſon to them. *Palmer* thanked God for his Affliction, "and ſaid, He had learned more in one Dark Corner of the *Tower*, "than he had ever learned formerly: He had there come to ſee God in "his Works, and in his Mercies; and had ſeen himſelf a Maſs of "Sin, and of all Vileneſs the Vileſt. He ſeemed not daunted with the Fear of Death, tho' he ſaw Two die before him, and the bloody Axe coming to finiſh the Buſineſs on himſelf. I find nothing new, with relation to the Seſſion of Parliament. 1553. Others ſuffered with him.

The Writ, upon which the Convocation was ſummoned, was directed to *Cranmer*, but executed by *Boner*, Biſhop of *London*. *Weſton* was choſen Prolocutor: And the Queen ſent a Meſſage to them, to Diſpute about Religion. I gave formerly an Account of that Diſputation, and can add little to it. The Minutes tell us, that *Philips*, who was one of the Five that refuſed to Subſcribe, did, on the 30th of *April*, Recant, and Subſcribe. It is indeed of little Conſequence, to enquire into the Proceedings of the Convocation during this Reign; in which, all the Old Notions of Popery were taken up, even before they were enacted. Tho' both this Convocation, and the next, were Summoned by the Queen's Writ, with the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church*. A Convocation ſummon'd.

There was at this Time an Infamous Slander ſet about, of the Queen's being with Child by *Gardiner*. The Queen's whole Life being innocent as to all ſuch Things, that might have made them to deſpiſe ſuch a Report, rather than to trace it up: Beſides, *Gardiner*'s great Age made, that none could believe it. But the Earl of *Suſſex*, in his Officious Zeal, purſued it thro' Eight or Ten Hands: And one at laſt was indicted, for having reported it; tho' ſuch an abſurd Lie had, perhaps, been better neglected, than ſo minutely enquired into. In the ſame Letter that mentions this, the Earl of *Suſſex* gives an Account of Examinations, touching a Deſign for an Inſurrection, upon the Arrival of the Prince of *Spain*. MSS. *Petyt.*

The Emperor had, on the 21ſt of *December*, ſigned a Commiſſion, Empowering the Count of *Egmond*, and others, to Treat a Marriage between his Son and the Queen. Upon their Coming to *England*, the Queen gave a Commiſſion, on the 1ſt of *January*, to the Lord Chancellor, and others, to Treat with them. And Prince *Philip* of *Spain*, did, on the 28th of *April*, ſend from *Vallidolid*, full Powers to the ſame Effect. That which quickned the Treaty, was, an Account of a Vaſt Treaſure that was come with the Fleet, from the *Weſt-Indies* to *Seville*; reckoned to have brought over Five Millions, as *Maſon* wrote from *Bruſſels*. He does not denominate the Millions, whether Pounds, or Crowns. He wiſhes the Half were true. It was neceſſary to have a great Treaſure in View: For tho' I never found any Hint of the Corrupting of Parliament-Men, before A Treaty of Marriage with the Pr. of *Spain*.

1553. fore this Time, yet there was now an extraordinary Occaſion for it; and they ſaw, where only the Treaſure to furniſh it, could be had. A Concurrence of many Circumſtances, ſeemed to determine all Things for this Marriage. Every Thing was agreed to: The Conditions ſeemed to be of great Advantage to the Nation. In this Treaty of Marriage, if *Cæſar Campana* (who wrote *Philip*'s Life very copiouſly) was well informed, *Philip* himſelf was extremely diſguſted at it: For he deſired to be Married to a Wife, more ſuited to his own Age. He adds another Particular, "That the Nation ſhewed ſuch an Averſion to it, that the Count of *Egmond*, "with the others ſent over to Treat about it, ſaw themſelves in ſuch "Danger, that they were forced to fly away, that they might avoid "it: And a Parliament was to be called, to approve of the Conditions of the Treaty.

Part 3. B. 6.

Wyat's Riſing and Principles.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* was a Man that had been oft employed in Embaſſies, particularly in *Spain*; where he had made ſuch Obſervations upon the Subtilty and Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and of the Treatment that ſuch Kingdoms and Provinces met with, that came under their Yoke, that he could not look on the Miſery that his Country was like to fall under, without a juſt Concern about it. He was the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Kinſman, yet he would not join in Lady *Jane*'s Buſineſs: and before he knew that any others had done it, he proclaimed the Queen at *Maidſtone*: But he did not, upon that, run to Her for Thanks, as others did: Yet the Queen was ſo ſenſible of his Loyalty and Zeal for her, that She ſent her Thanks to him by the Earl of *Arundel*; to whom he appealed, as to this Particular, when he was under Examination in the *Tower*. He had obtained a Paſs to go beyond Sea; but his Lady being with Child, he ſtayed to ſee the End of that. Nothing ſet him on to raiſe the Country as he did, but his Love and Zeal for the Publick. He never pretended that Religion was his Motive: Many Papiſts joined with him. When he paſſed by *Charing-Croſs*, he might have turned to *Whitehall*, which was but ill defended; for many of the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Men came over to him. This ſhewed, that he meant no Harm to the Queen's Perſon. His Marching into *London*, was, on Deſign to engage the City, to come and join with him in a Petition to the Queen, againſt the *Spaniſh* Match. The Queen her ſelf was ſo ſatisfied, as to his good Intentions, that She intended to have pardoned him, had not a Meſſage from the Prince of *Spain*, determined her to order his Head to be cut off. I ſuppoſe, there may be a Miſtake here; and that it was the Emperor, then in *Flanders*, and not the Prince of *Spain*, who was yet in *Spain*, that ſent this Advice. He never accuſed the Lady *Elizabeth*: But being intangled by Queſtions in one Examination, he had ſaid ſomewhat reflecting on the Earl of *Devonſhire*: For this he begg'd his Pardon. And when he was on the Scaffold, he not only cleared the Lady *Elizabeth*, but referred himſelf with Relation to her Innocence, and that She was not privy to their Matters, to the Declaration he had made to the Council. All this Account concerning him, I take from a Relation, that his Son gave afterwards to the Lord *Burleigh*, marked

Ex MS. *Petyti.*

marked with that Lord's Hand on it. It ſeems, the Prieſts at this Time, underſtood the Intereſts of their Cauſe, better than others did above an Age after. For they moved the Queen, to ſhew a Signal Act of Mercy, and to pardon all that had been engaged in this Riſing. 1554.

Only it gave a Colour to the Severity againſt the Lady *Jane Gray*, and her Husband. She was the Wonder, and Delight of all that knew her. I have Two of her Letters in *Latin*, writ to *Bullinger*, copied from the Originals all in her own Hand, written in a pure and unaffected Stile. She was then entring on the Study of the *Hebrew*, in the Method that *Bullinger* adviſed her. She expreſſes, in her Letters, a wonderful Reſpect and Submiſſion to him, with a great Strain of Modeſty, and a very ſingular Zeal for Religion. There being nothing in thoſe Letters, that is in any Sort Hiſtorical, I thought it was not proper to put them in my Collection; tho' one cannot read them, without a particular Veneration for the Memory of ſo Young, and ſo Rare a Creature. Lady *Jane Gray* executed.

And now the Government finding all Things under their Feet, did begin to ſhew to the whole Nation what was to be expected. All that adhered to the Reformation, were ſure to be excluded from all Favour: Commiſſions were ſent over the whole Kingdom, to proceed, as upon other Points, ſo particularly againſt the Married Clergy. Theſe came to *York*, directed to the Guardian of the Spiritualties in that Place: And the Dean and Chapter were authorized by the Queen, to act purſuant to their Inſtructions. And they acted as in a Vacancy: Tho' the Commiſſion to proceed againſt the Archbiſhop, bears Date the 16th of *March*; yet on the 9th of *March*, they ſent out a General Citation of the Clergy, to appear before them on the 12th of *March*. They did not, indeed, begin to deprive any before the 27th of *April*: And from that Day, to the 20th of *December*, they deprived One and Fifty, of whom ſeveral were Prebendaries. Severities againſt the Married Clergy. Reg. *Ebor. Sede Vac.* f. 65, 66.

I will here inſert a ſhort Account of the Unjuſt and Arbitrary Deprivations of the Married Clergy, that was publiſhed by *Parker*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. "What Examples have they "in Stories before-time, that Deprivations have been thus handled, "before our Days? I will not ſpeak of particular Caſes; where ſome "Men have been deprived, never convict, no, nor never called: "Some called, that were faſt locked in Priſon; and yet they were "nevertheleſs deprived immediately. Some were deprived without "the Caſe of Marriage after their Order: Some induced to reſign, "upon Promiſe of Penſion, and the Promiſe as yet never perform-"ed. Some ſo deprived, that they were ſpoiled of their Wages, for "the which they ſerved the Half-Year before; and not Ten Days "before the Receipt, ſequeſtred from it: Some prevented from the "Half-Year's Receipt, after Charges of Tenths and Subſidies paid, "and yet not deprived Six Weeks after. Some deprived of their "Receipt ſomewhat before the Day, with the which their Fruits to "the Queen's Majeſty ſhould be contented; and ſome yet in the "like Caſe chargeable hereafter, if the Queen's Merciful Grace be "not informed thereof, by the Mediation of ſome Charitable Solli-

1554. " citor.———And a little after, there were deprived, or driven " away, Twelve of Sixteen Thouſand, as ſome Writer maketh his " Account. But there are good Reaſons to think, that Numbers have been wrong taken of this. Among other Suggeſtions, Dr. *Tanner* has ſent me this; That the Dioceſe of *Norwich* is reckoned almoſt an 8th Part of all *England*; and he finds, there were only 335 Clergymen deprived on that Account: By this, the whole Number will fall ſhort of 3000. This, it is true, is but a Conjecture; yet it is a very probable one: and the other Account is no way credible.

Aggravated by ſome.

I ſhall, to this, only add another ſhort Account of the Proceedings at that Time, publiſhed by *Ailmer*, afterwards Biſhop of *London*. " The Biſhops that were married, were thruſt out of the Par- " liament-Houſe; and all married Deans, and Archdeacons, out of " the Convocation. Many put out of their Livings, and others " reſtored, without Form of Law.——— Many Churches were " changed, many Altars ſet up, many Maſſes ſaid, many Dirges ſung, " before the Law was repealed. From theſe Accounts, we may eaſily believe, that when the Laws were altered, there was a vigorous and a ſpeedy Execution of them.

The Queen writes the firſt Letter to K. *Philip*.

After all Matters relating to the Queen's Marriage were ſettled, the Emperor ſent a Fleet for the Prince of *Spain*: And upon that Occaſion, the Queen was prevailed on to break thro' all Forms, and to write the firſt Love-Letter to him; of which, having met with the Original, I have put it in the Collection, as a Singularity in ſuch Matters. She tells him, " That She underſtanding that the Empe- " ror's Ambaſſador was ſending the Bearer to him, tho' He had not " written ſince their Alliance had been a Treating; yet She, think- " ing her ſelf obliged by the ſincere Affection that He had for her, " confirmed by good Effects, and by the Letters that he had writ- " ten to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, could not reſtrain her ſelf from " letting him know the Duty, in which She intended to correſpond " always with him: And She thanked him for all his Good Offices. " She acquainted him, that her Parliament had, without any Oppo- " ſition, agreed to the Articles of their Marriage, and thought them " Honourable, Advantageous, and more than Reaſonable. This " gave her an entire Confidence, that his Coming to *England* ſhould " be Safe, and Agreeable to him. She ends, recommending her ſelf " moſt affectionately and humbly to his Highneſs, as being his en- " tirely aſſured, and moſt obliged Ally.

Coll. Numb. 13.

Proceedings againſt Hereticks.

But, the Matter of the Marriage being ſettled, and afterwards executed, I will now look again into the Proceedings of the Council. On the 16th of *January*, one *Wotton*, called an Eſquire, was committed to be cloſe Priſoner in the *Fleet*, for his obſtinate Standing againſt Matters of Religion. On the 14th of *February*, Letters were written to the Lord *Rich*, and to Sir *John Wentworth*, to puniſh ſome in *Colcheſter*, *Coxall*, and other Places; who diſſuaded People from Frequenting ſuch Divine Service, as was then appointed by Law to be obſerved. Upon this, many were committed, and others put under Recogniſances to appear. On the 8th of *March*, an Order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to deliver *Cranmer*,

mer, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, to Sir *John Williams*, who was to carry them to *Oxford*. On the 26th of *March*, an Order was given to ſend up *Taylor*, Parſon of *Hadley*; and *Aſkew* of *Weſt-Hilleſly*. *Barlow* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* was carried beyond Sea, by one *Williams*, a Mariner of *Briſtol*; who returning to *Pembrokeſhire*, ſome Gentlemen there ſeized on him, and ſent him to *London*: So he was ſent to the *Marſhalſea*, and a Letter of Thanks was written to thoſe who had ſeized on him; ſo careful were they to encourage every officious Shew of Zeal. 1554.

But now came on the 2d Convocation in this Reign, in which all that was done, was, that the Prolecutor *Weſton*, with ſome deputed to go along with him, were ordered to go to *Oxford*, to diſpute with the Three Biſhops. Of which I can add nothing to the Account I formerly gave of it. On the 27th of *April*, *Weſton* returned and reported the Conference, or Examination of *Cranmer*, and the Two other Biſhops, atteſted under the Seal of the Univerſity: And ſoon after that they were diſmiſſed; for the Parliament met on the 2d of *April*, and was diſmiſſed on the 5th of *May*. A Convocation.

On the 3d of *May*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, being judged obſtinate Hereticks; The Judges were aſked what the Queen might do, ſince *Cranmer* was attainted. He was a Man Dead in Law, and not capable of any other Cenſure: And this ſeems to be the true Reaſon that moved the Queen to Pardon the Treaſon, upon which he was already condemned: For though he was very earneſt to obtain a Pardon for that, it does not appear that there was any Regard had to him in granting it, but on the contrary it ſeems it was reſolved that he ſhould be burned as a Heretick: And ſince that could not be done while he ſtood condemned of Treaſon, this ſeems to be the only Motive of that Mercy; which in this Caſe, was certainly done out of Cruelty. On the 20th of *May*, a Servant of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s was brought before the Council: But there is nothing in particular mentioned, only he was required to attend. There were Suſpicions of her being concerned in *Wyat*'s Rebellion, as appeared in the Account given of *Wyat* himſelf. It is alleged that *Gardiner* ſtudied to ſuborn falſe Witneſſes to charge her with that; and that this went ſo far, that a Warrant was brought to *Bridges*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, for her Execution; but that he would not Obey it, 'till he knew the Queen's Pleaſure. Some Credit ſeems due to this, ſince it was publiſhed in her Reign, and was not contradicted, nor denied as far as I can find. But it ſeems to be denied in a Declaration ſet forth many Years after, by her ſelf when ſhe was Queen; which ſhall be mentioned in its proper Place. On the 25th of *May*, ſome in *Stepney* were ordered to be ſet on the Pillory for ſpreading falſe News; the Ears of one were ordered to be nailed to the Pillory, and then cut off. On the 26th of *May*, Sir *Henry Bedingfield* was ſent with Inſtructions, ſigned by the Queen, for the ordering the Lady *Elizabeth*. *Cranmer*'s Treaſon pardoned, that he might be burned. Reply to *Parſons*. P. 84.

On the 1ſt of *June*, an Order was ſent to the Biſhop of *London*, to ſend diſcreet and learned Preachers into *Eſſex*, to reduce the People there. *Boner* ſeemed to think of no way of reducing any, but by Severity and Force; ſo that the Council found it neceſſary to put

1554. him in mind of his Paſtoral Care. Orders were then given for the Reception of the Prince of *Spain*. Some were ordered to be ſet on a Pillory, and their Ears were to be nailed to it, and cut off. The Dutcheſs of *Northumberland* deſired that her Sons might hear Maſs in the *Tower*: This was granted, but Order was given that none might ſpeak with them. On the 11th of *June*, Orders were given to receive the Duke of *Savoy* at *Dover*. And on the 5th of *July*, Order was given to puniſh thoſe who were concerned in the Impoſture, called, *the Spirit in the Wall*. On the 6th of *July*, ſome of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Servants were committed for lewd Words of the State of the Kingdom: On the 24th of *July*, Two Treaties for the Queen's Marriage, made by the Lord *Fitzwater*, who had been Ambaſſador in *Spain*, were given to the Lord Treaſurer.

The Council orders ſevere Proceedings.

Now the Marriage was made, and the Jollities on ſuch Occaſions put ſome ſtop to Severities: But it was a ſhort one, for on the 15th of *Auguſt*, Letters were writ to the Juſtices of Peace in *Suſſex*, to puniſh thoſe who railed at the Myſteries of Chriſt's Religion. I muſt obſerve here once for all, that the Letters themſelves, writ by the Council, are not entred in the Book: Theſe would have ſet out Particulars much more clearly, than thoſe ſhort Entries do: But there were Forms of thoſe Letters put in a Cheſt, and the Council Book refers us often to the Letter in the Cheſt. On the 19th of *Auguſt*, Letters of Thanks are ordered to *Tirrell*, and others, for their Care, ordering them to impriſon all ſuch as came not to Divine Service; and to keep them in Priſon 'till they had the Comfort of their Amendment: Several Men and Women were impriſoned in *Huntingtonſhire*. The 20th of *Auguſt*, mention is made of ſome in Priſon for Words. On the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, an Order was ſent to examine into a Conſpiracy in *Suffolk*, by certain lewd Perſons: On the 16th of *September*, a Letter was ordered to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, to puniſh the Spreaders of falſe Rumours.

The Reconciliation with *Rome* deſign'd.

But now came on the great Affair of the Reconciling the Nation to the See of *Rome*. The Two former Parliaments could not be brought up to that; ſo the Court was willing to accept all that they could be brought to; but when they ſaw at what they ſtuck, they were ſent home: And ſome were ſo weak as to think that by Yielding in ſome Things, they ſhould give the Court ſuch Content, as to ſave the reſt. They were willing to return back to that State of Religion, in which King *Henry* left it; and did not rightly apprehend that nothing could give the Queen an entire Content, but a total Reconciliation with the Pope: Whereas thoſe who could not come up to this, ought to have ſtood firm at firſt, and not by giving Ground, have encouraged the Court to compaſs their Whole Deſign. The Queen was more than ordinary ſollicitous to get a Parliament choſen to her Mind. She wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Suſſex*, and probably ſhe wrote to all thoſe in whom ſhe confided, in the ſame Strain. It will be found in the Collection. " She had now ſummoned a Parliament to the 12th " of *November*, in which ſhe expected to be aſſiſted by him; and " that he would admoniſh her good Subjects who had a Right to " Elect the Members, to chuſe Men of the Wiſe, Grave, and Catho- " lick Sort; ſuch as indeed meant the true Honour of God, and the

Collect. Numb. 14.

" Proſperity of the Common-Wealth; which ſhe and the King her 1554.
" Huſband did intend, without the Alteration of any particular
" Man's Poſſeſſion; which among other falſe Rumours, the Hin-
" derers of her Good Purpoſes, and the Favourers of Hereticks, did
" moſt untruly report. She deſired him to come up againſt the
" Feaſt of *All-Saints*, at the furtheſt, that ſhe might confer with him
" about thoſe Matters, that were to be treated of in Parliament. This is dated the 6th of *October*, and ſo careful was that Lord to Merit the Continuance of the Queen's Confidence, that on the 14th of *October*, he wrote to the Gentlemen of the County, to reſerve their Voices for the Perſon whom he ſhould Name: He alſo wrote to the Town of *Yarmouth* for a Burgeſs. But now to open more particularly the Great Matter that was to be tranſacted in this Parliament.

Pole ſent Legate for that end.

When the News of the Change of Government in *England*, and of the Queen's Intentions, were brought to *Rome*, it was not poſſible to deliberate long, who was the propereſt Perſon to be ſent Legate. *Pole* had ſo many meritorious Characters on him, that beſides the Signification of the Queen's Deſire, no other Perſon could be thought on. *A. Harmer* has given the Bull, upon which he was ſent from *Rome*. It is dated the 5th of *Auguſt*, 1553, though the Queen came not to *London* 'till the 3d of *Auguſt*, and *Comendone*, who carried her Meſſage to the Pope, was in *London* on the 23d: For he ſaw the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Execution. It ſeems that at *Rome*, upon King *Edward*'s Death, they took it for granted, both that her Right would take Place, and that ſhe would reconcile her Kingdom again to that See: And therefore the Bull was prepared. *Pole* had at that Time retired 300 Mile from *Rome*, to an Abbey upon the Lake, now called *De Garda*: In his Abſence he was declared Legate: Upon which he wrote a Letter to the Queen on the 13th of *Auguſt*, which I have put in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 15.

He wrote to the Queen.

" He begins, expreſſing his Joy at her Exaltation, more particu-
" larly at the Manner of it; which he reckons a ſingular Work of
" an immediate Providence; in which, as indeed the Subject ſeem-
" ed to allow it, he enlarges very copiouſly. And ſince ſhe carried
" the Name of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, he calls on her to ſay the *Mag-*
" *nificat*, applying it to the late Providences of God towards herſelf.
" He deſires her to conſider what was the Beginning of all the Miſe-
" ries that *England* had felt; it was the King her Father's departing
" from the Apoſtolick See, and the Catholick Church. He was a
" Witneſs to all the Steps made in that Matter: He had upon all
" Occaſions aſſerted both her Mother's Marriage, and her own Right:
" And had done and ſuffered much on that Account. He was there-
" fore now moſt particularly concerned to know what her Mind was
" with Relation to Religion; and though he was then 300 Miles
" from *Rome*, he was named Legate to be ſent, to her, to the Empe-
" ror, and to the *French* King; therefore he ſent one to her to
" know her Mind. He did not doubt of it; for no Perſon owed
" more to the Apoſtolick See than ſhe did, ſince it was upon her
" Account that ſo much Outrage had been done to it. So before
" he would proceed in his Legatin Function, he deſired to know her
" Pleaſure more particularly.

Upon

1554. Upon this ſhe wrote an Anſwer on the 10th of *October*, which is alſo in the Collection. " She thanked him for all the kind Ex-
Coll. Numb. 16. The Queen's Anſwer. " preſſions in his Letter; and in particular for the good Advice he " gave her. She was full of Reverence and Obedience to the Holy " See; but it was a great Trouble to her, that ſhe could not yet " declare her Mind openly in that Matter. As ſoon as it was ſafe " for her to do it ſhe would let him know it. His Meſſenger would " tell him all Particulars: She was then Crowned. She hoped the " Parliament would repeal all the bad Laws: And that ſhe ſhould " obtain the Pope's Pardon for all her own Faults. She ſends by " him her moſt humble Thanks to the Pope for his Clemency to " her, and for his Readineſs to forget all that is paſt: With this ſhe ſent back *Ormant* to him. The Bull that the Pope ſent to *Pole*, is all a Rhetorical Panegyrick upon the Queen's coming to the Crown, and on her Pious Intentions. But Bulls being often in a Common Form, it is not in it, but in the Breves, that we are to ſeek the Powers, or Inſtructions, given to *Pole*. There was a Part of Cardinal *Pole*'s Regiſter conveyed to me, about a Year after my IId Volume was printed: A ſhort Account of the moſt remarkable Things in it was then printed, in a Letter directed to me. The Characters of the Truth of the Papers are Viſible: Some of them are in *Latin*, and ſome in *Italian*: And becauſe I look on this as a Matter of great Conſequence, I will give a very particular Account of them.

Coll. Numb. 17. His Firſt Powers. The firſt Paper, which will be found in the Collection, is the Breve, that was at firſt ſent him, of the Pope's own Motion; and bears Date the 8th of *March* 1554. By it, " *Pole* is empowered to " receive all Hereticks, of both Sexes, and of all Ranks, even Bi-" ſhops and Archbiſhops, Communities as well as Single Perſons, of " what Hereſies ſoever guilty, tho' relapſed in them, upon their true " and unfeigned Repentance; and to abſolve them from all Pains " and Cenſures, how long ſoever they had continued in their Errors, " and tho' their Sins were reſerved immediately to the Holy See. " And he was empower'd, to pardon all Irregularities run into by " them, and all the Bigamies of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons: They firſt " relinquiſhing their Wives; notwithſtanding which, they might be " continued in their Orders and Functions, and might be capable of " all Eccleſiaſtical Promotions: All Infamy being pardoned, provi-" ded they, with a Contrite Heart, ſhould Sacramentally Confeſs " their Sins to any Catholick Prieſt, at their Choice, and ſubmit to " ſuch Penance as he ſhould enjoin: Excuſing them from all Publick " Confeſſion, Abjuration, or open Penance. Abſolving all Commu-" nities from any unlawful Factions, in Favour of others, tho' con-" firmed by Oaths. Empowering him to receive all Regulars, and " to abſolve them from the Cenſures of Apoſtacy; allowing them " to poſſeſs Benefices as Seculars. Diſpenſing with the ſtrict Obſer-" vation of *Lent*, as to Milk Meats, and Eggs; and even Fleſh, " upon the Allowance of either the Confeſſor, or the Phyſician. " Giving him Authority, to ſuffer ſuch of the Clergy, under the " Degree of a Biſhop, who were married, upon their true Converſi-" on, to live in that State, ſo that no Scandals were given by it: " Only they were not to Miniſter at the Altar, nor to do any Ec-

" cleſiaſtical Function; but they might lawfully continue in the Mar- 1554.
" ried State, the Iſſue being declared Lawful. To this is added, a
" Power of Uniting of Benefices.

Next comes the Clauſe concerning the Poſſeſſors of Eccleſiaſtical Goods. " He is empowered to agree, tranſact, and diſcharge them,
" for all the Profits they had wickedly received, and for the Moveable
" Goods that they had conſumed; *the Immoveable Goods that have*
" *been by them unduly detained, being firſt reſtored, if that ſhould*
" *ſeem to be convenient to him.* And whatever ſhould ariſe out of
" any ſuch Agreement, was to be applied to the Church, to which
" ſuch Goods had belonged, or for the Advancement of Studies, and
" to Schools. There is likewiſe a Power granted, to delegate others
" under him, for the Care and Performance of all theſe Particulars.
" But becauſe he was to go firſt to *Flanders*, and ſtay in thoſe Parts
" for ſome Time; the Pope gave him Authority to execute theſe
" Powers, even while he was without the Kingdom, to all Perſons
" belonging to it, that ſhould apply to him, particularly, with Rela-
" tion to all Orders unduly received; and to confirm Biſhops, or
" Archbiſhops, who had been promoted by a Secular Nomination,
" during the Schiſm, and had aſſiſted the former Kings, tho' they
" had fallen into Hereſy, upon their Return to the Unity of the
" Church: And to provide to Metropolitical or Cathedral Churches,
" ſuch Perſons as ſhould be recommended to him by the Queen, ac-
" cording to the Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, upon any Vacancy: And
" to Abſolve, and Reabilitate all Clergymen, of all Ranks, notwith-
" ſtanding their paſt Errors. All theſe Powers are confirmed, with
" a full *Non Obſtante* to all Conſtitutions whatſoever.

Here was a great Fulneſs of Favour, with Relation to all Perſonal Things. When *Pole* (whoſe Name I write as he himſelf did, and not as we uſually do) came to *Flanders*, he was ſtopped by the Emperor's Order, till his Powers were ſeen, and ſent to *England*. When they were ſeen, they were conſider'd as far ſhort of what was expected, and of what ſeemed neceſſary, for the Carrying on the Reconciliation quietly thro' the Nation: So *Pole* ſent *Ormanet* to *Rome*, for fuller Powers, and retir'd to *Diligam*-Abbey, near *Bruſſels*. While he was there, he heard the News of *Philip*'s Arrival in *England*, and of the Queen's being married to him: Upon which, he wrote a Letter of Congratulation to the Biſhop of *Arras*, which is in the Collection: And on the ſame Day, he wrote this acceptable Piece of News to the Cardinal *de Monte*; which is alſo in the Collection. In the Poſtſcript to the Biſhop of *Arras*, he tells him, that *Ormanet* was returned with fuller Powers. He brought with him Two Breves.

Card. *Pole* ſtopp'd in *Flanders* by the Emperor.

Coll. Numb. 18.

Coll. Numb. 19.

The Firſt is of no Importance to this Matter; but becauſe it was thought to be ſuppreſſed on Deſign, by the Writer of the Letter directed to me, by him that wrote on this Subject in K. *James*'s Time, it is put in the Collection. It ſets forth, " That he was ſent firſt to
" the Queen of *England*; and after that he was conſtituted Legate
" *à Latere*, for Mediating a Peace between the Emperor and the
" King of *France*. He had alſo very ample Powers given him, while
" he remained in *Flanders*, with Relation to *Engliſh* Perſons and Af-
" fairs.

Coll. Numb. 20.

New and fuller Powers ſent to *Pole*.

1554. " fairs. But ſince, by reaſon of the Schiſm, and other Errors, ma-
" ny Caſes might happen, that wanted a Proviſion from the Apoſto-
" lical See, which could not be comprehended within the Faculties
" given him; and becauſe it is doubtful, whether he may yet uſe
" them in the Queen's Dominions; and which of them ſhall be
" made uſe of, while he is either with the Emperor, or the King of
" *France*; the Pope gives him full Power, to make uſe of all Facul-
" ties ſent to him, by himſelf, or by any other deputed by him: and
" to do every Thing, that he ſhall think will conduce to the Glory
" of God, the Honour of the Holy See, and the bringing the
" Queen's Dominions to the Communion of the Church, as fully
" as may be. And while He remained with the Emperor, he gave
" him all the Powers of a *Legate à Latere*, for all his Domini-
" ons: And he gave him the ſame Powers, while He ſhould be with
" the King of *France*.

Coll. Numb. 21. With Relation to Church-Lands.

The other Breve, which is alſo in the Collection, ſets forth, " That
" upon the Hopes of Reducing the Kingdom of *England*, that had
" been torn from the Body of the Catholick Church, to an Union
" with it, out of which there is no Salvation; the Pope had ſent
" him his *Legate à Latere*, with all the Powers that ſeemed neceſ-
" ſary, or proper, for Effecting that Work: In particular, to agree,
" and tranſact with the Poſſeſſors of Church-Goods, concerning
" them. And whereas, by the Beginnings and Progreſs already
" made, there is good Hopes of bringing that Work to a full Perfe-
" ction; which will go on the eaſier, the more indulgent and boun-
" tiful the Pope ſhews himſelf, with Relation to the Poſſeſſions of
" thoſe Goods: The Pope therefore, not willing that the Recover-
" ing that Nation, and the Salvation of ſo many Souls, ſhould be
" obſtructed, by any worldly Regards; in Imitation of the good
" Father, who received the returning Prodigal, he empower'd *Pole*,
" in whoſe Prudence and Dexterity, he put an entire Confidence;
" to Treat with all the Poſſeſſors, or Detainers of Eccleſiaſtical
" Goods, for whom the Queen ſhould interceed; and to tranſact
" and compound with them, that they might, without any Scruple,
" enjoy and retain the ſaid Goods: And to conclude every Thing,
" that was proper or neceſſary, with Relation to them. *Saving al-*
" *ways ſuch Things, in which, for the Greatneſs and Importance of*
" *them, it ſhall ſeem fit to you to conſult this Holy See, to obtain our*
" *Approbation and Confirmation.* Upon which, he is fully empow-
er'd to proceed, with a full *Non Obſtante*, bearing Date the 28th of *June*. With theſe Breves, Cardinal *de Monte* wrote him a Letter, in the

Coll. Numb. 22. *Roman* Way, of a High Compliment; which is in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 23. The next Letter is from Cardinal *Morone*; which is likewiſe in the Collection. By this it appears, that *Pole* had gone to *France*, upon his Legatine Commiſſion: And after the uſual *Roman* Civilities, " He tells him, he had laid his Letter before the Pope, who was
" beginning to deſpair of the Affairs of *England*: And tho' the
" Pope had not the Patience to read, or hear his Letter, which was
" his ordinary Cuſtom, yet he told him the Sum of it; with which
" he

" he was ſatisfied; and ſaid, He had given no Cauſe, neither to the " Emperor, nor to any other, to uſe ſuch extravagant Words to " him. It ſeems, *Pole* had deſired to be recalled; but the Pope ſaid, " that could not be done. It would be a great Diſgrace both to the " Pope, and to the Apoſtolical See, to the Emperor himſelf, and to " Cardinal *Pole*; and a great Prejudice to *England*. But he would " not write to the Emperor upon it: Nor was he reſolved about " the Goods of the Church; concerning which, he ſpoke often " very variouſly. He reſolved to write, both to the Queen, and to " the Prince of *Spain*; which Letters, he adds, will be ſent by *Or-* " *manet*, who is diſpatched with every Thing neceſſary for the Bu- " ſineſs, conform to his Deſire. The reſt is all Compliment; dated the 13th of *July*. Then follows a Breve, merely in Point of Form, extending the former Powers that were addreſſed only to the Queen, to *Philip* her Huſband; dated the 10th of *July*. 1554.

Upon this, the Emperor being then at *Valenciennes*, the Cardinal ſent *Ormanet* thither; who gave an Account of his Audience to *Priuli*, the Legate's Great and Generous Friend, which will be found in the Collection. The Biſhop of *Arras* told him, how much the Emperor had the Matters of Religion at Heart; and that he would be always ready to promote them. But when *Ormanet* preſſed him for a preſent Diſpatch, he ſaid, they had no News from *England* ſince the Marriage: And that before any other Step was made, it would be neceſſary to know what Ply the Affairs of that Kingdom were like to take. It was fit to conſider, whether the Powers of Securing the Goods of the Church, ſhould come from the Legate, or from the King and Queen. Then he deſired to ſee the Copy of the Cardinal's Faculties. As to the Point of Time, *Ormanet* ſaid, it was not fit to loſe a Moment, ſince ſo many Souls were endanger'd by the Delay: And the firſt Coming of the Prince of *Spain* ought not to be let ſlip, by which, the Honour of the Work would be chiefly due to him. As for his Faculties, all Things neceſſary were committed to the Cardinal in the ampleſt manner; and more particular Reſolutions could not be taken, but upon the Place. Somewhat further paſſed between them, which *Ormanet* reſerves till he ſaw the Cardinal. The Biſhop of *Arras* promiſed to lay all before the Emperor, and to do all Good Offices. The Emperor was at that time ſo well, that he was often on Horſeback, to view his Army; which had then marched to St. *Amand*, and the Two Armies were very near one another. This is dated the laſt of *July*.

All was laid before the Emperor.

Collect. Numb. 24.

On the 3d of *Auguſt*, the Biſhop of *Arras* wrote to the Cardinal, " That the Emperor received his Congratulations on the Mar- " riage very kindly; but did not think it was yet proper for him to " go to *England*, till they had a perfect Account of the preſent State " of Affairs there. To know that, he had that Day ſent an Ex- " preſs thither: Upon his Return, he ſhould be able to give him " a moſt poſitive Anſwer. He knew, the Zeal of the King and " Queen was ſuch, that they would loſe no Time; but yet they " muſt proceed with ſuch Moderation, that the Way to a true Re- " medy might not be cut off, by too much Haſte. This is in the Collection. The Cardinal had a Letter from *Bartholomew de Miranda*,

Yet he was ſtill put off by Delays.

Coll. Numb. 25.

1554. *randa*, a Friar, who (I ſuppoſe) was K. *Philip*'s Confeſſor, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, from *Wincheſter*, *July* 28. It is only a Letter of Reſpect, deſiring his Commands. The Cardinal wrote to the Biſhop of *Arras*, on the 5th of *Auguſt*: He ſent him the Copy of his Faculties, and expreſſed a great Earneſtneſs in his Deſign of Going ſpeedily into *England*, as ſoon as the Courier, ſent by the Emperor, ſhould return. He ſhewed himſelf as impatient of the Delays, as in good Manners he could well do. This is alſo in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 26.

King *Philip* ſtayed at *Wincheſter* ſome Days after the Marriage: For, on the 4th of *Auguſt*, he ſent the Count of *Horn* over to the Emperor from thence; and by him he wrote a Letter, partly of Reſpect; partly of Credit, to the Cardinal. To this the Cardinal wrote an Anſwer, which I have put in the Collection: Tho', beſides ſuch High Compliments as are uſually given to Princes, there is nothing particular in it; only he ſtill inſiſts earneſtly, for Leave to come over. On the 11th of *Auguſt*, the Biſhop of *Arras* wrote to him, "That he had ſeen the Copy of his Faculties, and he joins with him "in his Wiſhes, to ſee that Kingdom reſtored to its ancient Obedi- "ence; he aſſures him, the Emperor was preſſing the Diſpatch of the "Matter, and he did not doubt, but that it would be ſpeedily ac- "compliſhed. *Pole* wrote on the 2d of *September*, to *Soto* the Emperor's Confeſſor, "thanking him for thoſe preſſing Letters that he "had written, both to the Emperor, and to Duke *Alonſo d' Aqui-* "*lara*; with which the Legate was ſo delighted, that he writes as "one in a Rapture upon it; and he animates him to perſiſt in that "Zeal, for Promoting this Great Work.

Coll. Numb. 27.

The Reaſon of thoſe Delays.

He was ſtill put off with new Delays; of which, the beſt Account I can give, is, that this being the Deciſive Stroke, there was a cloſe Canvaſſing over *England* for the Elections to this Parliament. Since Nothing can effectually ruin this Nation, but a Bad Choice; therefore, as it is the conſtant Character of a Good Miniſtry, who deſign nothing but the Welfare and Happineſs of the Nation, to leave all Men to a due Freedom in their Elections; ſo it is the conſtant Diſtinction of a Bad Miniſtry, that have Wicked Deſigns, to try all the Methods of Practice and Corruption poſſible, to Carry ſuch an Election, that the Nation being ill repreſented by a Bad Choice, it may be eaſy to impoſe any Thing on a Body of Vicious, Ignorant, and Ill-principled Men, who may find their own Mercenary Account, in Selling and Betraying their Country. It appeared in the Two former Parliaments, who They were, that could not bear the Returning to their Old Servitude to the Papacy. It was, no doubt, ſpread over *England*, that they ſaw the Legate was kept in *Flanders*; and not ſuffer'd yet to come over: This ſeems the true Cauſe, why his Coming was ſo long put off. It might be likewiſe an Artifice of *Gardiner*'s, to make the Difficulties appear the greater, and by that, to enhanſe his own Merit the more. It is plain, that till the Election was over, and till the Pulſes of the Majority were firſt tried, it was reſolved not to ſuffer the Legate to come over. This ſeems to be that which he inſinuates, in his Letter to the Confeſſor, when he ſays, that *the Wiſdom of the Wiſe has kept the Gate ſo long ſhut againſt him.*

On

On the 13th of *October*, *Pole* wrote the Pope an Account of what had paſſed between him and the Biſhop of *Arras* and the Emperor himſelf: The Biſhop of *Arras*, as he writes, came to him and aſſured him that the Emperor was in the beſt Diſpoſition poſſible: But it was neceſſary to come to Particulars, to examine all the Impediments, and the beſt Methods to put them out of the way. The Legate ſaid he had full Powers, and deſired to know from *England* what Impediments were ſuggeſted. He added, this was not a Negotiation, like that in making a Peace, where both Sides did conceal their own Deſigns all they could, 'till they diſcovered thoſe of the contrary ſide: Here all had but one Deſign, and he was ready to enter into Particulars when they pleaſed. He had an Audience of the Emporor, none but the Nuntio, and the Biſhop of *Arras*, being preſent. In it, after uſual Compliments, the Impediments propoſed were Two; the Firſt related to the Doctrine, in which there was no Abatement to be made, nor Indulgence to be ſhewed. The other was concerning the Lands; for the Uſurpers of them knowing the Severity of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, were afraid to return to the Obedience of the Church: To this the Legate anſwered, that the Pope was reſolved to extend his Indulgence in this Caſe; Firſt, as to all the mean Profits already received, and the Cenſures incurred by that, which was a great Point; the Pope was willing freely to diſcharge that entirely: Nor did he intend to apply any Part of theſe to himſelf, or to the Apoſtolical See, as many feared he would: Though that might ſeem reaſonable, as a Compenſation for Damages ſuſtained, but he would convert all to the Service of God, and to the Benefit of the Kingdom: And he had ſuch Regard to the Piety of thoſe Princes, that he had empowered him to grant ſuch Favours as they ſhould intercede for, and to ſuch Perſons as they ſhould think worthy to be gratified, and were capable to aſſiſt him in the Matter of Religion. The Emperor underſtanding all this, thanked the Pope very heartily for his Favour in that Matter: He ſaid he had granted enough; he excuſed himſelf, that being wholly taken up with the preſent War, he had no ſooner applied himſelf to conſider the Matter: Now he knew it well: He had already written to *England*, and he expected a ſpeedy Anſwer from thence, by which he would know the State of Affairs there. He knew by his own Experience in *Germany*, that this of the *Church Lands* was the Point that was moſt ſtood on; As to Matters of Doctrine, he did not believe that they ſtood much upon that, they neither believing the one, nor the other: Yet thoſe Lands (or Goods) being dedicated to God, he thought it was not fit to yield all up, to thoſe who poſſeſſed them: He added, that though the Legate had told him the whole Extent of his Powers, yet he would do well not to open that to others. He then deſired to ſee his Faculties. The Legate upon that apprehending this would give a Handle to a new Delay, ſaid he had already ſhewed them to the Biſhop of *Arras*, and he told the Emperor, what a Scandal it would give to the Whole World, if the Reconciliation ſhould not be ſettled by this Parliament. The Queen did not think fit to preſs it formerly, 'till ſhe had received that Mighty Aſſiſtance which was now come to her by her Marriage; yet if this which ought to have been the Beginning, and the Foun-

1554. *Coll. Numb.* 28

1554. dation of all the reſt, were delayed any longer, it muſt give great Offence both to God and Man. The Emperor ſaid, Regard was to be had to the ill Diſpoſition of the People concerned, who had formed in themſelves, and others, an Averſion to the Name of Obedience, and to a Red Cap, and a Religious Habit. He ſaid ſome *Fryars* whom his Son had brought with him out of *Spain*, were adviſed to change their Habits. They had not indeed done it, nor was it convenient that they ſhould do it. He alſo touched on the ill Offices that would be done them by their Enemies abroad, in order to the raiſing of Tumults: (meaning the *French.*) The Legate anſwered, if he muſt ſtay 'till all Impediments were removed, that would be endleſs. The Audience ended with this, that he muſt have a little Patience, 'till the Secretary whom he had ſent into *England* ſhould return.

Cardinal *Pole* much eſteemed by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. *Coll. Numb.* 29.

Maſon was then the Queen's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court: He in a Letter on the 5th of *October*, writ towards the End of it (the reſt being a long Account of the War between the Emperor and the *French* King,) concerning the Cardinal, (which will be found in the Collection;) that he was ſent by the Pope on two Deſigns; the one to mediate a Peace between thoſe two Powers; the other to mediate a Spiritual Peace, as he called it, in the Kingdom of *England*: But ſeeing no hope of ſucceeding, either in the one, or the other, he began to deſpair: And if he did not quickly ſee ſome appearance of Succeſs in the laſt, he would go back to *Rome*, a Sorrowful Man: and here *Maſon* runs out, either to make his Court to the Queen, or to the Legate, or that he was really poſſeſſed with a very high Opinion of him, which ſeems the more probable, as well as the more honeſt Motive: He ſays, "all the World adores him for his Wiſdom, "Learning, Vertue, and Godlineſs. God ſeems to dwell in him; "his Converſation, with his other Godly Qualities, was above the "Ordinary Sort of Men. It would be a ſtrong Heart, that he would "not ſoften in half an Hours Talk.

He writes to King *Philip*. *Coll. Numb.* 30.

At this Time the Cardinal wrote a long Letter to King *Philip* in *Latin*: He tells him he had been now for a Year knocking at the Gates of the Palace, and no Body opened to him: Though he is the Perſon that was driven from his Country into an Exile of above 20 Years continuance, becauſe he was againſt ſhutting the Queen out of that Palace, in which he now lived with her: But he comes with a Higher Authority, in the Name of the Vicar of the Great King, and Shepherd, Saint *Peter*'s Succeſſor, or rather Saint *Peter* himſelf; who was ſo long driven out of *England*: Upon this he runs out into a long Allegory, taken from Saint *Peter*'s being delivered out of Priſon, from *Herod*'s cruel Purpoſe, and coming to the Gate of *Mary*, where though his Voice was known, yet he was kept long knocking at the Door; *Mary* not being ſure that it was he himſelf. He dreſſes this out with much Pomp, and in many Words, as a Man that had practiſed Eloquence much, and had allowed himſelf in Flights of forced Rhetorick; liker indeed to the Declamation of a Student in Rhetorick, than the Solemn Letter of ſo great a Man on ſuch an Occaſion. *It is* true that this way of Writing had been early practiſed, and had been ſo long uſed, even by Popes themſelves, that theſe Precedents might to warrant him to Copy after ſuch Originals. At

At laſt the Queen ſent the Lord *Paget* and Lord *Haſtings* to bring him over: Their Letter upon their coming to the Emperor's Court is dated from *Bruſſels* the 13th of *November*. In it they give an Account of their Waiting upon the Emperor with the King and Queen's Complements. The Emperor had that Day received the Sacrament, yet they were admitted to Audience in the Afternoon: He expreſſed great Joy when he heard them give an Account how Matters were in *England*, and rouſed himſelf up in a chearful manner, and ſaid, That among many great Benefits, he was bound to thank God for this as a main One, that he now ſaw *England* brought back to a good State. He had ſeen what the Kingdom had once been, and into what Calamities it fell afterwards: And now he thanked God for the Miracles ſhewed to the Queen, to make her the Miniſter to bring it again to its ancient Dignity, Wealth and Renown. He alſo rejoiced that God had given her ſo ſoon ſuch a certain Hope of Succeſſion: Theſe Tidings of the State of her Perſon, with the Report of the Conſent of the Noblemen and others touching the Cardinal, and their Obedience and Union with the Catholick Church, were ſo pleaſant to him, that if he had been half dead, they would have revived him: He promiſed them all Aſſiſtance, as they ſhould come to need it. 1554. The Queen ſent to bring him over to *England*. *Coll. Numb.* 31.

From the Emperor they went to the Cardinal, who welcomed them with great Joy, and with Expreſſions full of Duty and Thankfulneſs to the Queen. Here they enlarge on his Praiſes: "They call him "the Man of God, full of Godlineſs and Vertue; and ſo eminently "humble, that he was contented to come into *England* in ſuch ſort as "the Queen had commanded; not as a Legate, but as a Cardinal, and "an Ambaſſador ſent to the Queen: and they aſſured the Queen, "that touching the Matter of Poſſeſſions, all things ſhould paſs on "the Pope's behalf ſo, that every Man there ſhall have Cauſe to be "contented. *Pole* took leave of the Emperor on the 12th; he was to ſet out in ſlow Journeys, his Body being then too weak for great Ones; in ſix Days he was to be at *Calais*, where they had ordered every thing to be ready for his Tranſportation.

It ſeems by this that the Queen reckoned on it, as ſure, that ſhe was with Child: tho' in that, after the Hopes of it were publiſhed with too much Precipitation, ſhe found her ſelf ſo much miſtaken, that it was believed the Grief and Shame of it, both together, had an ill Effect on her Health and Life. The Queen believed her ſelf to be with Child.

About this time there was a very abuſive Libel, printed in the Form of a Letter as writ by *Bradford* to the Queen; in which it was ſaid, "That it was believed the Queen intended to give the Crown to the "King, hoping that then he would keep Company with her more; "and live more Chaſt, contrary to his Nature; for peradventure af- "ter he was Crowned, he would be content with one Whore; where- "as he had then three or four in a Night: and theſe not Ladies, but "Common Proſtitutes. One *John Capſtoke* the Printer was diſcovered; he was condemned to be impriſoned, and to have his Ears nailed to the Pillory and cut off; yet he was pardoned. The Conſideration is not mentioned; it may be eaſily imagined it was no ſmall one, probably enough it was upon the Diſcovery of ſome of thoſe whom they were ſeeking out for the Slaughter. *Rymer. T.* 15.

1554.

Cardinal *Pole* carries his Powers beyond the Limits ſet him.

I have nothing to add to what I wrote formerly, with relation to this Parliament, and the Reconciliation made in it: No doubt *Pole*, according to the Powers in his *Breve*, deſired the Queen would name ſuch Perſons to whom the Favour of Confirming them in their Poſſeſſions ſhould be granted; but it ſeems they durſt not venture on any Diſcrimination, leſt that ſhould have made the excepted Perſons deſperate. So it is evident, that the confirming of all without exception, was, if not beyond his Powers, yet at leaſt a Matter of ſuch Importance, that he ought to have conſulted the Pope upon it; and to have ſtayed, till he had new and ſpecial Orders to paſs it in ſo full a manner, as he did. But ſtill it is plain by the Meſſage ſent to *Rome*, that he made the Council at leaſt, to apprehend that it was neceſſary to ſend thither for a Confirmation of what he had done; without any Limits, upon Powers that were expreſsly limited, and reſerved to a Confirmation.

Some preach for Reſtoring the Abbey-Lands.

On the 12th of *December*, *Maſon* wrote from *Bruſſels*; and after he had given in his Letter an Account of what paſſed in the Diet, upon a Letter written to it by the *French* King: He alſo writes, "That "one of the Emperor's Council had told him, that his Maſter was "diſpleaſed to hear that a Preacher was beating the Pulpit Jollily "(I uſe his own Words) for the Reſtitution of the Abbey-Lands: "Upon this he writes, That if it be ſo meant by the Prince, and the "Thing be thought convenient, he did his Duty: but if it was not "ſo, it was a ſtrange thing, that in a well-ordered Commonwealth, a "Subject ſhould be ſo hardy as to cry thus to the People, to raiſe "Storms next Summer, againſt what they were then doing in Winter; and if the Thing were to be talked of, it ought to be to the "Prince and Council, and not to the People: He reflects on the unbridled Sermons in the former Times, that they were much miſliked: So he hoped, that in a good Government that ſhould have "been amended. He thought the Perſon that preached this might "be well put to Silence; for he being a Monk, and having vowed "Poverty, poſſeſſed a Deanry and three or four Benefices. He tells "them he had heard by the Report of other Ambaſſadors, that *Eng*"*land* was now returned to the Unity of the Chriſtian Church. He "ſhould have been glad that he might have been able to confirm this "by ſome certain Knowledge of it; but it was Ordinary for the Am"baſſadors of *England* to know the leaſt of all others, of the Matters "of their own Kingdom. A Cuſtom of a long Continuance, of which I have heard great Complaints made of a later Date. On the 25th of *December* he wrote, that according to his Orders, he had let the Emperor know the Apprehenſions the Queen had of the Progreſs of her Big-belly: and that all was quiet, and every thing went on happily in *England*. Upon this the Emperor fell into a free Diſcourſe with him of the Difference between Governing with Rigor and Severity; and the governing in ſuch ſort, that both Prince and People might *Sentre entendre & ſentre aimer*, mutually underſtand and mutually love one another. This, as it is at all times, a noble Meaſure of Government; ſo it was more neceſſary to offer ſuch an Advice, at a time in which it was reſolved to proceed with an unmerciful Rigor, againſt thoſe whom they called Hereticks. The Queen ſeemed to be

Paper-Office.

ſo ſure, that ſhe was Quick with Child, that the Privy-Council wrote upon it a Letter to *Boner*, and ordered him to cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung upon it. With ſuch a Precipitation was this deſired Piece of News publiſhed. 1554.

Some ſmall Favour was, at King *Philip*'s Deſire, ſhewed to ſome. The Archbiſhop of *York* was releaſed, upon a Bond of 20000 Marks for his Good Behaviour. How far he recanted, or complied, does not appear: One Thing may be reaſonably concluded; That ſince no more mention is made of the Complaint put in againſt him, for keeping another Man's Wife from him, there is no Reaſon to think there was any Truth in it. For there being ſo particular a Zeal then on foot, to diſgrace the Marriage of the Clergy, ſo flagrant an Inſtance as this, in a Man put in ſo Eminent a Poſt, would not have been paſs'd over, if there had been any Colour of Truth, or Proof for it. On the 27th of *January*, *Hopkins*, Sheriff of the City of *Coventry*, was put in the *Fleet* for Ill Religion. On the 19th of *February*, ſome ſmall Regard was had to *Miles Coverdale*, as being a Foreigner; for he was a *Dane*: He had a Paſsport to go to *Denmark*, with Two Servants, without any unlawful Let or Search. *Jan.* 18. 1553. The Archbiſhop of *York* ſet at Liberty.

On the 29th of *January*, Cardinal *Pole* gave Deputed Powers to the Biſhops, to Reconcile all Perſons to the Church, purſuant to the firſt Breve he had from the Pope; by which the Reconciliation was made very eaſy; every one being left at his Liberty to chuſe his own Confeſſor, who was to enjoin him his Penance: Upon which, the Clergy, both Regulars and Seculars, were to be entirely reſtored, confirmed in their Benefices, and made capable of all further Favours: But thoſe who were accuſed, or condemned for Hereſy, were only to be reſtored to the Peace of the Church, for the Quiet of their Conſciences. All Canonical Irregularities were alſo taken off; all publick Abjurations, or Renunciations, were, at Diſcretion, to be either moderated, or entirely forgiven; with a Power to the Biſhop, to depute ſuch Rectors and Curates, as he ſhall think fit, to Abſolve and Reconcile all Lay-Perſons to the Church. That ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, is ſtill upon Record, and was collated with the Regiſter, and ſent me by Dr. *Tanner*. With this, I have likewiſe put in the Collection, the Method in which it was executed. Firſt, the Articles of the Viſitation are in it, in *Engliſh*; then follow Rules, in *Latin*, given by the Cardinal, to all Biſhops, and their Officials. The moſt material of theſe is, "That all who were "empowered to Reconcile Perſons to the Church, were required to "enter into a Regiſter, the Names of all ſuch as they ſhould Re- "ceive: that it might appear upon Record, who were, and who "were not Reconciled; and to proceed againſt all ſuch, as were not "Reconciled: In particular, they were to inſert *Thomas Becket*'s "Name, and alſo the Pope's, in all their Offices. *Coll. Numb.* 33. *Coll. Numb.* 34.

Now came on the Burning of Hereticks. Many had been kept above a Year and a Half in Priſon, when yet there was no Law againſt them: And now a Law was made againſt them, which it could not be pretended that they had tranſgreſſed. But Articles were objected to them, to which they were, by the Eccleſiaſtical Law, obliged to make Anſwer: and upon their Anſwers, they were condemned.

1554. demned. *Sampſon*, in a Letter to *Calvin*, wrote on the 23d of *February*, "That *Gardiner* had ordered Fourſcore of the Priſoners to "be brought before him, and had tried to prevail on them, both by "Promiſes and Threatnings, to return, as he called it, to the Uni-"on of the Church: But not one of them yielded, except *Barlow*, "that had been Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Cardmaker*, an Arch-"deacon there. So this proved ineffectual. How far theſe yielded, does not appear.

Letters ſent from *Zurick*. The Reformers when tried by *Gardiner* were firm.

It was reſolved to begin with *Hooper*; againſt whom, both *Gardiner* and *Boner* had ſo peculiar an Ill Will, that he was ſingled out, of all the Biſhops, to be the firſt Sacrifice. A Copy of his Proceſs and Sentence was ſent me by Dr. *Tanner*, which I have put in the Collection. On the 28th of *January*, He was brought before *Gardiner*, in his Court in *Southwark*, and is called only *John Hooper*, Clark. *Gardiner* ſet forth, "That the Day before, he had been "brought before him, and others of the Privy-Council, and exhort-"ed to confeſs his Errors and Hereſies, and to return to the Unity "of the Church; a Pardon being offered him for all that was paſ-"ſed; but that his Heart was ſo hardened, that he would not ac-"cept of it: So he was then brought, to anſwer to certain Arti-"cles; but he had again the Offer made him, to be received into "the Boſom of the Church, if he deſired it. He rejected that; "and, as the Acts of the Court have it, he did impudently break "out into ſome Blaſphemies. The Articles that were objected to him, were Three: "1. That He, being a Prieſt, and of a Reli-"gious Order, had married a Wife, and lived with her; and did, "both by Preaching and Writing, juſtify and defend that his Mar-"riage. To which he anſwered, acknowledging it was true; and "that he was ſtill ready to defend it. 2. That Perſons married, "might, for the Cauſe of Fornication or Adultery, according to the "Word of God, be ſo divorced, that they might lawfully Marry "again. To this he likewiſe anſwered, confeſſing it, and ſaying, "That he was ready to defend it, againſt all who would oppoſe it. "3. That he had publickly taught and maintained, That in the Sa-"crament of the Altar, the True and Natural Body and Blood of "Chriſt, are not preſent under the Accidents of Bread and Wine; "ſo that there is no Material Bread and Wine in it. To which his Anſwer is ſet down in *Engliſh* Words; "That the very Natural "Body and Blood of Chriſt, is not Really and Subſtantially in the "Sacrament of the Altar: Saying alſo, That the Maſs was of the "Devil, and was an Idol. *Gardiner*, upon this, ordered him to come again into Court the next Day; and then he did again try, by many Perſuaſions to prevail on him: But he continued ſtill obſti-nate, and ſaid further, "That Marriage was none of the Seven Sa-"craments; and if it was a Sacrament, he could prove there were "Sevenſcore Sacraments. After all this, *Gardiner* gave Sentence, and deliver'd him over to the Secular Arm. Upon which, the Sheriffs of *London* took him into their Hands, as their Priſoner: But it was reſolved to ſend him to *Gloceſter*, there to receive his Crown of Martyrdom. And there was a particular Order ſent along with him to *Gloceſter*; in which he is deſigned "*John Hooper*, that was cal-"led

Coll. Numb. 35.

Hooper, the firſt Biſhop that ſuffer'd, barbarouſly uſed.

" led Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, who was judged to be a " moſt obſtinate, falſe, deteſtable Heretick, and did ſtill perſiſt ob- " ſtinate, and refuſed Mercy, tho' it was offered to him: He was " ſent to be burned at *Gloceſter*, to the Example and Terror of thoſe " whom he had ſeduced. Order is alſo given, to call ſome of Re- " putation in that Shire, to aſſiſt the Mayor and the Sheriffs of that " City. And becauſe this *Hooper* is, as all Hereticks are, a vain- " glorious Perſon; and if he have Liberty to ſpeak, he may per- " ſuade ſuch as he has ſeduced, to perſiſt in the miſerable Opinions " that he hath taught them; Therefore ſtrict Order is given, that " neither at his Execution, nor in going to the Place of it, he be " ſuffered to ſpeak at large; but that he be led quietly, and in Si- " lence, for avoiding further Infection. This will be found in the Collection. But tho' his Words could not be ſuffer'd to be heard, yet the Voice of his Sufferings, which were extremely violent, had probably the beſt Effect on thoſe who ſaw both them, and his Conſtancy in them. He had been above a Year and a Half in Priſon, under much hard Uſage. He ſent his Wife out of *England*, to deliver himſelf from that which might raiſe too great Tenderneſs in him, eſpecially if he had ſeen her ill uſed, which the Wives of the Clergy were in danger of daily. He wrote ſeveral Letters to *Bullinger* from the Priſon, but was ſo watched, that he durſt not enter into any Particulars. Moſt of his Letters were Recommendations of ſome, who were then flying out of *England*: He, in them all, expreſſed much Conſtancy and Patience: And he was preparing himſelf for that, in which he reckoned his Impriſonment would ſoon end. He had no other Proſpect, but of Sealing the Truth with his Blood. He was very glad, when he knew his Wife had got ſafe to *Frankfort*; where She lived, and wrote ſeveral Letters to *Bullinger* in a very clean and natural Stile of *Latin*: They do chiefly relate to her Huſband's Condition.

1554. *Paper-Office, Coll. Numb.* 36.

Among ſeveral Letters that *Hooper* wrote, during his Impriſonment, to *Bullinger*, I find one that is ſo full, and ſhews ſo clearly the Temper of that Holy Man in his Impriſonment, that I have put it in the Collection. He had written ſeveral Letters to him, that it ſeems fell into ill Hands, and ſo came not to *Zurick*, as they were directed; as he found by *Bullinger*'s laſt Letter, that ſome of his were alſo intercepted. " That laſt which he had, was directed to " him, to be communicated to all his Fellow-Priſoners: He pro- " miſed, that he would take care to ſend it round among them. " The Wound that the Papacy had received in *England*, was then en- " tirely healed: The Pope was now declared the *Head of that* " *Church*. The Priſoners, who had been ſhut up for a Year and a " Half, were daily troubled by the Enemies of the Goſpel: They " were kept aſunder from one another, and treated with all man- " ner of Indignities; and they were daily threatned with the laſt " Extremities, which did not terrify them.

Coll. Numb. 37.

" They were ſo inwardly fortified, that they deſpiſed both Fire " and Sword. They knew in whom they believed; and were ſure " they were to ſuffer for Well-doing. He deſires the Continuance " of their Prayers, let God do with them what ſeemed good in his

1554. " Eyes. He ſent over to him Two Books that he had written, the " one of True Religion, and the other of Falſe Religion, which he " had dedicated to the Parliament, as an Apology for the Reforma- " tion. He gives them Liberty to correct them as they thought " fit; and deſired, that they might be quickly printed; for they " were well approved by the Pious and Learned about him. He " deſires they may not be frighted from doing it, by the Apprehen- " ſions of any Harm that might happen to himſelf upon that Ac- " count: He committed himſelf to God, who was his Defence and " his Guard, thro' Jeſus Chriſt; to whom he had entirely dedicated " himſelf. If God would prolong his Life, he prayed it might be " to the Glory of his Name; but if he would put an End to this " ſhort and wicked Life, which of theſe ſoever it pleaſed God to or- " der, his Will be done. This is dated from his Priſon, the 11th of *December* 1554. It appears that *Hooper*'s Wife was a *German*; ſo his Sending her in Time out of *England*, was a juſt Expreſſion of his Care of Her.

On the 18th of *March*, ſome Sacrifices being to be made in *Eſſex*, " Letters were written by the Council to the Earl of *Oxford*, " and the Lord *Rich*, to be preſent at the Burning of thoſe obſtinate " Hereticks, that were ſent to divers Parts of that County. And on the 1ſt of *April*, Informations being brought, that there were Preachers at Work in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, a General Order was ſent to all Sheriffs, to ſeize on them. When that Madman, *William Thomas*, called otherwiſe *Flower*, or *Branch*, was ſeized on, for wounding a Prieſt in the Church, they found a Cloth about his Neck, with theſe Words, *Deum time*, *Idolum fuge*; Fear God, and fly from Idolatry. He was ſeized on by Sir *Nicholas Hare*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwall*: They had Letters of Thanks from the Council for their Pains. They were ordered firſt to Examine him, then to ſend him to the Biſhop of *London*, to proceed againſt him for Hereſy; and to the Juſtices of Peace, to puniſh him for the Shedding of Blood in the Church: And if he perſiſts in his Hereſy, Order is given, that he be executed in the latter End of the Week; but that his Right Hand ſhould be cut off the Day before.

Perſons appointed to carry the News of the Queen's being Delivered.

On the 16th of *May*, ſome Perſons were named, and their Appointments ordered, who ſhould be in Readineſs to carry the News of the Queen's Delivery to Foreign Princes. The Lord Admiral was appointed to go to the Emperor; and was allowed Four Pound a Day, and Two Hundred Pound for Equipage. The Lord *Fitzwater* was to go to the *French* Court, and was to have 200 Marks for Equipage. Sir *Henry Sydney* was to go to the King of the *Romans*, and to have 500 Marks: And *Shelley* was to carry the News to the King of *Portugal*, and to have 400 Marks. This was repeated on the 28th of *May*. The Money was ordered to be ready, for the immediate Diſpatch of thoſe Envoys. And on the 29th of *May*, Orders was given, that the Perſons named ſhould be ready to go when warned. On the 1ſt of *June*, a Letter was ordered to the Biſhop of *London*, to proceed againſt ſome, who were ſuſpected to be of Evil Religion. And on the 3d of *June*, Letters were writ-

ten to the Lord *Rich* to aſſiſt at the Execution of ſome Hereticks at *Colcheſter*, *Harwich*, and *Meaintru*; a Letter was alſo written to the Earl of *Oxford*, to ſend his Servants to attend on the Lord *Rich* at thoſe Executions. It is not eaſy to gueſs whether the many Letters written upon thoſe Occaſions, were to prevent Tumults, becauſe they apprehended the People might Reſcue thoſe Victims out of the Sheriff's Hands, if he had not been well guarded; or whether it was to celebrate thoſe Triumphs over Hereſy, with much Solemnity; which is commonly done in thoſe Countries where the Inquiſition is received. At the ſame Time Entries are made in the Council Books of the Examinations of ſeveral Perſons for ſpreading falſe Rumors. 1554.

On the 9th of *June*, Letters were written to the Lord *North*, and others, to put ſuch obſtinate Perſons as would not Confeſs to the *Torture*, and there to order them *at their Diſcretion*: And a Letter was written to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to the ſame Effect: Whether this pretended Obſtinacy was a concealing of Hereticks, or of the Reporters of falſe News, does not appear: But whatever the Matter was, the putting People not yet Convict, by that which the Civil Law called a half Proof (*Semiplena Probatio*) to the *Torture*, becauſe they were thought obſtinate, and would not confeſs, and the leaving the Degree of the Torture to the *Diſcretion* of thoſe appointed for their Examination, was a great Step towards the moſt Rigorous Part of the Proceedings of Inquiſitors. On the 12th of *June*, Orders were given for making out Writs for the Burning of Three Perſons condemned for Hereſy in *Suſſex*. On the 13th of *June*, Letters of Thanks were ordered to Sir *Henry Tirrel*, and Mr. *Anthony Brown*, for their aſſiſting at the Execution of Hereticks. And on the 15th of *June*, Letters of Thanks were ordered to the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Lord *Rich*, on the ſame Account. On the 17th of *June*, Letters of Thanks were written to thoſe in *Cambridge*, who had committed ſome Prieſts to Priſon: But they are ordered to releaſe them, if thoroughly Penitent. And on the 18th of *June*, a Letter was written to the Biſhop of *London*, informing him that Four Pariſhes in *Eſſex* did ſtill uſe the *Engliſh* Service: He is required to examine into this, and to puniſh it, and to ſend ſome of his Chaplains to preach to them.

Orders for Torture at Diſcretion.

On that Day a Letter was written from *London* to *Peter Martyr*, telling him that it was given out that the Queen had ſaid, ſhe could not be happily delivered 'till all the Hereticks then in Priſon were burned: For ſhe continued ſtill expecting to be delivered; and on the 24th of *June*, an Order was given to have a Paſſport ready for *Shelley*, that was to carry the News to *Portugal*. On the 27th of *June*, Letters were written to the Lord *Rich*, to give the Queen's Thanks to ſome Gentlemen of *Rochford* in *Eſſex*, *for coming ſo honeſtly of themſelves to* Colcheſter, *and other Places, to aſſiſt the Sheriff at Executions*. At this Time a Condition was put in all Paſſports, and Licences, to go beyond Sea, that they ſhall avoid all Hereticks, and all Places infected with Hereſy.

The Queen ſtill looked to be delivered of a Child. *P. Mar. Loci. Com.* 1626. Fol. 769.

I ſhall here add a Paſſage, recorded by *Fox*, of a Declaration that was made to himſelf before Witneſſes, in the Year 1568. A Woman told him that ſhe lived near *Alderſgate*, and was delivered of a Boy on

Fox P. 1456. A Practice that gives Suſpicion of ill Deſigns.

1554. on the 11th of *June* 1555; and after ſhe had born it, the Lord *North*, and another Lord, came to her, and deſired to have her Child from her, with very fair Offers, as that her Child ſhould be well provided for; ſo that ſhe ſhould take no Care for it, if ſhe would Swear that ſhe never knew, or had ſuch a Child: And after this ſome Women came to her, of whom, one they ſaid was to be the Rocker. But ſhe would in no Caſe part with her Child. This being at the Time that the Queen ſeemed to be every Day looking for her Delivery, may give ſome Suſpitions, and puts us in Mind of the Words of the *Preacher*, *That which is, is that which has been.* On the 30th of *June*, Letters were written to the Gentlemen in *Kent*, to aſſiſt the Sheriff at the Execution of Hereticks in *Rocheſter*, *Dartford*, and *Tunbridge*.

On the 2d of *July*, upon an Information of a Commotion deſigned in *Suſſex*, the Opinion of the Judges was aſked about it; and ſome Judges were ſent to proceed in it, according to Law. Great Occaſion was taken from Fooliſh Diſcourſes to allarm the Nation with the Apprehenſion of Plots, and the Blame of all was to be caſt on the concealed Preachers, that were now hid in Corners, inſtructing the People at the Peril of their Lives: Twelve Perſons were brought up out of *Suſſex*, as guilty of a Conſpiracy: But I find no more of that Matter. *Bird*, that had been Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and was deprived for his Marriage, did now think fit to repent; and engaged ſo far, that *Boner* made him his Suffragan. He was Blind of an Eye, and being appointed to preach before the Biſhop, he choſe thoſe Words for his Text, *Thou art* Peter: But whether his Conſcience ſmote him, or his Memory failed, he could go no further: So inſtead of Matter of Triumph upon the Apoſtacy of ſuch a Man, the Shame of ſuch a dumb Action, turned the Triumph to the other ſide.

Plots pretended.

On the 9th of *July*, a Letter was written to the Biſhop of *London*, directing him, that the Three condemned Hereticks ſhould be burnt at *Uxbridge*, *Stratford*, and *Walden*: And he was ordered to proceed againſt the reſt. At this Time *Pole* thought it became him to write to *Cranmer* to try how far a Piece of Highflown Rhetorick could work on him, though ſome think this Letter was written a very little while before *Cranmer*'s Execution; the Original is yet extent. It does very little Honour to his Memory, being only a Declamation againſt Hereſy and Schiſm, againſt a Married Clergy, and Separation from the See of *Rome*, and the rejecting of *Tranſubſtantiation.* In it all he proves nothing, and argues nothing, but ſuppoſes all his own Principles to be true and ſure: He inveighs againſt the poor Priſoner with ſome ſeeming Tenderneſs, but with a great Acrimony of Stile, and in an inſulting Manner, like one that knew he might ſay what he pleaſed; and that there was no room for making Remarks and Anſwers to ſo poor an Epiſtle; which Mr. *Le Grand* has thought fit to tranſlate into *French*, but I do not think it worth the while to put it in the Collection.

Card. *Pole's* Letter to *Cranmer.*

On the 14th of *July*, the Archbiſhop of *York* was ordered to appear, but no more is ſaid concerning him. There was Intimations given of Commotions deſigned at Fairs, and Orders were ſent to She-

riffs and Gentlemen to watch them: Informations were alſo brought of a Conſpiracy in *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, and of another in *Dorſetſhire*. On the 6th of *Auguſt*, Thanks were written to the Earl of *Oxford* and the Lord *Rich*, with the other Juſtices of Peace in *Eſſex* for their Diligence; deſiring them to proceed in their Examination of the late intended Conſpiracy, and to bring the Offenders before them: If their Offence was found to be Treaſon, they were to ſuffer as Traytors: Or if their Guilt did not riſe up to that, they were to order them to be puniſhed according to the Statutes. 1554.

On the 28th of *Auguſt*, Notice was given to the Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace, that the King was going to *Flanders*. The Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome*, did return about the middle of *September*; and in Council, on the 16th of *September*, the Biſhop of *Ely* produced the Pope's Bull, erecting *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and beſtowing on the Crown of *England*, the Title of *King of Ireland*. This was given to the Biſhop of *Dublin*, with an Order to publiſh it in *Ireland*: For that Inſolent Pope would not give them Audience upon their Powers from the King and Queen of *England*, and *Ireland*, pretending that none had a Right to aſſume the Title *King*, but as it was derived from him. So as a ſpecial Grace, he conferred that Regal Title on the Queen, and then admitted them to Audience, after he had made them ſtay a Month waiting for it at *Rome*. It ſeems they knew the Bigotry of the *Engliſh* Court too well to diſpute this Point. So they yielded it up very tamely, fearing that they ſhould be diſowned, if they had made any Oppoſition to it. But the main Errand they came upon, was to obtain a Confirmation of the Settlement of the Church-Lands, made in Parliament by Cardinal *Pole*: That was not only flatly refuſed, but a Bull was publiſhed, that in Effect, repealed it all.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Pope, came back with a Bull, erecting *Ireland* into a Kingdom.

" It begins ſetting forth what Pope *Symmachus* decreed againſt the " Alienating of any Lands belonging to the Church upon any Pre- " tence whatſoever, or Farming out the Rights of the Church: He " laid an *Anathema* on all who ſhould be any way concerned in ſuch " Bargains; and gave an Authority to any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon to " recover all with the mean Profits; and this was to take Place in all " Churches. Pope *Paul* the 2d had likewiſe condemned all Aliena- " tions of Church Goods, and all Farms of Leaſes beyond the Term of " Three Years, and had annulled all ſuch Agreements, Farms, or " Leaſes. Both the Parties, as well the Granter, as the Receiver of " ſuch Leaſes, were put under Excommunication; and the Goods " ſo alienated, were to revert to the Church. But theſe Prohibitions " notwithſtanding, of late Years ſeveral Perſons both of the Laity, " and of the Clergy, had poſſeſſed themſelves of Caſtles and Lands, " belonging both to the Church of *Rome*, and to other Cathedrals, " and even to Metropolitan Churches; and to Monaſteries, Regular " Houſes, and Hoſpitals, under the Pretence of Alienations, to the " evident Damage of thoſe Churches and Monaſteries, without ob- " ſerving the Solemnities required by Law in ſuch Caſes; and they " continue their Poſſeſſion, by which the Incumbents in thoſe " Churches are great Sufferers; and the Popes themſelves, who " were wont to ſupply the Poor who came to *Rome* out of theſe " Lands, are no more able to do that, and can ſcarce maintain them-

See the *Coll.* of the former Books *Numb.* 1. The Pope's Bull for reſtoring all Church Lands.

ſelves

1554. " ſelves and their Families; which turns to the Offence of God, the " Reproach of the Clergy, and is Matter of Scandal to the Faithful: " Therefore the Pope of his own Motion, upon certain Knowledge, " and by vertue of the Plenitude of the Apoſtolick Power, does an- " nul all the Alienations, or Impropriations, either perpetual, or " Leaſes to the Third, or to a ſingle Life, or beyond the Term of " Three Years; or Exchanges and Farms of Cities, or Lands, or " Goods, or Rights, belonging to the *Roman* Church; or to any " Cathedral, Monaſtery, Regular Houſe, or to any Eccleſiaſtical " Benefice, with, or without Cure; to Seculars, or Regulars; Ho- " ſpitals, and other Pious Foundations, by whomſoever made, tho' " by Popes, or by their Authority; or by the Prelates of Cathe- " drals, Monaſteries, or Hoſpitals; or the Rectors of Churches, " though Cardinals, that had been made without the Solemnities re- " quired by Law, in what Form of Words ſoever they have been " made, though confirmed by Oath, and eſtabliſhed by a long Pre- " ſcription: All theſe are by the Apoſtolick Authority, reſcinded, " annulled, and made void, and the Poſſeſſors of ſuch Lands are to " be compelled by all Cenſures, and Pecuniary Pains, to make Sa- " tisfaction for all the mean Profits received, or to be received; and " all Judges are required to give Judgment conform to this Bull. Dated the 12th of *July*.

Reflections made on it.

Thus the Pope, inſtead of confirming what the Legate had done, did in the moſt formal Terms poſſible, reverſe and annul it all. Even Papal Alienations, or made by the Papal Authority are made void. The pretended Conſent of the Convocation is declared null; and all Ratifications of what was at firſt illegally made, are annulled. By this alſo, not only the Poſſeſſors of Church Lands, but all the Tenants to any Eſtate belonging to the Church, who hold for Lives, or Years, beyond the Term of Three Years, may ſee in this Bull how that all that they now hold by thoſe Tenures, is made void. No doubt the Ambaſſadors of *England* did all that in them lay, to have this Bull ſoftned, or to have an Exception made for *England*: But that Pope was not to be moved, and perhaps he thought he ſhewed no ſmall Favour to *England*, on the Queen's Account, in not naming it in this Bull: And in not fulminating on the Account of the late Settlement. Thus the Matter of ſecuring the Abbey Lands by that fraudulent Tranſaction, is now pretty apparent.

Pope *Paul* was in the Right in one Thing, to preſs the ſetting up Courts of Inquiſition every where, as the only ſure Method to extirpate Hereſy. And it is highly probable that the King, or his *Spaniſh* Miniſters, made the Court of *England* apprehend, that Torture and Inquiſition, were the only ſure Courſes to root out Hereſy. It has appeared already what Orders were given about *Torture*, even to uſe it at *Diſcretion*; but another Step was made that carried this Matter much further.

Inſtructions had been given in *March*, 1555, to the Juſtices of Peace to have one or more honeſt Men in every Pariſh, ſecretly inſtructed to give Information of the Behaviour of the Inhabitants amongſt, or about them. One of theſe was directed to the Earl of *Suſſex*, who acted with a Superlative Meaſure of Zeal: He wrote

on the 18th of *April*, this Year, to the Biſhop of *Norwich*; complaining, that at a Town near him, there had been no Sepulcher, nor Creeping to the Croſs before *Eaſter*. The Day after he wrote that Letter, it appears by another of his Letters, that *Ket*, who led the Inſurrection in *Norfolk*, in King *Edward*'s Reign, and whoſe Body was hanged in Chains, had fallen down from the Gallows; and that Prophecies were ſpread about the Country, of what ſhould follow when that ſhould happen. He ordered the Body to be hanged up again, if it was not waſted; and he impriſoned thoſe that gave out theſe Prophecies. He went on to greater Matters, and drew up an Account of the Obedience that the Juſtices had paid, to all the Inſtructions and Orders that had been ſent them. I had a Volume of his Letters in my Hands ſome Years ago; but I wrote out of it only the Anſwers he returned to the 6th Article, in theſe Words: "It is agreed, that the Juſtices of the Peace, in every of "their Limits, ſhall call ſecretly before them, One or Two Honeſt "and Secret Perſons, or more, by their Diſcretions; and ſuch as "they ſhall think good; and command them, by Oath, or otherwiſe, as the ſame Juſtice ſhall think good, That they ſhall ſecretly learn, and ſearch out ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as ſhall evil-behave themſelves in the Church, or idly, or deſpiſe openly by "Words, the King's and Queen's Proceedings; or go about to make "or move, any Stir, Commotion, or unlawful Gathering together "of the People; or that tell any Lewd or Seditious Tales, Rumors, "or News, to move or ſtir any Perſon or Perſons, to riſe, ſtir or make "any Commotion or Inſurrection, or to conſent to any ſuch Intent "or Purpoſe. And alſo, that the ſame Perſons ſo to be appointed, "ſhall declare to the ſame Juſtices of Peace, the Ill Behaviour of Lewd, Diſordered Perſons; whether it ſhall be for uſing "unlawful Games, Idleneſs, and ſuch other light Behaviour of ſuch "ſuſpected Perſons, as ſhall be in the ſame Town, or near thereabouts: And that the ſame Informations ſhall be given ſecretly to "the Juſtices; and the ſame Juſtices ſhall call ſuch accuſed Perſons "before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom "they be accuſed. And that the ſame Juſtices ſhall, upon their "Examination, puniſh the Offenders, according as their Offences "ſhall appear to them, upon the Accuſement and Examination, "by their Diſcretion, either by open Puniſhment, or by good Abearing. 1554.

Here was a great Step made towards an Inquiſition: This being the ſettled Method of that Court, to have ſworn Spies and Informers every where, upon whoſe ſecret Advertiſements, Perſons are taken up: And the firſt Step in their Examination, is, to know of them, for what Reaſon they are brought before them: Upon which, they are tortured, till they tell as much as the Inquiſitors deſire to know, either againſt themſelves, or others. But they are not ſuffered to know, neither what is informed againſt them, nor who are the Informers. Arbitrary Torture, and now Secret Informers, ſeem to be Two great Steps, made to prepare the Nation for an Inquiſition.

In

1554. In *September*, the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, who had married Mr. *Bertie*, went out of the Kingdom without a Licenſe: Upon which, a Commiſſion was ſent into *Lincolnſhire*, to take an Account of her Eſtate. On the 19th of *September*, there was a Paper caſt into a Houſe near *Fulham*, with ſome Intimations of Ill Deſigns in *Eſſex*. The Maſter of the Houſe brought it to the Council; upon which, they ſent Orders to that Countrey, to ſee what Foundation there was for ſuch Suſpicions. *Tracy* (probably the Son of him, concerning whoſe *Will* there was much ado made in King *Henry*'s Time) had been brought before the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*; and he, as was informed, behaved himſelf ſtubbornly towards him: Upon which, he was brought before the Council, and was required to declare his Conformity in Matters of Religion. He promiſed to do it; and upon that, he was ſent back to his Country. On the 23d of *September*, there was ſome Hopes given of the King's Coming back; upon which, Sir *Richard Southwell* was ſent to attend on him. On the 9th of *October*, the Governor of *Jerſey* having examined one *Gardiner*, for ſpeaking ſome indecent Words of the King, deſired Orders how to proceed againſt him: Upon which, he was ordered to proceed according to the Statutes, if theſe took place in that Iſland: but if not, according to the Cuſtom of the Place.

Cranmer proceeded againſt.

On the 12th of *September*, *Brooks*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, who was conſtituted Subdelegate to Cardinal *Puteo*, the Pope's Delegate, to try *Cranmer*, (it being, it ſeems, thought indecent, that *Pole*, who was to ſucceed him, ſhould be his Judge) came to *Oxford*, with *Martin* and *Story*, who were the King and Queen's Commiſſioners, to demand Juſtice againſt *Cranmer*; exhibiting Articles againſt him. *Cranmer* made a long Apology for himſelf. Among other Things, he ſaid, "The Loſs of his Promotion grieved him not: He thanked "God as heartily for that poor and afflicted State in which he was "then, as ever he did for the Times of his Proſperity. But that "which ſtuck cloſeſt to him, and created him the greateſt Sorrow, "was, to think that all that Pains and Trouble, that had been ta"ken by King *Henry* and himſelf for ſo many Years, to retrieve the "Ancient Authority of the Kings of *England*, and to vindicate the "Nation from a Foreign Yoke, and from the Baſeneſs and infinite "Inconveniences of Crouching to the Biſhops of *Rome*, ſhould now "thus eaſily be quite undone: And that the King and Queen ſhould, "in their own Realm, become his Accuſers, before a Foreign Pow"er. If he had tranſgreſſed the Law, they had ſufficient Authori"ty to puniſh him; and to that, he would at all Times ſubmit him"ſelf. They exhibited Interrogatories to him; and he gave his Anſwer to them. In Concluſion, they required him to go to *Rome*, within Fourſcore Days, to make his Anſwer in Perſon. He ſaid, he was moſt willing to go, if the King and Queen would ſend him.

On the 16th of *October*, *Ridley* and *Latimer* ſuffered Martyrdom: But *Gardiner*, who was with Impatience waiting for the News, was, ſoon after he heard it, ſtruck with an Illneſs, in which he languiſhed for ſome Time. *Pilkington*, Biſhop of *Dureſm*, in a Sermon that he preached, ſaid, *He rotted above Ground, ſo that it was ſcarce poſſi-*

poſſible to get any to come near him. He died on the 12th of *November.* On the 5th of *November*; Orders were given for to diſpoſe of many Priſoners. 1554.

Cranmer was now to be offered up. Some have thought, that upon his Attainder, the See of *Canterbury* was vacant; and indeed, the Chapter of *Canterbury* acted accordingly: But the Papal Authority being reſtored, he was ſtill, according to the Papal Law, Archbiſhop, till by a Commiſſion from *Rome*, he was judged an obſtinate Heretick, and was thereupon deprived. When the 80 Days were out, a Mock Proceſs was made at *Rome*; in which it was falſely ſaid, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was declared *Contumacious*: And then a formal Sentence was given in the Pope's Name, *as ſitting on the Throne of Juſtice, having before his Eyes God alone, who is the Righteous Lord, and judgeth the World in Righteouſneſs.* With ſuch ſpecious Words was that groſsly Unrighteous Judgment introduced. And upon that, a Letter came from *Rome* on the 14th of *December*, mentioning his being Condemned and Deprived, and delivering him over to the Secular Arm. The Deprivation muſt have paſſed ſome Days before: For, on the 11th of *December*, *Pole*'s Bulls were granted; in which, mention is made of the See's being vacant, by the Deprivation of *Cranmer.* The Writ for Burning him, mentions his being judged an obſtinate Heretick by the Pope, and deprived by him; and that he had been degraded by the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, by Commiſſion from the Pope: So on the 24th of *February*, the Writ was ſealed. I have nothing to add to the ſad Narration I gave, both of his Fall, and of his Repentance, and his firm Conſtancy to the laſt, in that amazing Inſtance of Holding his Hand in the Fire, till it was almoſt burnt away; of which *Thuanus* gives a very particular Account, ſo that the Truth of the Fact cannot be diſputed.

On the 13th of *March*, the Privy Council were concerned, when they heard his Paper of Recantation was printed. *Rydall* and *Copeland*, Two Printers, were required to deliver to *Cawood* the Queen's Printer, the Books of his Recantation to be burned by him. One Part of his Character may be added out of *Pole*'s Letter to him. In one place he ſays, he hears "it was pretended that he forced no Man "in Points of Religion, but behaved himſelf mildly towards all Per-"ſons. And in another place he writes, "that it was ſaid his Life "was unblameable. But tho' *Pole* throws that off, as of no Importance, yet upon his mentioning theſe good Characters, it may be depended on, that they were true. *Ridley*, in that Noble Letter that he wrote to *Grindall*, when they were every Day looking for their Crown, ſays of him, "That he then ſhewed, how well he "deſerved the Great Character of the Chief Paſtor and Archbiſhop "of this Church: To which he adds, of *Latimer*, "That he was "the Ancient, and True Apoſtle of Chriſt to the *Engliſh* Nation. In a word, if it had not been for *Cranmer*'s too feeble Compliance in King *Henry*'s Time, and this laſt inexcuſable Slip, he might well be propoſed as one of the Greateſt Patterns in Hiſtory. And if the Exceſſes to which ſome Opinions had formerly carried Men, did in ſome Particulars incline him to the Oppoſite Extreams, this muſt

1554. be reckoned a very pardonable Inſtance, of managing the Counterpoiſe without due Caution. He was a Pattern of Humility, Meekneſs and Charity. He had a true and generous Contempt of Wealth; and of thoſe Shews of Greatneſs, that belong to a High Station. His Labours, in Searching into all Eccleſiaſtical Authors, both Ancient and Modern, are amazing to thoſe, who have ſeen the Vaſt Collections that he writ out, on all Matters of Divinity; with his own Hand. But now, after a long Courſe of Vexation and Contradiction, and, in Concluſion, after a long and ſevere Impriſonment, he was put to a Cruel Death, by Perſons whom he had ſerved faithfully and effectually. For he had both ſerved the Queen, and reconciled Her to her Father; and he had ſhewed a moſt particular Favour to *Thirleby*, and others, who concurred to finiſh this Tragedy. I have put all this Matter together; and now I muſt look back to Publick Affairs.

Proceedings in Convocation.

There was a Convocation ſat with the Parliament in *October*; and to the Middle of *November* 1555. *Chriſtopherſon* was choſen Prolocutor: And after *Boner* had confirmed him, he deſired, that the Lower-Houſe would name Eight or Ten Perſons, to hear ſome Secret Propoſitions, that were to be made to them by the King and Queen, and by the Cardinal, concerning the Publick Good of the Kingdom, and of the Church. They, upon that, did chuſe the Prolocutor, and Ten more: And to theſe the Biſhop of *Ely* propoſed, to offer the Queen a Subſidy, in Return for the great Favour She had ſhewed the Clergy, in Forgiving the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, and in Reſtoring to the Church all the Impropriations of Benefices, that were then, by the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries, veſted in the Crown: For all which, the Biſhop of *Ely* propoſed a Subſidy of Eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in Four Years. The laſt Seſſion of the Convocation was on the 15th of *November*: And a *Memorandum* was inſerted in theſe Words; "After this Convocation "was begun, there was a National Synod; the Clergy of *York* be"ing joined with them. For which, the Cardinal thought it ſafe and fit to take out a Licenſe under the Great Seal. The Firſt Seſſion was on the 4th of *November*; and in this the Cardinal ſet himſelf ſo zealouſly to remove many Abuſes, that *Maſon* wrote, that many of the Clergy wiſhed he were in *Rome* again.

The Earl of *Devonſhire* went out of *England* this Summer. As he paſſed thro' *Flanders*, he waited on the Emperor; and, as *Maſon* wrote, he owned that he owed his Liberty to him. The Queen ſent, and offered her Mediation between the Emperor and the *French* King: The Emperor accepted it; but with very ſharp Reflections on the *French* King.

There was in *April*, a Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, ſet on Foot: In which the Queen was Mediator, and ſent over both *Pole* and *Gardiner* to *Calais* in order to it. The Conſtable, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, were ordered to come from the Court; but the Pope's Death made it be thought more neceſſary to ſend that Cardinal to *Rome*: What further Progreſs was made in this does not appear to me, for I take it from a Letter of *Ma-*

ſon's to *Vannes*, then the Queen's Ambaſſador at *Venice*. It will be found in the Collection, the Original being in Dr *Tanner*'s Hands, who ſent me this Copy. By this Letter it appears, that *Bolls* of *Cambridgeſhire*, and S. *Peter Mewtas*, were there in Priſon upon Suſpicion, but nothing appeared againſt them. That Letter tells us, that the Princes of *Germany* were allarmed upon the Cardinal *Morone*'s coming to *Auſbourg*, apprehending probably that he came to diſturb the Settlement, then made in the Matters of Religion in the Empire: But the Emperor had ſent ſuch Powers to his Brother *Ferdinand*, that his coming was like to have no Effect. He alſo tells in that Letter, that the Dean and Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*, were uſing all Endeavours to hinder the converting that Foundation into an Abbey: And that Dr. *Cole* was active in it, affirming that Monks had not their Inſtitution from Chriſt as Prieſts had: But he ſaw the Court was reſolved to have no regard to the Oppoſition they made. He adds, that the Duke of *Alva* was ſtill in *England*, though he had ſent his Baggage and Servants to *Calais*. 1554. *Coll. Numb.* 38.

Maſon writes News from the Diet, that Matters of Religion had not been quite ſettled, but all were to continue in the State in which they were then, 'till the next Meeting: And it was provided, that all Parties ſhould live according to the Religion then accepted of them: The Emperor ſeemed reſolved not to conſent to this. He writes that the Allowance of the Marriage of the Clergy, and in particular of Biſhops, had been earneſtly demanded, but was utterly refuſed. On the 28th of *October*, he writes that two Monks of the *Charter-Houſe* had deſired the King's Letter that they might return to their Houſe, and at leaſt receive their Penſion: The King anſwered, that as touching their Houſe, ſince the Parliament was then ſitting, it was not a proper Time to move it: But when he ſhould come to *England*, he would help them the beſt he could: And as to their Penſions, he ordered *Maſon* to write concerning that to Secretary *Petre*. On the 7th of *January* 155⅝ a Letter was written to the Mayor and Aldermen of *Coventry*, to chuſe ſome Catholick Grave Man for their Mayor for that Year: A Liſt of Three Perſons was ſent to them, and they were required to give their Voices for one of them. Theſe were *John Fitz-Herbert*, *Richard Wheeler*, and one *Coleman*. Motions in the Diet of the Empire.

On the 14th of *January*, a Letter of a very ſingular Nature was written to the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of *London*, "requiring "them to give ſuch ſubſtantial Order, that when any Obſtinate "Man, condemned by the Order of the Laws, ſhall be delivered "to be puniſhed for Hereſy, that there be a great Number of Officers, "and other Men appointed to be at the Execution; who may be "charged to ſee ſuch as ſhall miſuſe themſelves, either by comforting, "aiding, or praiſing the Offenders; or otherwiſe, uſe themſelves "to the ill Example of others, to be apprehended and committed to "Ward: And beſides, to give Commandment that no Houſholder "ſuffer any of his Apprentices, or other Servants, to be abroad, "other than ſuch as their Maſter will anſwer for. And that this "Order be always obſerved in like Caſes hereafter. *Philpot*'s Martyrdom had been about a Month before this, and he being a Man highly eſteemed, who went through all his Sufferings with Heroick Compaſſion expreſſed to thoſe who ſuffered, puniſhed.

1554. Courage, and Chriſtian Conſtancy, it is probable there was more than Ordinary Concern expreſſed by the People at his Sufferings; which drew this Inhuman Letter from the Council; for they had no Sacrifices at that Time ready to be offered.

While theſe Things paſt in *England*, the Scene abroad was conſiderably altered, by the Reſignation of *Charles* the Vth, who delivered over his Hereditary Dominions to his Son *Philip*. He began that with the Dominions derived from the Houſe of *Burgundy*; after that, he reſigned up to him the Crown of *Spain*, and all that belonged to it: Upon that, Letters were written to the ſeveral States, and Cities of *Spain*, on the 17th of *January*. Theſe were all in one Form: So that which was addreſſed to the City of *Toledo*, was ſent over to the Queen, tranſlated out of *Spaniſh* into *Engliſh*, which for the Curioſity of the Thing, I have put into the Collection.

Charles the Vth, the Reſignation of *Spain*. *Coll. Numb.* 39.

In it, "he tells them that which he always denied to the *Germans*, "that for Religion's ſake he had enterprized the War of *Germany*, "upon the Deſire he had to reduce thoſe Countries to the Unity of "the Church; that ſo he might procure an univerſal Peace to all "*Chriſtendom*, and to aſſemble and aſſiſt at a General Council, for "the Reformation of many Things, that ſo with the leſs Difficulty "he might bring Home thoſe who had ſeparated themſelves, and de"parted from the Faith. This he had brought to a very good Point, "when the *French* King allured the *Germans* to a League with him, "againſt their Oaths and Fidelity to the Emperor, and ſo they "made War on him both by Sea and Land; and then the *French* "King procured the coming of the *Turks* Army into *Hungary*, to "the great Damage of *Chriſtendom*; upon which he was forced to "bring down an Army, to the great Prejudice of his own Perſon, "by his being obliged to keep the Field ſo long, that it had brought "on him painful Infirmities: He was upon that become ſo deſtitute "of Health, that he was not able in his own Perſon to endure the "Travel, and to uſe that Diligence that was requiſite: which proved "a great Hindrance to many Things, of which he had a deep Senſe: "He wiſhed he had taken the Reſolution he was now taking ſooner: "Yet he could not well do it, by reaſon of his Son's Abſence: For "it was neceſſary to communicate many Things to him. So he took "Order for his Marriage, and to bring him over to him, and ſoon after "that he reſigned to him all his States, Kingdoms, and the Seig"neuries of the Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, with all their Appurte"nances, which are more amply contained in Inſtruments which he "had ſigned of the ſame Date with this Letter. Truſting that he "with his great Wiſdom and Experience, of which he had great "Proof in all that he had hitherto handled in his Father's Name, "would now Order and Defend the ſame with Peace and Juſtice. "He therefore having had large Experience of their Loyalty, Fide"lity, and Obedience, did not doubt but that they would continue "to ſerve and obey him in the ſame Manner, and Sort, as if God "had taken him into his Mercy. Dated at *Bruſſels* the 17th of "*January* 1556.

Soon

Soon after that, he retired to the Place he had deſigned to ſpend the reſt of his Days in; and, according to the Account given by my worthy Friend Dr. *Geddes*, there is great Reaſon to believe, that he applied himſelf to ſerious Reflections on Religion. No Prince knew better than he did, both the Corruptions, and the Practices, of the Court of *Rome*; and the Artifices and Methods by which two Seſſions of the Council of *Trent* had been conducted. He muſt likewiſe have underſtood the Grounds upon which both the *Lutherans*, and the *Reformed* in *Germany*, built their Perſuaſions: He had heard them often ſet out: But the Hurry of Buſineſs, the Prepoſſeſſion of Education, and the Views of Intereſt, had prejudiced him ſo far againſt them, that he continued in a moſt violent Enmity to them: But now that he was at full Leiſure to bring all his Obſervations together, and that Paſſion and Intereſt had no more Power over him, there are great Preſumptions to believe, that he died perſuaded of the Doctrines of the Reformed Religion. *Auguſtin Caſal*, a Canon of the Church of *Salamanca*, was his Preacher, and was eſteemed the moſt Eloquent Preacher that *Spain* ever produced: He was taken up in the Year 1558, and with 13 more was publickly burned at *Vallidolid*, in the Year 1559. The Unfortunate Prince *Charles*, and his Aunt, Donna *Juana*, then Governeſs, looking on that Barbarous Execution. *Conſtantine Pontius*, a Canon of *Sevil*, who was his Confeſſor, eſteemed a Man of great Piety and Learning, was likewiſe taken up by the Inquiſition for being a Proteſtant: He died in Priſon, probably enough by the Torture the Inquiſitors put him to: But his Bones, with his Effigies, were burnt at *Sevil*: So were the Bones of the Learned *Egidius*, whom the Emperor had named to the Biſhoprick of *Tortoſa*, one of the Richeſt in *Spain*: And at the ſame Time 18 were burnt alive for being Proteſtants; of which the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition gives this Account, that had not the Holy Tribunal put a ſtop to thoſe Reformers, the Proteſtant Religion had run through *Spain* like Wild-Fire. People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes, being wonderfully diſpoſed at that Time to have embraced it: And the Writer of the Pontifical Hiſtory, who was preſent at ſome of thoſe Executions, ſays, that had thoſe Learned Men been let alone but Three Months longer, all *Spain* would have been put into a Flame by them. 1554.

Reaſons to think he died a Proteſtant.

The moſt Eminent of them all was *Bartholomewde Caranza*, a *Dominican*, who had been Confeſſor to King *Philip* and to Queen *Mary*, and had been by her recommended to the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*. He had aſſiſted *Charles* in the laſt Minutes of his Life. He was within a few Months after his Death, upon Suſpicion of his being a Proteſtant, firſt confined by the Inquiſition to his own Palace at *Tordelaguna*: And after he had been for Seven Years kept within that Confinement, he was carried to *Rome*, and kept Ten Years a Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*: And was at laſt condemned as one ſuſpected of Hereſy. That great Man had been ſent by *Charles* as one of his Divines to the Council of *Trent*, where he preached, and wrote a Treatiſe of the Perſonal *Reſidence* of Biſhops. Theſe Things put together, make it highly probable, that *Charles* himſelf was poſſeſſed with that Doctrine that was ſo much ſpread among thoſe who were then moſt about him. *Mezeray* tells us, "That at *Philip*'s Arrival in *Spain*, he

1554. " cauſed a great many to be burned for Hereticks in his own Pre-
" ſence, both at *Sevil*, and at *Vallidolid*, both Seculars and Eccle-
" ſiaſticks, Men and Women, and in particular the Effigies of his
" Father's Confeſſor : And if Reports may be believed, he intended
" to have made his Father's Proceſs, and to have had his Bones burnt
" for Hereſy ; being only hindred from doing it by this Conſidera-
" tion, That if his Father was an Heretick, he had forfeited all his
" Dominions, and by Conſequence he had no Right to reſign them
" to his Son. This Digreſſion will be forgiven me, I hope, both be-
cauſe it belongs to the main Deſign upon which I write, and ſince our Queen, was Queen of *Spain*, when this Perſecution was firſt begun.

The Method in which the Queen put her Affairs.

There are in my Hands Two Papers concerning the Method in which the Queen ordered her Council to proceed ; there is no Date put to them : But they were written, either ſoon after the King went beyond Sea, or perhaps about this Time ; for now King *Philip* having the *Spaniſh* Monarchy put in his Hands, and being engaged in a War with *France*, the Queen had Reaſon to expect that her Dominions might feel the War very ſenſibly, as afterwards they did : And ſo it might ſeem neceſſary to put the Adminiſtration of her Affairs into a good Method. One of theſe Papers is writ in Cardinal *Pole*'s own Hand, and is a Memorial prepared for the Queen, of the Things that ſhe was to recommend to her Council, for ſhe had ordered them to attend on her. It is in the Collection. " Firſt ſhe was to put
Coll. Numb. 40. " them in Mind of the Charge that the King gave them at his De-
" parture, which was to be rehearſed to them ; and that is, perhaps,
" the following Paper : They were ſtill to attend at Court, the Mat-
" ters they were to treat about being of great Weight ; and they
" were to lay ſuch Matters as were propoſed in Council, before the
" King, that they might have his Pleaſure, before they were to be
" Executed. They were in particular to know the Reſolution of
" the Council, touching thoſe Things that were to be propoſed in
" this Parliament, and theſe were to be ſent to the King that very
" Day : And ſince the King delayed his coming over, they were to
" conſider whether it were not better to delay the Parliament 'till
" *Candlemaſs*, if there ſhould be no Prejudice to her Affairs, that
" Money was ſo long wanted ; for there was great need of it at pre-
" ſent, for the ſetting out of Ships, both for the Emperor's Paſſage
" to *Spain*, and for the King's Return, for the Payments due at
" *Calais*, for the Debt owing to the Merchants, the Day of Pay-
" ment approaching, and for the Debt of *Ireland* : And ſhe was to
" aſk of her Council an Account concerning all theſe Things : She
" was likewiſe to charge them to call in her own Debts, as the beſt
" way to clear what ſhe owed to others : And ſhe was to offer them
" all Authority for doing it effectually ; and to require them that at
" the End of every Week, ſhe might know what came in that Week,
" and what Order was taken for the reſt. And that all thoſe who
" have any Commiſſion to execute any Matter, ſhall at the End of
" every Week inform the Council, what Progreſs they have made
" that Week : And that the Council ſhould never begin to treat of
" any Matter in the Second Week, 'till they were informed of what

" was done in the former Week. Thus She was to be taught what She was to ſay to them: Upon which they, who did not know how weak a Woman She was, might imagine that She underſtood her own Affairs well, and thought much of them: Whereas the poor bigotted Woman, was only, as a Machine, made to Speak and to Act as She was prompted, by thoſe who had the Management of her: For, of her ſelf, She ſeemed capable to think of nothing, but how to Deſtroy the Hereticks, and to Extirpate Hereſy. 1554.

The other Paper is in *Latin*, and ſeems to be that which the King had left behind him. It is alſo in the Collection. " He named in *Coll. Numb.* " it a Select Committee, to whom the Special Care of Matters of 41. " State, of the Revenue, and the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, " were to be referred. Theſe (in a modern Term) were the Cabi- " net-Council; and the Perſons were, the Cardinal, (in all great " Matters, when he could conveniently come) then the Lord Chan- " cellor, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Pem- " broke*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Paget*, *Rocheſter* the Comptrol- " ler, and *Petre* the Secretary. Every one of theſe was conſtantly " to attend, to Determine in all Matters of State and Revenue, and " to make Honourable Payment of all Debts, and to do every Thing " in which the Honour and Dignity of the Crown was concerned. " They were alſo earneſtly prayed, to lay all Differences, or Quar- " rels among themſelves, aſide; that ſo they might amicably, and in " the Fear of God, deliver ſuch Things in Council, as might tend " to the Glory of God, and the Honour and Good of the Crown " and Kingdom. And when there is Occaſion for it, they were ei- " ther to come to the Queen, or to ſend ſome of their Body, to in- " form Her of every Thing that came before them: And at leaſt " Thrice a Week, they were to give her an Account of all their " Conſultations and Actings. In particular, they were to conſider " when the Parliament was to meet, and what Things were to be " propoſed, and done in it, and to digeſt all that in Writing. On " *Sundays*, they were to Communicate ſuch Things to the whole " Council, as ſhould be thought convenient to be laid before them. " They were to take ſpecial Care for the Payment of Debts, for the " Retrenching of Expence, and for the Good Management of the " Queen's Eſtate, Revenues and Cuſtoms, and for the Adminiſtra- " tion of Juſtice. Such were the Orders laid down: How they were executed, does not appear.

The Queen her ſelf never came to Council, and the Cardinal very ſeldom. Sometimes they were very few that attended at that Board: often, not above Three or Four. And now I return, to give an Account of what I find in the Council-Book. On the 19th of *January*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord *Willoughby*, and others in *Lincolnſhire*. At firſt, upon the Condemnation of Hereticks, Notice was given to the Council, before the Execution, to ſee if a Pardon ſhould be offered them: But they found ſo few, if any, inclined to accept of it, that they did not think fit to expoſe the Queen's Pardon to any further Contempt: So thoſe Perſons are required to proceed thereafter, againſt all ſuch as ſhould be condemned before them, according to the Laws, and not to ſtay for any

Proceedings againſt Hereticks.

1554. any Order. On the 20th of *January*, Letters were written to the Sheriffs of *Warwickſhire*, *Bedfordſhire* and *Cambridgeſhire*, ordering them, that tho' the Priſoners ſhould be acquitted by Order of Law, yet to detain them in ſafe Cuſtody, till they ſhould hear from the Earl of *Suſſex*. On the 14th of *February*, the Council was alarmed with this, That a Stage-Play was to be acted in *Shrovetide*; and that many were to run to it: So the Lord *Rich* was ordered to hinder the Acting of it, and to examine and report what he could learn concerning it. On the 16th of *February*, there was an Order ſent to Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to put Two to the *Torture*, and to *Pain them at his Diſcretion*. On the 19th of *February*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord *Rich*, for Stopping the Stage-Play. He had put the Actors in Priſon, but he gave a good Character of them: So he was ordered to ſet them at Liberty; but to have a Eye on all ſuch Meetings. Several Enquiries were made at this Time, after Seditious Books: Many Examinations and Commitments were made on that Account.

On the 20th of *April*, one *Harris*, a Carpenter and *Gunner* at *Deptford*, was brought before the Council, for having ſaid on *Maundy-Thurſday*, "The Queen hath this Day given a great Alms; and "has given that away, that ſhould have paid us our Wages. She "hath undone the Realm too; for She loveth another Realm bet-"ter than this. He confeſſed the Words, but asked Pardon, and was diſmiſſed. It ſeems, about that Time, they expected the King's Coming over: For, on the 1ſt of *June*, the Lord-Admiral was ordered to attend on him. On the 21ſt of *June*, an Order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and to a Maſter of Requeſts, to put one to the *Torture*, if he thought it convenient. Information was given to the Queen, by *Wotton*, her Ambaſſador in *France*, that ſeveral Hereticks had fled over to *France*, and were well received there: In particular, that *Henry Dudley* (perhaps a Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s) and *Chriſtopher Aſhton*, were Plotting there againſt the Queen. Upon that, a Letter was written to *Wotton*, to demand that they might be ſeized on, and ſent at her Charge to the Frontier, to be deliver'd to her Officers. When the Draught of this was brought to Her to be Signed by Her, She, with her own Hand, interlined theſe Words; *Conſidering that when the King my Huſband and He were Enemies, I neither did, nor would have done the like.*

Paper-Office.

The Pope ſets on a new War after a Truce was ſworn to, and diſpenſed with the *French* King's Oath.

Wotton wrote over, that the Hereticks took great Advantage from the new War, that the Pope engaged the *French* King to make on the King, after a Truce for Five Years had been agreed to, and ſworn by both Kings. But the Pope ſent a Legate to *France*, to perſuade that King to begin the War. And tho' the Conſciences of Princes are not apt to be very Scrupulous in the Obſerving, or Breaking their Treaties; yet a Treaty, made and confirmed by an Oath ſo very lately, it ſeems, made ſuch an Impreſſion on that King, that ſo great an Authority was to be interpoſed, to give a Colour for the Breaking it. Thoſe called Hereticks, took great Advantages from this to infuſe a

Horror

Horror in People at the Papacy, ſince one who pretended to be the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, became thus an open, and a perfidious Incendiary. 1557.

This of the Pope's Diſpenſing with a Prince's Oath, gave ſo great a Diſtaſte every where, that I do not remember an Inſtance, in which it was openly put in Practice ſince that Time. But the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* do believe, as one of the greateſt of them told me, that the Confeſſors of the Princes of that Communion, have ſecret Faculties, to diſpenſe with their Breach of Faith: Which is ſo much the more dangerous, the more ſecretly it may be managed. On that Ground it was, that the Prince who told me this, ſaid, that in all their Dealings with Princes of that Communion, they took their Word, but would never put any Thing to their Oaths: For they knew, that the Popiſh Princes reckoned they were bound by their Word, as they were Men, and Members of Human Society; but for their Oaths, they reckoned theſe being Acts of Religion, their Confeſſors had it in their Breaſt, to tell them how far they were bound to keep them; and when they were abſolved from any Obligation by them. But we have ſeen in our Days, to the no ſmall Reproach of the Reformation, that Princes profeſſing it, have in an avowed manner ſhaken off their Leagues and Alliances, with this ſhort Declaration, *That they reckoned themſelves freed from them*: As if they had been Things of ſo little Force, that they might be departed from at Pleaſure.

Pole's National Synod.

Pole was now, in his Synod, labouring to bring the Clergy to their Duty. On the 13th of *December*, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, was divided in Parcels, to be examined by them: And ſome were appointed, to prepare a *Book of Homilies*. On the 16th of *December*, a Tranſlation of the *New Teſtament* was ordered, and parcelled out: The *Seven Sacraments* were alſo treated of. On the 20th of *December*, the Cardinal ſent an Order to the Prolocutor, to intimate to all the Clergy, more particularly to all Deans, that they ſhould confirm no Leaſes, that had been made of their Benefices: This ſeems to be done in Obedience to the Pope's Bull, formerly mentioned, that condemned all Leaſes for a longer Term than Three Years. There was offered to them a Schedule, of ſome Terms that were to be carefully conſidered in the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament. On the 8th of *January*, that was again conſidered: Propoſitions were alſo made, for having Schools in all Cathedral Churches. Thus *Pole* found it neceſſary, to give ſome Inſtruction in the Matters of Religion to the Nation: For an earneſt Deſire of Knowledge in theſe Points, being once raiſed and encouraged, it was neither ſafe nor eaſy, quite to extinguiſh that, which is ſo natural to Man: And therefore, inſtead of diſcouraging all Knowledge, and bringing Men to the State of Implicit Faith, without any Sort of Enquiry, he choſe to give them ſuch a Meaſure of Knowledge, as might be governed, and kept within its own Bounds. There was in this Synod a Queſtion moved; What ſhould be done with ſuch of the Clergy, as ſhould refuſe to ſay, or come to Maſs? But I do not ſee what was determined upon it. Nor do I ſee what Reaſon

1557. was given them, for another Petition to the Queen, Lords and Commons, for Maintaining their Liberties and Immunities, nor what Effect it had.

Pro certiore bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum quantitatis & qualitatis ratione habenda, majus temporis ſpatium requiri videbatur.

Pole prorogued the Synod to the 10th of *November*, and from thence to the 10th of *May*. The Reaſon given, is, Becauſe the Biſhops were in their Viſitations, which could not be ſoon ended; ſince a large Space of Time ſeemed neceſſary, for their Taking an exact Account of the Quantity and Quality of all Eccleſiaſtical Goods. I ſuppoſe, this was the Procuring Terriers of the Lands, and Inventories of the Goods belonging to the Churches: For many Orders were given out, for Reſtoring ſuch Plate and Furniture, as could be found, that had belonged to any Church.

A great Scarcity of all Things.

From the 10th of *May*, *Pole* prorogued the Synod to the 10th of *November*: The Reaſon given, is, for the great Want and Penury of Victuals. For, I find, the Dearth at this Time was very great. Wheat was at 4 Marks the Quarter; Malt, at 2 Pound 4 Shillings; Peaſe, at 2 Pound 5 Shillings: But the next Harveſt proving plentiful, it fell as low as it had been high. Wheat was at 5 Shillings, Malt at a Noble, and Rye at 3 Shillings 4 Pence a Quarter.

On the 28th of *July*, the Council hearing that ſome naughty Books were ſent over, and concealed in the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*'s Houſe, ordered the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to ſearch for them, and to ſend them up. On the 19th of *July*, the Council was alarmed with Reports of Conſpiracies in *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*: So they ſent Orders to enquire about them; and about a Zealous Man, that went about carrying Letters and Books over the Country; from whence he was called *Trudge-over*; ſo he was ordered to be ſought for. On the 15th of *Auguſt*, a Letter was written to the Mayor, Jurats, and Commons at *Rye*, to Chuſe one of the Queen's Servants, to be Mayor for the enſuing Year.

Proſecution of Hereticks.

On the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered for the Earl of *Suſſex*, for his Diligence in apprehending thoſe who ſpread about Lewd and Seditious Reports; with whom he is deſired to proceed according to the Laws: And as for thoſe Lewd Prieſts that had been married, and were found ſtill to repair to their Women; they tell him, They had written to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to cauſe them to be apprehended, and puniſhed. And a Letter was at the ſame Time ordered for the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to that Purpoſe. On the 23d of *Auguſt*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord *Darcy*, for his apprehending ſome ill-diſpoſed Perſons, who uſed Conventicles, and Readings, about *Harwich*. He was to get them to be Fined according to their Quality; and as he thought fit; and to bind them to appear before the Biſhop of *London*: And a Letter was ordered to the Biſhop, either to reduce them to the Church, or to order them according to the Laws.

On the 4th of *September*, the Earl of *Suſſex* had moved, that Offenders ſhould be proceeded againſt by Martial Law: His Zeal is commended; and it was written back to him, "That theſe deſerved "to be ſo uſed; but that is not thought beſt: They are to be puniſhed as the Laws order. But when they have had their Puniſh-

"ments,

" ment, he ſhall cauſe them to be kept in Priſon, and in Irons, 'till " they know themſelves and their Duty. On the 15th of *September*, a Letter of Thanks was written to the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the Juſtices of *Norfolk*, for their Diligence in puniſhing one *Thomas Long*. 1557.

At this Time they were called on to conſider of the Danger *Calais* might be in: So a State of the Fortifications, and of what was neceſſary to maintain the Place, was laid before the Council: But the giving Orders in that Matter was delayed 'till the King ſhould come over, of which they were in daily Expectation: For on the 17th of *September*, they underſtood that the Emperor, with his Two Siſters, had embarked on the *Tueſday* before; and that the King was to come to *Calais*, and from thence to *England*. Privy Seals were at this Time ſent about every where, for a Loan of Money; But it came in very ſlowly. Some took the Privy Seal, but did not pay in the Money. There was about 1000 Privy Seals given out, at 100 *l.* a-piece. On the 6th of *October*, a Letter was ſent to *Calais*, to ſearch for ſome who had fled from *England* thither: It is directed to the Earl of *Suſſex*; which makes it probable they were Hereticks: For in that Matter, his Heart was entirely as the Queen's Heart was. On the 7th of *October*, the Lady *Throgmorton* was before the Council, aſking leave to ſend ſome Supply to her Huſband, Sir *Nicholas*, who was then in *France*: The Cardinal had told her in the Preſence of the Lord Chancellor, and others, that for this one Time, the Queen allowed of it, ſo it did not exceed 40 Crowns. It ſeems the way of Exchange was much beſet, when ſo ſmall a Supply, from ſo near a Relation, could not be conveyed without ſuch an Application. On the 17th of *November*, a Letter was ordered for the Biſhop of *London*, to receive a Companion of him who was call'd *Trudge-over*, to be ordered by him according to Law; and they complain to him, that a Man and a Woman of *Colcheſter*, that had been ſent to him, charged with Hereſy, were returned back diſcharged by him, but were now worſe than they were before. In another Book that ſeems to be the Minutes of the Council, it is entred that 24 Perſons were diſcharged by him, who were ſtill rank Hereticks.

Calais in Danger of falling into the Hands of the *French*.

I find at this Time the Council was much employed in the Matter of the Privy Seals. Our Fleet was then ſo inconſiderable, that 14000 *l.* being ordered to be applyed to the Fleet, by the Lord Treaſurer, and the Lord Admiral, both for Repairing, Furniſhing, and Victualling it, they reckoned that when that was done, 10000 *l.* a Year afterwards, would Anſwer what was neceſſary. On the 19th of *February*, one *Chriſtopher Howe*, was ordered to be proceeded againſt for ſome deteſtable Words, not fit to be heard: So it was ordered that only ſuch Parts of them ſhould be opened, as might ſerve for Evidence to the Jury. On the 21ſt, Complaints were brought of a Jaylor who ſuffered Hereticks to go freely about. On the 24th, the Queen expected Hourly to hear of the King's Arrival; ſo the Lord Admiral and others were ordered to attend on him. An Ambaſſador came at this Time from *Ruſſia*; he landed in the *North* of *Scotland*, and was well received, and nobly treated by the Lord *Wharton*; for which, Thanks were written to him. Here ſeveral

1557. Orders are entred concerning the Lord *Sturton*, and his Servants: Three of them were ordered to be hanged in Chains at *Mere*.

An Account of Lord *Sturton*'s Execution.

I had in my former Work, given a due Commendation to that which ſeemed to me a juſt Firmneſs in the Queen, not to Pardon the Lord *Sturton*, for ſo heinous a Crime, as the Murdering Father and Son in ſo Barbarous a Manner. But ſince I have lived long in *Wiltſhire*, I find there is a different Account of this Matter in that Neighbourhood. The Story as it has been handed down by very Old People, is this. The Day before the Execution was appointed, there was a Report ſet about, that a Pardon, or a Reprieve, was coming down: Upon which the Sheriff came to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then at *Wilton*, for Advice. That Lord heard the Report, and was much troubled at it: So apprehending ſome Meſſage might come to him from the Court, he ordered his Gates to be ſhut ſomewhat early, and not to be opened 'till next Morning. My Lord *Sturton*'s Son came down with the Order: But ſince the Gates were not to be opened, he rode over to his Father, who received the News with great Joy. In the Night the Sheriff left *Wilton*, and came ſo ſecretly to *Saliſbury*, that *Sturton* knew nothing of it, and believed he was ſtill at *Wilton*, where he knew he was the Night before. But when he was ſo far gone, that the Sheriff knew he could not come back in Time to hinder the Execution, he brought his Men together whom he had ordered to attend on him that Day: And ſo the Lord was executed before his Son could come back with the Order to ſtop it: I ſet down this Story upon a Popular Report, of which I have had the Pedigree vouched to me, by thoſe whoſe Authors, upon the Authority of their Grandfathers, did give an entire Credit to it. So meritorious a Man as the Lord *Sturton* was, who had proteſted againſt every Thing done in King *Edward*'s Parliament, had no doubt many Interceſſors to plead for him in this his Extremity. I leave this with my Reader as I found it.

On the 20th of *March*, the King came to *England*. Orders being ſent into *Kent*, that the Gentlemen ſhould attend upon him in their beſt Apparel: Thanks were afterwards written to them for their Readineſs in furniſhing him with Poſt-Horſes. On the 17th of *April*, Proceedings are ordered to be made upon a Book that is called Lewd and Seditious: And the Counteſs of *Suſſex* coming over at this Time, and bringing Letters which gave ſome Suſpicion, ſhe was ſent to the *Fleet*. She had been for ſome Years ſeparated from her Huſband; She was ordered to be examined ſtrictly; but upon this and many other Occaſions, Particulars are not ſet forth, and only a general Mention is made of the Minutes put in the Cheſt.

There is beſides the Great Council Book, another Council Book, which, I ſuppoſe, might be the Minute Book, which was peruſed by my Learned Friend, Doctor *Kennet*, and who communicated to me all the Extracts that he had made out of it, and ſome other Manuſcripts, which I never ſaw. It ſeems, it was apprehended that the *French* deſigned a Deſcent in *Dorſetſhire*: So Orders were ſent to make Muſters in that County, and to have them in readineſs, in Caſe of an Invaſion, or a Rebellion: And 300 Men were ſent over to *Calais*, with Orders concerning the Fortifications.

On

On the 14th of *June*, Complaint was made of ſome naughty Plays and lewd Books. The Council was often alarmed with theſe Plays; but it does not appear whether there was any Thing in the Plays with relation to Religion, or the Government; or whether it was, that they apprehended ſome Miſchief from the Concourſe of the People that thoſe Repreſentations brought together. One Sir *Thomas Cawarden* was committed to the *Fleet*, for his Miſbehaviour to the State: He was ordered to be kept a cloſe Priſoner, with only one Servant, ſince he had made no manner of Submiſſion, and had not acknowledged his Offence: but what this Offence was does not appear to me. On the 29th of *June*, Orders were given for ſending 2000 Men to *Calais*, with Directions to diſtribute them to the Places about, that wanted a Reinforcement the moſt. 860 of them were ordered for *Guiſnes*, and a Letter was written to the Mayor and Jurats of *Calais*, to continue their Mayor for another Year. On the 3d of *July*, the Cardinal made an Offer of 100 Men to ſerve the Queen: He was ordered to Levy them immediately, and to ſend them to *Dover*. 200 Foot, and 600 Horſe more, were ordered in all haſt for *Calais*: And Aſſurance was given, that more ſhould quickly follow. There were then great Apprehenſions of Diſorders on the Borders of *Scotland*, which were wholly in the Hands of the *French*.

1557.

The Allarms oft given of Plots.

Boner at this Time gave the City of *London* a moſt diſmal Spectacle, a little removed from the City, perhaps for fear of a Tumult, at *Stratford*, where Thirteen Perſons, Eleven Men, and Two Women, were burnt in one Fire. He had condemned Sixteen to be thus Sacrificed: But Cardinal *Pole* heard there was ſome hope of working on Three of them; ſo there came an Order to put them in his Hands: And he by the 26th of *July*, prevailed ſo far on Two of them, that a Pardon was granted to thoſe Two who had been condemned by the Biſhop of *London*, but were prevailed on by the Cardinal to abjure, (a very extraordinary Thing, as is mentioned in the Pardon) and had received them into the Communion of the Church, "and "had upon that interceeded with the King and Queen for their Par- "don, which they, as true Sons of the Church, did willingly imi- "tate, and embraced this Occaſion of ſhewing their Zeal. I cannot tell what became of the Third Perſon, whom he had taken out of *Boner*'s Hands.

A ſevere Proſecution.

Cardinal *Pole* ſaved Two Perſons.

Rymer MSS.

Exemplo licet rariſſimo.

But here I muſt leſſen the Character of the Cardinal's Mildneſs towards Hereticks: For on the 28th of *March* this Year, he ſent Orders to proceed againſt the Hereticks in his Dioceſe; and on the 7th of *July*, he ſent a *Significavit* of ſome Hereticks to be delivered to the Secular Arm.

I find likewiſe by other Evidences, ſuggeſted to me by the Laborious Mr. *Strype*, that *Pole* was not ſo mild as I had repreſented him. *Parker* in his *Britiſh Antiquities*, which *Strype* believes aſſuredly he can prove that it was written by him; he calls him *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Carnifex & Flagellum*; The Whip and the Executioner of the Church of *England*: And *Calfhil*, a Canon of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, in a Letter he wrote to *Grindall* Biſhop of *London*, mentions the Proceedings of the Viſitors ſent to *Oxford* by *Pole*; who were *Brooks*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; *Cole*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s; and *Ormanet*;

1557. he ſent them thither, not only to reſtore the Pope's Authority, but diligently to enquire if there were any who neglected the Pope's Ceremonies; and if there were any found, that were under the leaſt Suſuicion (*leviſſima Suſpicio*) they were without any delay to eject them: He writes there was nothing Eminent in *Ormanet*, but intolerable Inſolence; nothing could be imagined more Arrogant than he was. They raged, as he adds, againſt a great many in the Univerſity; and burned in the open Market-Place an infinite Number of Bibles, and other Books. The like Severity was practiſed at *Cambridge*; of which Mr. *Strype* promiſes an Account in the Life of *Whitgift*, now ready for the Preſs.

The Nation began to grow every where weary of the Cruel Executions of ſo many Hereticks: The great Promoter of theſe Barbarous Proceedings was the Earl of *Suſſex*. He died in *March* this Year: For his Son *Thomas*, who ſucceeded to him in his Honour, was then Deputy of *Ireland*; and on the 1ſt of *April*, Order was given for a New Patent to him, by the Title of the Earl of *Suſſex*.

The Nation abhorred this Cruelty.

At one Time Complaints were brought of the Sheriffs of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Staffordſhire*, and of the Mayor of *Rocheſter*, and the Bailiff of *Colcheſter*; that when ſome Perſons being condemned for Hereſy, were delivered to them by their Ordinaries, they inſtead of Proceeding to a preſent Execution, had delayed it: So Letters were ordered to them, requiring them to ſignify what it was that had moved them to ſtop the uſual Proceedings. Information was alſo given of ſome lewd and ſeditious Words, ſpoken by ſome of the Queen's Houſhold; upon which they were ſent to Priſon: And Orders were given to proſecute them. On the 3d of *Auguſt*, Thanks were ordered to be given to Serjeant *Brown* for his Proceedings with *Trudge-over*; and Orders were given for the diſpoſing of his Head and Quarters. On the 7th of *Auguſt*, Sir *John Butler*, Sheriff of *Eſſex*, was fined 10 *l.* becauſe his Deputy had reſpited the Execution of a Woman, condemned for Hereſy, that ſhould have been executed at *Colcheſter*; and he was to Anſwer for his Deputy's Fault. This perhaps is the ſame with that which was mentioned on the 28th of *July*. Many were ordered to be proceeded againſt for writing and ſpreading lewd and ſeditious Books. It ſeems the Lord *Rich* continued to give the Council notice, before they proceeded to any Executions in *Eſſex*, and ſo laid the Odium of the Severity on the Council, for ſhewing no Pity: So on the 6th of *Auguſt*, they wrote to him to proceed according to Law, and not to give them any more Trouble on thoſe Occaſions. Complaint was made on the 10th of *Auguſt*, of a bad Choice that the Town of *Calais* had made of a Mayor for the enſuing Year; eſpecially in ſo Critical a Time. They were told that by ſuch an Election, they might have their Charter to be brought in Queſtion. On the 12th of *Auguſt*, Orders were ſent to *Canterbury*, to proceed without delay againſt thoſe who acted there a lewd Play that was ſent up.

A great Coldneſs in thoſe Matters at *Briſtol*.

On the 15th of *Auguſt*, the News came of the great Defeat given *French* at St. *Quintins*: So an Order was ſent to the Biſhop of *London*, to publiſh that at St. *Paul*'s Croſs. On the 24th of *Auguſt*, Letters were ordered to be written to the Mayor and Aldermen of *Briſtol*

Briſtol, requiring them to conform themſelves, in frequenting Ser- 1557.
mons, Proceſſions, and other Ceremonies, at the Cathedral: And not to abſent themſelves, as they had done of late, nor to expect that the Dean and Chapter ſhould come with their Croſs, and in Proceſſion, to fetch them out of the City; which was a Thing unſeemly, and out of Order. On the 2d of *September*, News came of the Taking of St. *Quintin*'s; upon which, an Order was ſent to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, to have Bonfires at Night, and to come the next Day to High-Maſs. On the 6th of *September*, an Order was ſent to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, to apprehend thoſe who had acted a Play, called, *A Sack-full of News*; but there was an Order ſent ſoon after, to ſet them at liberty. On the 6th of *October*, News came that Peace was made between the Pope and the King; upon which, the Council ordered High-Maſs to be at St. *Paul*'s; and the Lord-Mayor was required to be there, and to have Bonfires over the City. The Council was, for ſome Time, wholly taken up with the Matter of the Loan, and the Privy-Seals: And tho' the Government had certain Notice of the Deſign of the *French* upon *Calais*, yet no Parliament was called, by which Money, and every Thing elſe that was neceſſary to the Preſerving it, could have been furniſhed. But the Spirit of the Nation was now much turned; and Compaſſion began to riſe towards theſe poor People, that were thus ſacrificed to the Cruelty of the Prieſts, and the Bigotry of a weak peeviſh Woman, ſo that they would not venture on Calling one; but tried other ineffectual Methods of Raiſing Money; which increaſed the Jealouſy of the Nation, more than it added to the Queen's Treaſure.

Boner was again quickned, by another Letter, to proceed againſt Hereticks: Upon which, he ſent down Dr. *Chedſey* to *Colcheſter*: Who, in a Letter that he wrote to *Boner*, on the 21ſt of *April* 1558, tells him, That while he was Sitting at *Colcheſter*, Examining Hereticks, he received a Summons to appear before the Council: But he deſires, that *Boner* would make his Excuſe, ſince he was on the Great Work of finding out Hereticks, Anabaptiſts, and other unruly Perſons, ſuch as the like was never heard. *Boner* call'd on by the Council to be more ſevere.

There is alſo in the Minute-Book, an Entry of the Letter of the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1558, written on *Benbridge*'s Account; who, when he was ready to be burnt, offered to Recant; upon which, the Sheriff of *Hampſhire* ſtayed the Execution: For that he was chid; but a Letter was written to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to examine whether his Converſion was entire and ſincere.

And now I have no more Light from the Council-Book: For that Authentick Volume goes only to the End of the Year 1557; the laſt Paſſage I find in it relating to Religion, being on the 15th of *December*: Then they wrote a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, and ſent with it the Examination of *John Rough*, a *Scottiſh* Miniſter, whom they had ſent to *Newgate*, and required him to proceed againſt him according to the Laws. It may be, perhaps, thought, that I have taken out of it nothing, but what related to Proceedings againſt Hereticks: but that is, becauſe there is ſcarce any thing elſe in it; for I have taken out of it every Thing that related to the Government, or that was in any ſort Hiſtorical. But the Council knew what

1557. what it was that the Queen's Heart was ſet on, and what would pleaſe Her moſt; and ſo they applied their Care and Diligence chiefly to that.

There was a ſtrange Spirit of Cruelty, that run thro' the Body of the Clergy: It was animated by the Government, and ſhewed it ſelf in ſo many diſmal Inſtances, in all the Parts of the Nation, that it ſtruck People with Horror. This, joined with the intolerable Haughtineſs of the King, and the ſhameful Loſs of *Calais*, brought the Government under a univerſal Hatred and Contempt. In a Book corrected, if not written by the Lord *Burleigh*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, entitled, *The Executions for Treaſon*, the Sum of thoſe who ſuffered in this wretched Reign, is thus reckoned. "Four "Hundred Perſons ſuffer'd publickly in Queen *Mary*'s Days, beſides "thoſe who were ſecretly murdered in Priſon: Of theſe, Twenty "were Biſhops, and Dignified Clergymen: Sixty were Women; "Children, more than Forty: Some Women big with Child; one "bore a Child in the Fire, and the Child was burned.

It does not appear, that the Biſhops, or Clergy, ſhewed any great Inclination, to entertain *Pole*'s Project for the Reformation of Abuſes; or that they were at much Pains, in the way of Inſtruction, to reduce the People. All that I find in this way, is, that *Boner* ſet out an Inſtruction for his Dioceſe, in the Year 1555. The People had heard ſo much of the Second Commandment, that he did not think fit to leave it quite out, as is done in moſt Catechiſms of the Church of *Rome*: But yet he durſt not venture on giving it honeſtly; therefore, inſtead of the Words, *Nor worſhip them*; he gave it thus, *Nor adore them with God's Honour*. *Watſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, did in *June* 1558, put another out for his Dioceſe. It ſeems, he was in a high Degree of Favour with the Cardinal; ſince, notwithſtanding the Zeal he expreſſed againſt Plurality of Benefices in One Perſon, he was allowed to hold the Deanery of *Dureſm in Commendam*, when he was promoted to *Lincoln*. The Licenſe is in *January* 1557; in which it is ſaid, that the Cardinal conſented to it.

Paper-Office.

The firſt publick Occaſion, that the ill-natured Pope found to expreſs his Diſpleaſure at *Pole*, was, upon the Death of *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. The Pope would not ſuffer *Chriſtopherſon*, the New Biſhop, to be preconized in *Pole*'s Name, but did it himſelf, as *Karn* wrote over on the 10th of *April*. *Karn*, after that, on the 15th of *June*, wrote to the Queen, that the Pope had ordered Cardinal *Morone* to be impriſoned on the Account of Religion. Four Cardinals were ſent to examine him. *Karn* adds, that he was in high Reputation at *Rome*, for his Sanctity: And he believed him a good Catholick, and a Holy Man.

Rymer.

The Papal Proviſions in this Reign.

The Stile in which all the Biſhops Bulls, during this Reign, did run, was, That the Pope, by his Apoſtolical Authority, did provide the Perſon to the See, and ſet him over it. Upon which, the Biſhop ſo named did renounce every Clauſe in his Bull, that was in any ſort prejudicial to the Crown: And the Renunciation being ſo made, the Cuſtody of the Temporalties was given to the Biſhop Elect. In the Bulls, no mention is made either of the Queen's

Recommending, nor of the Chapter's Electing. *Rymer* has gathered the Bulls for *Exeter*, *Bangor*, St. *Aſaph*, *Carliſle*, *Cheſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Lincoln*, beſides thoſe for *Canterbury* and *York*; and they all run in the Stile of Papal Proviſions. Nor does he mention a *Conge d'Elire*, except for *Cheſter*, *Winchester*, *Carliſle*, *Lincoln*, *Chicheſter*, and *Peterborough*. There is ſomething particular in the Reſtitution of the Temporalties of *Carliſle* to *Oglethorpe*: It is added, That he was to pay 400 Marks. I do not comprehend, what could be the Reaſon of this Singularity. 1558.

There was another Convocation in *January* 155⅞. *Harpsfield* was choſen Prolocutor. On the 28th of *January*, *Boner*, as the Cardinal's Commiſſary, propoſed ſome Heads of Reformation; and the Lower-Houſe deſired Leave to offer their Propoſitions. On the 4th of *February*, a Subſidy was agreed to of Eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in Four Years; and on the 9th, he told the Biſhops, that the Lower-Houſe had agreed to it. Complaint was made of a Want of Prieſts, to Serve the Cures: In order to remedy this, and to provide a Supply for the Smaller Benefices, it was propoſed, that no Prieſt ſhould be taken up to Serve in the Wars. 2. That the Biſhops might have Authority to unite Small Benefices, which the Prieſt ſhould Serve by Turns. 3. That the Pariſhioners of Chappels of Eaſe, might be obliged to come to the Pariſh-Church, till Curates could be provided. 4. That Biſhops might be authorized by the Pope, to Ordain *extra Tempora*. There was alſo ſome Conſideration had, about the Furniſhing of Arms; and a Decree paſſed, for the Proviſion of them, after the ſame Rate that the Laity had agreed to. But then the Convocation was prorogued, firſt to the 11th of *November*, and then to the 17th; on which Day the Queen died. Proceedings in Convocation.

But now to open the State of the Nation: *Calais*, and the Places about, were loſt; and the Nation was ſo exhauſted, that the Supporting the Government was no eaſy Thing. The Perſons moſt in Favour with the Two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, were Two Clergymen, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Biſhop of *Arras*, ſoon after promoted to be a Cardinal. They ſaw, that the Continuance of the War made it reaſonable on both Sides, not to put a Stop to the Progreſs of Hereſy; tho' it had not that Effect in *England*: They therefore, at an Interview, projected a Peace; that ſo both Kings might be at full Leiſure to extirpate Hereſy out of their Dominions. A General Treaty of Peace was opened.

In order to this, *France* was willing to make great Reſtitutions: Only, from the firſt Opening of the Treaty, they declared very poſitively, that they reſolved never to part with *Calais*. A Treaty was opened; and the Earl of *Arundel*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dean *Wotton*, were ſent to Treat in the Queen's Name. I ſhall here only give the Abſtract of Two Papers, which I found relating to this Matter.

The firſt is, the Council's Letter to the Ambaſſadors, written on the 8th of *November*; which is in the Collection. The Ambaſſadors ſaw no Hope of the Reſtoring of *Calais*; ſo they had moved the Council, to lay the Matter before the Parliament. "It was *Paper-Office.* Small Hope of having *Calais* reſtored. *Coll. Numb.* 42.

1558. " not thought convenient, to break it to the whole Houſe : It was " thought beſt to begin with the Nobility, and ſome of the beſt " and graveſt Sort. But before they made that Step, they thought " it neceſſary to ask the Queen's Mind : She thought it was beſt " to lay it firſt before the King. Upon which, they ſent the Am- " baſſadors with a Letter to the King ; and reſolved to ſtay till his " Anſwer came. They write, that the Queen was ſtill ſick, and " weak : they hoped for her Amendment ; but they were driven to " fear, and miſtruſt the worſt. In a Poſtſcript, they tell them, " they had received the Ambaſſadors Letters of the 4th, by which " they ſaw the *French* were reſolved not to reſtore *Calais* : And " that the King told them, that his Commiſſioners had almoſt agreed " with the *French* in all other Matters ; but he would agree to no- " thing, unleſs the Queen was ſatisfied. The Council ordered the " Ambaſſadors to lay before the King, the Importance of leaving *Ca-* " *lais* in the Hands of the *French* ; and how much it would touch " the Honour of the King and Queen, that ſo many Reſtitutions " being to be made on both Sides, this alone ſhould not be reſtored. " The Subjects of this Realm would certainly be very uneaſy at " this. The War was begun at the King's Requeſt, and for his " Sake. If to other of the King's Allies, Places are to be reſtored, " that were taken from them ſome Years ago ; what then can be " judged, if a Peace is concluded, without this Reſtitution ? Yet, " on the other Hand, if there is an Agreement in all other Matters, (which is like a giving up of the Point) " much were to be endu- " red for the Wealth of *Chriſtendom*. In theſe Matters, the Ambaſ- " ſadors were ordered to deal plainly with the King, and to ſtudy " to know his Mind ; ſince the *French*, keeping theſe Places, might " be as great Prejudice to his *Low-Countries*, as to *England*. They " deſire a plain and ſpeedy Anſwer, that they might know what to " offer to the Nobility and Parliament, with Relation to this " Matter.

The Anſwer to this belongs to this Reign ; tho' it was written on the Day after the Queen died, ſigned by the Three Ambaſſa-

Coll. Numb. 43. dors. It is in the Collection. " They had written formerly, that " the *French* King had ſaid, he would hazard his Crown, rather " than reſtore *Calais* : Yet, for all thoſe high Words, they did not " quite deſpair. The Commiſſioners of both Kings had broke up " their Conferences, and returned to their Maſters, to give an Ac- " count of what they had done, and to receive their final Orders. " The Ambaſſadors believed, that if the King inſiſted poſitively on " the Reſtitution of *Calais*, that this might induce the *French* to " agree to it : Whereas, if the King and his Miniſters ſpoke but " faintly of that Matter, they were ſure, the *French* would ſtill re- " fuſe to do it. Therefore they did not think fit to uſe any Words " to the King, to make him imagine, that the Queen, or the King- " dom, would conſent to a Peace, without the Reſtoring of *Calais* : " becauſe their Inſtructions were expreſs in that Point. The King " continued to ſay, that he would make no Peace, unleſs the Queen " ſhould be ſatisfied : So that if She and her Council continued to " inſiſt

" inſiſt on that Point, they did believe the *French* would reſtore it, 1558.
" rather than loſe the View they had of Peace. And whereas the
" Council wrote to them, that if all other Things were near agreed,
" much were to be endured for the Peace of *Chriſtendom*; yet that
" all others ſhould have Reſtitution, and that poor *England* ſhould
" only bear the Loſs, was hard; Eſpecially ſo great a Loſs: And
" they were ſo far from thinking that the leaving *Calais* to the *French*,
" would purchaſe a ſure Peace, that they thought on the contrary,
" that nothing ſhewed more evidently, that the *French* did not intend
" to continue the Peace, with *England* eſpecially, than their keep-
" ing of *Calais*. The *French* could eaſily annoy *England* on the
" ſide of *Scotland*: The Dauphin being then Married to the Queen
" of *Scots*: And what the *French* pretend to by that Marriage, was
" not unknown to them. (This probably was to claim the Crown of
" *England* upon the Queen's Death) Now if the *French* kept *Calais*,
" the *Engliſh* could neither hurt their Enemies, nor aſſiſt their Friends,
" or be aſſiſted by them ſo eaſily, as when that Place was in their
" Hands. *England* would be ſhut out from the reſt of *Europe*: The
" very Knowledge of the Tranſactions abroad would come late to
" them, and that Place would be a Scourge for *England*, as it was
" before *Edward* the IIId took it; which made him come with his
" Son, and but with a ſmall Army from *Normandy* into *France*,
" and to March through *Picardy* to beſiege it, the Enemy purſuing
" him with a greater Army; but he Fought through them, 'till at
" laſt he Fought them at *Creſſy*, where, though the *French* were Three
" to One, yet he totally defeated them, and continued the Siege
" 'till he took it. So the *French* having *Scotland* on the one Hand,
" and *Calais* on the other, it was eaſy to apprehend what might fol-
" low on this. The *French* would ſign any Terms with them to
" keep that Place. Theſe would be only Parchment and Wax.
" They knew how many Parchments King *Francis* ſealed to King
" *Henry*; and the preſent King to King *Edward*. They ſaw the
" Effects they had, and if a War ſhould follow between *England*
" and *France*, they were not ſure that *Spain* would join with *Eng-*
" *land*: Whereas now the King could not Honourably make any
" Peace without us: And he himſelf ſaid he would not: So they
" did not think *Chriſtendom* ſhould have a good Peace, if *Calais* were
" left to the *French*: And it was certainly more the Intereſt of *Eng-*
" *land* to continue the War in Conjunction with the King, than to
" make a Peace, letting it go, and then be forced to begin a New
" War, and to have all the Burden of it lie upon *England*. All
" this they thought themſelves bound to lay before the Council. The
" Biſhop of *Ely* adds, that he was with the Commiſſioners by the
" King's Order, they had not yet agreed concerning the Matters of
" *Corſica* and *Siena*; the *French* have likewiſe demanded the Reſtitu-
" tion of *Navarre*: So that ſome thought the Treaty would be
" broken off without concluding in a Peace. The Earl of *Arundel*
" adds, that after they had gone ſo far in their Letter, he received
" a Letter from the Biſhop of *Arras*, dated the 17th, in which he
" writes thus; The Biſhop of *Ely* has told you on what Terms we
" were in this Purgatory, at his leaving us. The *French* told us

1558. " Yeſterday that they would condeſcend to every Thing rather than " yield in the Matter of *Calais*; or let that Place go out of their " Hands. And we on our Part told them, that without full Satiſ- " faction to the Kingdom of *England*, we would not Treat with " them in any ſort. And we parted ſo, that there is more Appear- " ance of a Rupture than of a Concluſion of the Treaty. But after all, our Ambaſſadors doubted much whether it would break off only on the Account of *Calais*. If they were in doubt about it, while the Queen was yet alive, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that her Death put them out of all doubt concerning it.

A particular Relation of the Occaſion of the Queen's Death.

And now I am come to the Concluſion of this Inglorious Reign. *Campana* gives a different Account of the immediate Occaſion of the Queen's Death, from what is to be found in other Authors. He tells us that King *Philip*, ſeeing no hope of Iſſue by her, and that ſhe was in an ill ſtate of Health, deſigned a Marriage between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Lady *Elizabeth*: The Queen had a very bad Opinion of her Siſter, ſuſpecting ſhe had ill Principles in Religion. King *Philip* thought the Duke of *Savoy* would be a firm Friend to him, and a conſtant Enemy to *France*. But he could never bring the Queen to hearken to this: Yet now that ſhe was declining very faſt, he ſent over the Duke of *Feria* to propoſe the Match to the Privy Council, without any regard to the Queen; or to the Oppoſition ſhe might make to it. And he ordered him to uſe all poſſible Means to bring it to a Concluſion. The Queen reſented this highly; and when ſhe ſaw it was deſigned to force her to it, ſhe fell into an extreme Melancholy. The Privy Council did not entertain the Motion; and the Queen dying in a few Days, an End was put to it: For though I find the Duke of *Feria* was in *England*, upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s coming to the Crown, it does not appear that he made any Propoſition of that Matter to her. What Truth ſoever may be in this, the Nation was now delivered from a ſevere and unhappy, though ſhort Reign: In which, Superſtition and Cruelty had the Aſcendant to ſuch a Degree, that it does not appear that there was any one Great, or Good Deſign ever ſet on Foot, either for the Wealth, or Glory of the Nation. The Poor Queen delivered herſelf up to her Peeviſh and Fretful Humours, and to her Confeſſor: And ſeemed to have no other Thoughts, but about the Extirpation of Hereſy, and the Endowing of Monaſteries. Even the War, that commonly ſlackens Vigorous Proceedings, had not that Effect here. Her inexorable Hatred of all ſhe accounted Hereticks, was ſuch, that I find but one ſingle Inſtance of a Pardon of any condemned of Hereſy: And that was upon the Cardinal's Interceſſion. God ſhortened the Time of her Reign for his Elects Sake: And he ſeemed to have ſuffered Popery to ſhew it ſelf in its true and natural Colours, all over both Falſe and Bloody; even in a Female Reign, from whence all Mildneſs and Gentleneſs might have been expected; to give this Nation ſuch an evident and demonſtrative Proof of the Barbarous Cruelty of that Religion, as might raiſe a laſting Abhorrence and Deteſtation of it.

1558. A Parallel of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign.

It was viſible that the Providence of God made a very remarkable Difference in all Reſpects, between this Poor ſhort and deſpiſed Reign, and the Glory, the Length, and the Proſperity of the Succeeding Reign. So that as far as we can Reaſon from the outward Characters of Things, the one was all over Mean and Black, while the other ſhined with a Superior Brightneſs, to the Admiration of all the World. It wanted no Foyl to ſet it off, being all over Luſtre and Glory. But if that was wanting, the Baſe and Contemptible Reign that went before it, could not but add to its Brightneſs.

One amazing Character of Providence in her Death, and in the Great Succeſſor that came after her, was, that at the Time that the Two Miniſters, being both Eccleſiaſticks, of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, were deſigning a Peace, with the View of deſtroying Hereſy upon the Concluſion of it; their Project was entirely blaſted in ſo Critical a Minute: Firſt by the Death of Queen *Mary*, and the Succeſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*; and next by the unlooked-for Death of the King of *France* in *July* after: So that not that only the Deſign totally miſcarried, but *France* fell under the Confuſions of a Minority; under which, that they call'd Hereſy gathered great Strength: And the Cruelty of the *Spaniſh* Government occaſioned the Revolt of the *Netherlands*; while the Glorious Queen of *England* protected and aſſiſted both ſo effectually, that King *Henry* the IVth owned his being ſupported by her in his loweſt State, was the Chief Means that brought him to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*: And the *United Provinces* had their main Dependance on the Protection and Aſſiſtance that they had from her. So mercifully did God deal with this Nation, by removing that Queen, that he had ſet over it in his Wrath, and ſo graciouſly did he Watch over the Reformation, that in the very Time, in which the Enemies of that Work, reckoned it was to be rooted out, he raiſed up a Glorious Inſtrument, that not only revived it among us, but by a kind and tender Influence watched over it, and protected it every where. So I now turn to View the Auſpicious Beginnings of that Bleſſed Reign.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Of the Beginnings of Queen Elizabeth's *Reign.*

1558. NO Prince ever came to the Throne in a more clouded State of Affairs than this Queen did: The Nation was engaged in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland.* The Queen had no Ally, but King *Philip*: And though ſhe was ſenſible of her particular Obligations to him, yet being reſolved to make Alterations in Religion, ſhe knew ſhe could depend no longer on him, when once theſe ſhould be begun. The Duke of *Feria*, then his Ambaſſador in *England*, took all Occaſions to let her underſtand, that his Maſter was the *Catholick King*, and that therefore he muſt Protect that Religion. The Papiſts whom ſhe found in the Miniſtry, poſſeſſed her with Fears of Rebellions at Home, and of Wars from Abroad, if ſhe ſet herſelf to alter Religion. Thoſe ſhe brought into her Councils, in Conjunction with the Papiſts, chiefly *Bacon* and *Cecil* had been ſo accuſtomed to comply with what they condemned in Matters of Religion, that they brought themſelves to bear what they did not approve: And they apprehended great Danger if they ſhould proceed too quick in thoſe Matters.

Her Inclinations in Religion cautiouſly managed.

The Queen's Inclinations to the Reformation were univerſally relied on; Her Education and Knowledge; her bad Uſage during the former Reign; and her Title to the Crown, that was grounded on a Marriage, made in Defiance to the Pope, led all People to conclude, that what ſlow Steps ſoever ſhe might make in it, ſhe would certainly declare for it, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw ſhe could be ſafe in doing it. Upon this, ſome, whether out of a Forwardneſs of Zeal, or on Deſign to Encourage her, began early to pull down Images, and to make Changes: But on the other Hand, the Prieſts apprehending what was like to follow, begun at the ſame Time to allarm the People: Some broke out into Seditious Words, to animate the People againſt all Changes: And the Pulpits being all in their Hands, they had free Scope there to give the Allarm: Some went further, and called her Title to the Crown in Queſtion; and ſet up the Pretenſions of the Queen of *Scotland*, Of theſe, the Induſtrious Mr. *Strype* has gathered many Inſtances, that ſhewed on the one Hand their Seditious Tempers; and on the other Hand, the great Mildneſs of the Government, different from the Cruelty of the former Reign. To put a ſtop to theſe, ſhe did by one Proclamation prohibit all Preaching; and by another, all Alterations by private Hands.

As her Miniſters adviſed this Caution in Matters of Religion, ſo they perſuaded her to digeſt the Loſs of *Calais*, and to come into a Peace with *France* and *Scotland*. 1558.

They likewiſe thought of New Alliances. In order to this, *Mount* was brought into *England* again; and had ſecret Inſtructions given him by *Cecyl*, to go to all the Princes of *Germany*, to know how far the Queen might depend on their Aſſiſtance; and to receive the Advices that the Princes offered, with Relation to the Affairs of *England*, and in particular, concerning a proper Marriage for the Queen. He found them ready to receive the Queen into the *Smalcaldick League*; chiefly, if the Reformation that was intended, might be made upon their Model. The Match they all propoſed, was with *Charles* of *Auſtria*, the Emperor *Ferdinand*'s Second Son, Brother to *Maximilian*, the King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; who was known to be a Proteſtant: For tho' he complied in the outward Acts of the Popiſh Worſhip, yet he had a Miniſter in his Court, whom he heard frequently Preach. Both the Elector *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, aſſured *Mount*, that *Charles* deſigned, as ſoon as he durſt, for fear of his Father's Diſpleaſure, to declare himſelf of their Religion. He ſaid to one of theſe Princes; "I love the "Religion that my Brother holds, and approve of it, and will, by "the Grace of God, profeſs it openly. He told him, that his Fa- "ther ſuſpected this; and had preſſed him to take an Oath, that he "would never change his Religion. He refuſed that; but ſaid to "his Father, that he believed, as he did, all that was in the New "Teſtament, and in the Orthodox Fathers. Upon which, the Em- "peror ſaid, I ſee this Son is likewiſe corrupted. They thought this Match would be a great Strengthning of the Queen: It would engage the whole Houſe of *Auſtria* in the Proteſtant Religion, and unite the whole Empire in an Alliance with the *Queen*. This was writ to the Queen in the Year 1559; but in the Copy I ſaw, the particular Date is not added.

Mount ſent to *Germany*.

A Match with *Charles* of *Auſtria* adviſed.

Cotton Libr. *Galba*, 11.

The News of the Queen's coming to the Crown no ſooner reached *Zurick*, than all thoſe who had retired thither, reſolved to return to *England*. They had been entertained there both by the Magiſtrates and the Miniſters, *Bullinger*, *Gualter*, *Weidner*, *Simler*, *Lavater*, *Geſner*, and all the reſt of that Body, with a Tenderneſs and Affection, that engaged them to the End of their Lives, to make the greateſt Acknowledgments poſſible for it. The firſt of theſe was, in all Reſpects, the Chief Perſon of that Society, with whom they held the cloſeſt Correſpondence. *Peter Martyr* was likewiſe there, and was treated by them all with a ſingular Reſpect, even to a Submiſſion. *Jewel* was firſt formed by him at *Oxford*, and ſo continued to his Death in a conſtant Commerce of Letters with him, writing always to him by the Title of *Father*. I ſaw a great Volume of thoſe Letters, as I paſſed thro' *Zurick* in the Year 1685; ſo I was deſirous to have the Volume ſent me; but I found, that by their Rules, that could not be done. I alſo underſtood, that there were ſeveral Letters relating to our Affairs, ſcattered thro' ſeveral other Volumes; ſo Profeſſor *Otto* did kindly, and with much Zeal, undertake to get them to be Copied for me. The Perſon who managed

The Reformers return to *England*.

and

1558. and procured this for me, was that Pious and Learned Profeſſor at *Geneva*, *Alphonſus Turretin*, born to be a Bleſſing to the State he lives in. He has given the World already, on many Occaſions, great Inſtances of his exquiſite Learning, and of a moſt penetrating Judgment, having made a vaſt Progreſs in a few Years; in which, a feeble and tender Body, tho' it is a great Clog that gives his Friends many ſad Apprehenſions, yet cannot keep down an exalted Mind, from many Performances, that ſeem to be above both his Years and his Strength. But how valuable ſoever theſe Qualities are, yet his Zeal for the Great Things of Religion, and his Moderation in Leſſer Matters, together with a ſublime and exalted Piety, is that which I obſerved in him, even when he was ſcarce out of Childhood, and have, with a continual Joy and Delight ſeen the Advances of it ever ſince. This grateful Account of him, I owe, not ſo much to his Friendſhip, (tho' I owe a great deal to that) but to his rare and ſingular Worth. By his means, I procured Copies of the Letters, that our Reformers continued to write, chiefly to *Peter Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Gualter*: And with them I have a ſolemn Atteſtation, under the Seal of that Noble Canton, of their being true Copies, carefully collated with the Originals; which I have put at the End of the Collection. If there had not been many Interruptions in the Series of thoſe Letters, they are ſo particular, that from them we ſhould have had a clear Thread of the Hiſtory of that Time: But many of them are loſt; and they are wanting on ſome of the moſt Critical Occaſions. I ſhall make the beſt Uſe of them I can, as far as they lead me.

They were well received by the Queen.

Horn and *Sands* went firſt to *England*: So *Jewel*, who was following them, writes from *Straſburg*, on the 26th of *January* 1559, to *Peter Martyr*; and adds, "that they were well received by the "Queen; that many Biſhopricks were void; *Chriſtopherſon* was "certainly dead: That *White*, whom *Martyr* knew well, had preach- "ed the Funeral-Sermon, when Queen *Mary* was buried: The Text "was, *I praiſed the dead more than the living*: In which he charged "the Audience, by all means, not to ſuffer any Change to be made "in Religion. Inveiging againſt the Fugitives, that might perhaps "return into *England*, he ſaid, Whoſoever ſhould kill them, would "do a Deed acceptable to God. Upon this he writes, That both "the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and *Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, ſeem- "ed highly diſpleaſed at it. He adds, That *Boner* was obliged to "reſtore to *Ridley*'s Executors, all his Goods that he had violently "ſeized on, and was confined to his Houſe. I have ſeen a Copy of *White*'s Sermon. In it he commends Queen *Mary* for this, that She would never be called *Head of the Church*: Tho' the Falſehood of that is on Record, in the Writs that were ſealed for above a Year after She came to the Crown. He runs out with great Fury againſt Hereſy: *Geneva* is, in particular, named the Seat of it. He ſays, Queen *Mary*'s Death was like the Death of an Angel, if they were mortal. He inſinuates his Fears of *flying in the Winter*, *on the Sabbath*, or *being with Child*; all which he repreſents as Allegorical. Yet he has ſome decent Words of the Queen; and ſays, they

Coll. Numb. 44.

were

pag. 272.
G. Vertue
Sculpsit
IOHAN: IEWELLUS Epus Sarisburiensis
A.D. 1562. Obiit A.D. 1572 Ætatis 40

were to comfort themſelves for the Death of one Siſter, in the other that ſurvived. 1559.

Gualter wrote to one *Maſters*, who was the Queen's Phyſician, and was well known to him, on the 16th of *January*. "He con- "gratulates the Happy Change of their Affairs. He wiſhes (I tran- "ſlate his Words ſtrictly) that they would not hearken to the "Counſels of thoſe Men; who when they ſaw that Popery could "not be honeſtly defended, nor entirely retained, would uſe all "Artifices, to have the outward Face of Religion to remain mixed, "incertain, and doubtful: So that while an Evangelical Reformati- "on is pretended, thoſe Things ſhould be obtruded on the Church, "which will make the Returning back to Popery, to Superſtition, "and to Idolatry, very eaſy. I write not theſe Things to you, he "adds, as knowing that there are any ſuch among you; but I "write, from a Fear that there may be ſome ſuch. For we have "had the Experience of this for ſome Years in *Germany*, and know "what Influence ſuch Perſons may have. Their Councils ſeem, to "a Carnal Judgment, to be full of Modeſty, and well fitted for "carrying on an Univerſal Agreement: And we may well believe, "that the Common Enemy of our Salvation, will find out proper "Inſtruments, by whoſe means the Seeds of Popery may ſtill re- "main among you. A little after he writes, That he apprehends, "that in the firſt Beginnings, while Men may ſtudy to avoid the "giving ſome ſmall Offence, many Things may be ſuffered, under "this Colour, that they will be continued but for a little while; "and yet afterwards, it will ſcarce be poſſible, by all the Endea- "vours that can be uſed, to get them to be removed, at leaſt not "without great Strugglings. Dr. *Maſters*, in Anſwer to this, tells him, He had laid his Letter before the Queen, and that She had read it all. He promiſes to uſe his beſt Endeavours, for carrying on a Sound Reformation. This plainly inſinuated their Fears, of ſome- what like what was deſigned by the *Interim* in *Germany*.

Thoſe of *Zurick* adviſe a thorough Reformation.

Coll. Numb. 45.

Francis, Earl of *Bedford*, had gone out of *England* in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and had ſtayed ſome Time at *Zurick*: He had expreſſed a true Zeal for the Reformation, and a particular Regard for the Divines there; of which, a Letter in the Collection gives a clear Account: And upon that they wrote often to him, and preſſed him vehemently, to take care in the firſt Beginnings, to have all Things ſettled upon ſure and ſound Foundations.

The Earl of *Bedford* had ſtay'd ſome Time at *Zurick*, and wrote to them.

Coll. Numb. 46.

On the 24th of *January* the Convocation was opened; but the Biſhops, in Obedience to the Queen's Proclamation againſt Preaching, did not think fit to open it with a Sermon. Thoſe who I find are marked as preſent, are, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Worceſter*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*: Theſe appeared perſonally. And the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Peterborough* and St. *Aſaph*, ſent their Proxies. But no mention is made of the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, St. *David*'s, *Landaffe* and *Exeter*. All the other Sees were then vacant; *Canterbury*, *Salisbury*, *Norwich*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford*, *Gloceſter*, *Oxford*, *Bangor*, *Briſtol*, and *Rocheſter*; Ten in all. *Harpsfield* was choſen Prolocutor. He aſked, What they had to do, and what was to be done, to Preſerve

Proceedings in Convocation.

1559. Religion? The Biſhops anſwered, they muſt pray the Queen, that no New Burden might be laid on the Clergy in this Parliament. This was to prevent the Demand of a new Subſidy, the former not being yet paid. In the 7th Seſſion, the Prolocutor offered to the Biſhops the Five Articles, mentioned in my Hiſtory. Theſe they had drawn up, for the Diſcharge of their Conſciences, and they deſired the Biſhops to be their Leaders in this Matter. The Biſhops received their Paper, and promiſed to offer it next Day to the Houſe of Lords. In the next Seſſion, the Prolocutor and Clergy came up, and aſked the Biſhops, if they had delivered their Paper to the Houſe of Lords? *Boner* anſwered, That they had delivered it to the Lord-Keeper, the Mouth of that Houſe; who, to all Appearance, received it kindly, or thankfully, (*gratanter*), but gave them no Anſwer. The Clergy deſired the Biſhops, to get an Anſwer from him, or at leaſt to know his Pleaſure before their next Meeting. In the 9th Seſſion, the Biſhops told the Clergy, that they had not yet found a fit Opportunity, to obtain an Anſwer from the Houſe of Lords. On the 10th Seſſion, *Boner* told the Clergy, That all their Articles, except the laſt, which was, "That the Authority "of Treating and Defining, in Matters of the Faith, of the Sacra-"ments, and of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, belonged to the Paſtors of "the Church, and not to the Laity; were approved by the Two Univerſities. After this came only perpetual Prorogations, from Day to Day, without any Buſineſs done, till the 9th of *May*, in which the Convocation was diſſolved: So this was the laſt and feeble Struggle, that the Popiſh Clergy made in Convocation.

The Biſhops oppoſe the Reformation in the Houſe of Lords.

The Biſhops ſtood firm in the Houſe of Lords; where there were none of the other Side to anſwer them, few of the Temporal Lords being very Learned. They ſeemed to triumph there; and hung ſo upon the Wheels, that there was a ſlow Progreſs made. On the 20th of *March*, *Jewel* writes to *Peter Martyr*, "That after a Jour-*Coll. Numb.* 47. "ney of 51 Days, from the Time he left *Zurick*, he got to *Lon-*"*don*; where he was amazed to find the Pope's Authority was "not yet thrown off: Maſſes were ſtill ſaid; and the Biſhops con-"tinued ſtill inſolent. Things were beginning to mend a little. A "publick Diſputation was then reſolved on: And he adds, that the "Queen ſpoke with great Eſteeem of *Peter Martyr*. The Inferior "Sort of the Populace was both ignorant and perverſe. He tells "him, *Brooks*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, whom he calls an *Impure Beaſt*, "was newly dead; and cried out, as he was dying, that he was "damned.

Jewel, in a Letter to *Bullinger* from *London* on the 22d of *May* 1559, which is in the Collection, after great Acknowledgments of his Obligations to him, and to all *Zurich*, "Thanks him for quick-*Coll. Numb.* 48. "ning them to act with Zeal and Courage. There was need of it; "for beſides thoſe who had been always their Enemies, the Deſerters, "who had left them in the former Reign, were now their moſt bit-"ter Enemies. Beſides this, the *Spaniards* had corrupted the Morals "of the Nation to a great Degree. They were doing what they "could, and all Things were coming into a better State. The "Queen

pag. 274.

NICOLAUS BACONUS Custos Mag. Sigilli
A.D. 1559. Obiit A.D. 1578.

" Queen did very Solemnly refuſe to be called *Head of the Church.* 1559.
" She thought that Title was only due to Chriſt. The Univerſities
" were ſtrangely corrupted by *Soto*, and another *Spaniſh* Monk. It
" was ſcarce Credible how much Miſchief they had done in ſo little
" Time. He tells him, that the Lord *Bedford* had aſked him, what
" would be the moſt acceptable Preſent that he could ſend to him
" and his Brethren? He anſwered, Nothing could be ſo acceptable
" to them, as his expreſſing a Zeal for promoting the Goſpel, and
" againſt Popery. That Lord aſſured him, he would do that Faith-
" fully; which, as he writes, he was doing very Sincerely. He
" writes alſo, how that ſeveral Princes were making Addreſſes to the
" Queen for her Marriage; but many ſuſpected her Inclinations lay
" to one *Pickering*, a Worthy and Pious Man; and one of a moſt
" Noble Figure, as to his Perſon. He refers him for other Things
" to his Letters to *Peter Martyr*. On the 6th of *April*, *Jewel* wrote
a particular Account of the Diſputation, which though it is upon the
Matter, the ſame that is in my Hiſtory, yet ſince it is both a Con-
firmation of it, and has ſome Circumſtances that are New, I have put
it in my Collection: " He tells him that *Cole* treated the Reformers *Coll. Numb.*
" with many Reproaches, and much Scorn: And called them Sedi- 49.
" tious Incendiaries. He delivered his Speech with great Emotion,
" Stamping with his Feet, and putting himſelf as in Convulſions: He
" ſaid the Apoſtles divided their Work into Two Provinces, the
" *Weſtern* and the *Eaſtern*: The Firſt, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* had
" given to them, where the Worſhip was to be all in *Latin*: The
" *Eaſtern* Diviſion fell to the other Apoſtles; where all was to be
" performed in *Greek*. This he introduced with Pomp as a Thing
" certain. He affirmed that it was not fit the People ſhould under-
" ſtand the Publick Worſhip; for Ignorance was the Mother of De-
" votion. The Paper prepared by the Reformers was read Gravely
" and Modeſtly by *Horn*: So that all who were preſent, he Names
" the Earl of *Shrewſbury* in particular, acknowledged the Victory
" was clearly on their Side: By this, and by what hapned the 2d
" Day, the Popiſh Cauſe ſunk much in the Opinion of the People.

On the 28th of *April*, in another Letter, which is in the Collection, *Coll. Numb.*
He tells *Peter Martyr* how earneſtly the Biſhops contended in the 50.
Houſe of Lords. " *Fecknam* defended Monaſtick Orders, from the
" Sons of the Prophets; and the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*; and
" ſaid, Chriſt and his Apoſtles were Monks. None ſtruggled more
" vehemently than *Thirleby*. He ſaw a Deſign at Court of Seizing
" on the Biſhop's Manors, and Aſſigning Parſonages to them inſtead
" of them; but he Laments moſt of all, that no Care was taken of
" Schools, or of promoting Learning. The Univerſities were in a
" moſt miſerable Condition. The Earl of *Bedford* preſſed the Queen
" to ſend for *Peter Martyr*: She ſaid ſhe would do it: But as much
" as *Jewel* deſired to ſee him, he writes, that he would not adviſe
" his coming over, if he was not ſent for with ſuch an Earneſt and
" Honourable Invitation as he deſerved to have. He ſaw many of
" the Queen's Miniſters were in hope to enter into the *Smalcaldick*
" League. And one who had been a Biſhop, poſſeſſed them with an
" Opinion, that if *Martyr* were brought over, that would obſtruct

1559. " the other Deſign : He expreſſes an ill Opinion of that Perſon, " but does not Name him : It muſt have been either *Barlo*, *Scory*, or *Coverdale*; for theſe were all the Biſhops of the Reformation, that were then alive : *Coverdale*, as being a *Dane*, is the likeſt to have been engaged in the *Lutheran* Opinion : He concludes his Letter, that thoſe who had returned from their Exile, were yet in great Miſery, no Care being taken of them.

He complains of want of Zeal, and an exceſs of Caution.

His next is on the 10th of *April*, " He Laments the Want of Zeal " and Induſtry in promoting the Reformation ; far ſhort of what the " Papiſts ſhewed in Queen *Mary*'s Time. Then every Thing was " carried on violently, without ſtaying either for Law, or Precedent. " But now every Thing is managed in ſo Slow, ſo Cautious, and " Prudent a Manner ; as if the Word of God was not to be received " upon his own Authority : So that as Chriſt was thrown out by " his Enemies, he is now kept out by his Friends. This Caution " made that the Spirits of thoſe that favoured them were ſunk, while " their Enemies were much exalted upon it. Yet he acknowledges " that though no Law was made abrogating the Maſs, it was in ma- " ny Places laid down. The Nobility ſeemed Zealous in their Ha- " tred of Popery. The Queen had indeed ſoftned her Maſs much ; " but there were many Things amiſs that were left in it. If ſhe " could be prevailed on to put the Crucifix out of her Chapel, it " would give a general Encouragement : She was truly Pious, but " thought it neceſſary to proceed by Law, and that it was Dangerous " to give way to a Furious Multitude.

Cox, on the 20th of *May*, wrote to *Weidner*, another Divine of *Zurich*, whom he calls a Venerable Old Man. " He tells him that " they found the ſhort Reign of Queen *Mary* had ſuch Effects in hard- " ning the Minds of the People in their Superſtition, that it would " not be eaſy to change the Nation. Great Oppoſition was made to " every good Motion, by the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in the Houſe of " Lords ; for there was none there that could maintain Arguments " againſt the Biſhops : But the Divines who were returned from their " Exile, were called to Preach at Court before the Queen ; where " they plainly affirmed that the Pope was Antichriſt, and that their " Traditions were Blaſphemies. Some of the Nobility came every " Day over to them, and many of the People, but not one of the " Clergy : They ſtuck all together as a Body that was not to be moved. " He tells him the Event that the Publick Diſputation had ; and that " now King *Edward*'s Laws were to be revived. Thus, ſays he, " God has regarded the low Eſtate we were in, and with his Father- " ly Compaſſion has pittied us ; and taken off the Croſs we lay un- " der. God grant theſe his Great and Ineſtimable Benefits may ne- " ver be forgotten by us : But he Laments, that while there was ſo " great a Harveſt, there were ſo few Labourers.

All Buſineſs was brought to a good Concluſion in Parliament. The King of *France*'s unlooked-for Death, had given ſuch a Change to the Face of Affairs abroad, that the Queen and her Miniſters ſeemed to be animated with more Courage than had appeared hitherto. Of this there is a Letter of *Jewel*'s in the Collection. In the Beginning of *Auguſt*, it appears from another Letter in the Collection, that

Coll. Numb. 51.

Coll. Numb. 52.

Preachers were ſent to many different Parts: " Many *Northern* 1559.
" Counties were aſſigned to *Sands*. *Jewel* had a large Province;
" he was to make a Circuit of about 700 Miles, through *Berkſhire*,
" *Glouceſterſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Cornwall*, *Dorſetſhire*,
" and *Wiltſhire*. The Popiſh Biſhops made a very poor Addreſs to
" the Queen, perſuading her not to change the State of Religion,
" to which ſhe anſwered very reſolutely: And they, rather than
" Abjure the Pope once more, which they had often done before,
" were reſolved now to relinquiſh their Biſhopricks. It was plain
" they had no Religion among them; yet now they pretended Con-
" ſcience. They were full of Rage, and one of the Artifices they
" uſed at that Time to keep the People from receiving the Reforma-
" tion, was the giving out of Prophecies, that this Change would be
" ſhort-lived. Howſoever the Queen had Courage: So he thanks
" God for the State to which their Affairs were then brought. Mat-
" ters went well in *Scotland*, *Knox* was preaching in many Places
" of the Country well guarded, the Monaſteries were every where
" pulled down, and all the Superſtitious Stuff that was in them, was
" deſtroyed. The Young King of *France* took among his Titles,
" both *England* and *Scotland*. He underſtood it was deſigned to
" make himſelf Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, but he was poſitively reſolved to
" decline it. In the Letters ſent me from *Zurich*, I fine none of *Grindall*'s on this Occaſion: But Mr. *Strype* in his Life has informed the World, that *Grindall* when he knew he was deſigned to be a Biſhop, wrote to *Peter Martyr* for his Opinion in ſeveral Matters. I ſhall give the Subſtance of his Letter: " He did not approve of
" the Queen's taking away the Eſtates of the Biſhopricks, and giving
" them Parſonages inſtead of them: He thought this was the Patri-
" mony of the Inferior Clergy; ſo he did not ſee how they could
" be ſupplied, if theſe were given to the Biſhops. He had alſo a
" Doubt concerning the Popiſh Veſtments: At another Time he
" aſked his Advice whether the Popiſh Prieſts upon their changing
" again, ſhould be received and continued in their Functions? Or
" whether ſuch of them as had been concerned in the late Cruelty,
" ought not to be proſecuted for that?

To all this *Peter Martyr* anſwered, " That for the taking away *Peter Martyr's Advices to Grindall.*
" the Biſhops Eſtates, and giving them Parſonages for them, they
" could neither hinder, nor help it: But they ought out of them
" to ſupport the Clergy, that laboured in thoſe Pariſhes: For the
" Habits, he confeſſed he did not love them: For while he was a
" Canon in *Oxford*, he never would uſe the Surplice. He thought
" they ought to do what they could to get them to be laid aſide;
" but that if that could not be done, he thought he might do more
" good even in that Particular, by ſubmitting to it, and accepting a
" Biſhoprick, which might give him an Intereſt to procure a Change
" afterwards. As for the Popiſh Prieſts, he adviſed the forgiving
" all that was paſt; and the receiving them according to the Pra-
" ctice of the Primitive Church, in the Return of the *Arians* to the
" Orthodox Body. But they were to watch over them, and to in-
" ſtruct and examine them with more Care: This Anſwer came too
late; for *Grindall* was conſecrated before he got it; but itwas, no doubt,

1559. doubt, a great Satisfaction to him, to find that a Perſon whom he eſteemed ſo highly, approved of the Reſolution that he had taken: In which it was probable *Jewel*'s Opinion, of whom they had all a high Eſteem, might contribute to ſettle him; for though he diſliked the Uſe of thoſe Veſtments, and treats the Inſiſting ſo much on it with great Contempt; yet on the other Hand, he blames thoſe who laid too much Weight upon that Matter, and ſo looked on it as a Thing of more Importance than truly it was.

They all rejoyced in the Happy Turn of Affairs then in *Scotland*, the much greater Part of that Nation declaring themſelves openly, and zealouſly againſt Popery.

The Beginnings of the Reformation in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

Here I ſhall inſert an Account concerning *Scotland*, of what happened in the Reign of King *Henry*; but that came not to my Knowledge, 'till the Impreſſion of this Volume was advanced to the Reign of Queen *Mary*. The *Scottiſh* Nation was ſo well diſpoſed towards the Reformation, that immediately upon King *James* the Vth's Death, which was in *December* 1541, there appeared a wonderful Inclination among them to be better informed in Matters of Religion. Cardinal *Beaton* to prevent this, had got a Will to be forged in the Name of the deceaſed King, conſtituting him Regent: But as that was diſcovered to be a Forgery, ſo the Nobility had no Regard to it, but owned the Earl of *Aran* to be the Second Perſon in the Kingdom; and that he was next to the Young Queen, and the Heirs of her Body, the Heir of the Crown. So they took the Oaths of Allegiance to the Queen, as their Sovereign; and to the Earl of *Aran* as their Governor 'till the Queen was of perfect Age: And upon that the Cardinal was ſecured.

A Parliament was ſummoned to meet in *May* 1542, in which the Regency of the Earl of *Aran* was of new confirmed on the 13th of *May*; and all the Subjects were required to obey him in all Things pertaining to that Office, conform to the Acts formerly made, which were again ratified by that Parliament. They alſo ratified the Oaths that had been taken to him by ſome Lords Spiritual and Temporal; and all who were preſent, were required to confirm theſe Oaths, by Solemn Oaths in full Parliament; which they all did by the holding up of their Right Hands, ſwearing that they would be True and Obedient to the Lord Governor, and ſerve him with their Perſons, Kindred, Friends, and Goods, and no other, during the Queen's Non-age.

On the 15th of *May*, they ordered an Authentick Publication to be made of all they had done under the Great Seal; and they all affixed their Seals to the Inſtrument made to confirm this Settlement. On the ſame Day a Council was named; Six of theſe was the Number that was at the leaſt neceſſary to concur with the Governor. The Cardinal was not one of them: The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, who was Lord Chancellor; with the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Orkney*, *Roſs*, and *Brichen*; and the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, and *Cowper*, were for the Eccleſiaſtical State. The Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Bothwell*, *Marſhall*, *Caſſilis*, and *Glencairn*; and the Lords *Erſkin*, *Ruthuen*, *Maxwell*, *Seton*, and *Methuen*, for the Nobility; with ſome other Commoners of the Boroughs: After whom,

whom, the Treaſurer, the Secretary, the Clerk of Regiſter, the Juſtice Clerk, and the Queen's Advocate are named. It ſeems they intended that no Peers ſhould be created, but with the Concurrence of the Parliament: For the Governor, with the Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, made the Lord *Stewart* of *Ochiltry*, a Peer, to have Vote and Place in Parliament. In the ſame Record, mention is made of the Draught of an Act offered by the Lord *Maxwell*, to the Lords of the Articles, in theſe Words. 1559.

It is ſtatute and ordained, that it ſhal be lawful to all our Sovereign Lady's Lieges, to have the Holy Writ of the New Teſtament and the Old, in the Vulgar Tongue, in Inglis *or* Scotts, *of a good and tru Tranſlation; and that they ſhall incurre no Crime, for the having, or reding of the ſame. Provided always, that no Man diſpute, or hold Opinions, under the Pains contained in the Acts of Parliament.*

The Lords of Articles found this reaſonable; and thought, that the Bible might be uſed among all the Lieges of the Realm, in our Vulgar Tongue, of a good, true, and juſt Tranſlation; becauſe there was no Law ſhewed to the contrary. And therefore they agreed, that none ſhould incur any Crime for having, or reading it, nor be accuſed for it; but added the *Proviſo*, that was added to the Draught offered to them.

The Uſe of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue much oppoſed:

But the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* did, in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Prelates of the Realm, that were preſent in Parliament, when the Act came to be read in full Parliament, *diſſent* (ſimpliciter) *to it, as being One of the Three Eſtates of the Parliament: And they opponed them thereto, unto the Time that a Provincial Council might be had of all the Clergy of this Realm, to adviſe and conclude thereupon; if the ſame be neceſſary to be had in the Vulgar Tongue, to be uſed among the Queen's Lieges, or not; and thereafter to ſhew the utter Determination, that ſhall be done in that Behalf.* Upon this, he demanded an Inſtrument to be made, according to the Forms in that Kingdom. But notwithſtanding this Oppoſition, the Act paſſed. For in the ſame Record, there is an Order entred, as ſigned by the Governor, requiring the Clerk of Regiſter, to cauſe the Acts paſſed in Parliament, to be proclaimed; *And in ſpecial, the Act made for having the New Teſtament in Vulgar Tongue, with certain Additions.* In the Copy ſent me, this bears Date the 19th of *March*, but I believe it ſhould be *May*; ſince the Matter was not before the Parliament till *May*. I have ſet down all this Matter, almoſt in the Words of the Record of Parliament, that was ſent me.

But granted.

In the ſame Record, the Inſtructions are ſet down, that were given to the Ambaſſadors, that were ſent to Treat concerning the Queen's Marriage, with *Edward* then Prince of *Wales*: In which it appears, that they thought it neceſſary, if their Sovereign went out of the Kingdom, even after She was of perfect Age, yet that the Governor of the Realm ſhould continue to exerciſe his Authority all the Days of his Life: And that after his Death, the neareſt Lawful Perſon of the Blood ſhould ſucceed to the ſaid Office, by a

Large

1559. Large and Ample Commiſſion; of which, they order a Form to be deviſed.

The free Uſe of the Scriptures, was a great Step to let the Nation look into the Nature of the Chriſtian Religion: And the Clergy foreſaw well the Conſequences, that would naturally follow upon it; ſo it was no wonder, that this was oppoſed ſo zealouſly by them. It was a great Piece of Foreſight, to Secure the Nation, by having a Governor with full Powers ſtill reſiding amongſt them. In the ſubſequent Treaty with *France*, there was not that Care nor Precaution uſed: But at the Concluſion of the Marriage, the *French* proceeded in ſo perfidious a manner, as to give a Warning to all, who in future Times ſhould Treat with that Court. For on the 4th of *April* 1558, (a Fortnight before the Articles of the Marriage were ſettled, which was on the 19th of *April*) the Young Queen being then but little more than Fifteen, a Secret Act was paſs'd; In which, after She had ſet forth the Ancient Alliance between the Two Crowns, and the Honourable Entertainment that She had received from the preſent King of *France*;

A perfidious Proceeding of the Court of *France*.

" She, to Confirm and Eſtabliſh the Affection between the Two " Kingdoms, and in order to Unite the Kingdom of *Scotland* to the " Crown of *France*, in caſe She ſhould die without Heirs of her " Body, had made ſome Diſpoſitions in Favour of the Crown of " *France*, which She intended ſhould have their full Effect: Yet " She, by a Communication with the Deputies ſent from *Scotland*, " ſaw into the Secret Deſigns of ſome, who were practiſing to the " Effect, that in Default of Heirs of her Body, the Crown ſhould " deſcend to ſome Lords of the Country; depriving her by that " means, to her great Regret, of the Power of Diſpoſing of it. " Yet ſince She could not at that Time openly oppoſe them, for cer- " tain juſt Cauſes of Fear; and conſidering that She was out of her " Kingdom, and had no Strong Places in it at her own Diſpoſal; " and that great Troubles might ariſe, if what She was then doing " ſhould be publickly known; eſpecially conſidering the preſent " War with the Kingdom of *England*: She therefore did proteſt, " that what Conſent, or Agreement ſoever She ſhould make to the " Articles and Inſtructions ſent over by the States of her Kingdom, " with Relation to the Succeſſion, in caſe She ſhould die without " Heirs of her Body; She intended ſtill, that the Diſpoſition then " made in Favour of the Crown of *France*, ſhould have its full " and entire Effect, notwithſtanding any Agreement She had made, " or ſhould yet make, conform to theſe Inſtructions, as a Thing con- " trary to her Will and Intention. Upon which, She demanded an Act from the Keeper of the Great Seal, *Bertrandi*, who was made a Cardinal that Year.

Recueil des Traites, To. 2. p. 508.

This Inſtrument was ſigned by her, and by the Dauphin; and is printed in that Great Collection of the Treaties of *France*, that was publiſhed Twenty Years ago. It opens a Scene of Treachery; that how much ſoever the Deſign was ſuſpected, (as will appear by the Paper, of which an Account will be given in the following Relation) yet it was never certainly known, till they themſelves have made their

their own Shame thus known to the World. But at that Time, this was ſo carefully concealed, that *Francis* the IId ſent a formal Obligation under his Great Seal; by which he bound himſelf to the Duke of *Chatelherault*, to maintain his Right of Succeeding to the Crown of *Scotland*, in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Heirs of her own Body. The Original Obligation is ſtill preſerved in *Hawdton*. The Queen's Secret Act was as ill grounded in Law, as it was perfidious in it ſelf: For certainly, what Power ſoever our Princes, with the Concurrence of their Parliaments, have to Limit the Succeſſion to the Crown, our Princes themſelves cannot, by any private Act of their own, alter the Succeſſion, or diſpoſe of it at Pleaſure. But to return to that, which has led me into this Digreſſion. 1559.

The Knowledge of Religion, that the free Uſe of the Scriptures brought the Nation to, had ſuch an effect, that the Reformation was every where deſired; and the Vices and Ignorance of the Popiſh Clergy, gave all People an Averſion to them. This was long connived at even by the Queen Mother, during her Government: But now that She thought all was ſure, She threw off the Maſk, and declared her ſelf an open Enemy to thoſe whom She had courted hitherto, and ſeemed to favour. Upon this, there was a great and a ſudden Turn. Popery was the Object of all Men's Hatred: The Churches were purged from Idolatry and Superſtition: The Monaſteries were broke into; and many Acts of hot and irregular Zeal, were complained of in all the Corners of the Kingdom.

One Thing is not a little to the Honour of *Knox*, and his Followers, in that Tumultuary Reformation, that the Multitude was ſo governed, even amidſt all that Popular Heat, that no Blood was ſhed, and no Man was killed in it: Which being poſitively delivered by * *Leſley*, Biſhop of *Raſſe*, that muſt be looked on as a Teſtimony beyond Exception.

* *Nobilium qui Hæreſeas obſtringebantur crimine, humanitas non eſt reticenda, quod eo tempore paucos Catholicos de Religionis re mulctarint exilio, pauciores carcere, morte nullos.* Leſlæus de Rebus Scot. l. 10.

But ſince the Affairs of *Scotland* have not hitherto been ſo clearly repreſented, as I find them ſtated in ſome Original Papers, that I fell on in the *Cotton* Library; I will give a full Account of them, as far as thoſe Papers do guide me.

There is a long Repreſentation drawn up, of the Breach of Faith, and of the Violation of their Laws, during the Government of the Queen Regent of *Scotland*: At the End of which, there is a Petition to the Queen, ſigned by the Great Lords of that Kingdom, in which both Papiſts and Proteſtants concurred. And in order to obtain that Concurrence, the Matters of Religion are not inſiſted on; but the continued Courſe of a perfidious and illegal Adminiſtration, is charged on the Queen Dowager. So that from this it appears, that the War was not begun, nor carried on upon the Account of Religion, but upon the Pretence of Publick and National Rights. I have put it in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 53.

" They begin it to ſhow, that the Arms that they were forced " to fly to, was no Rebellion. They run the Matter back to the " firſt Propoſition, for Carrying their Queen into *France*: Which, " they ſay, was obtained, partly by Corruption with Money, partly " by Authority, and partly by fair Promiſes: Yet before that was

1559. " agreed to, a Treaty was made by the Parliament, and ſworn to, " as well as ratified by the Great Seals of the King, and Dauphin " of *France*, That *Scotland* ſhould be governed by their own Laws, " and by the Nobility and People of *Scotland*: That all Offices " ſhould be given to them; and, That no Gariſons of the *French* " ſhould be admitted to Settle in the Kingdom. Great Practice was " made after that, to bring the Parliament to conſent, that their " Queen ſhould marry the Dauphin: And to obtain that, the Suc- " ceſſion to the Crown was declared to belong to the Duke of *Cha-* " *telherault* and his Heirs, after the Heirs of the Queen's Body. " New Oaths were then taken, and Charters given under the Great " Seal of *France*, and under their Queen and the Dauphin's Seal, " that *Scotland* ſhould be governed by a Council of Natives: The " Caſtles were alſo to be put in ſure Hands. Duplicates of theſe " were lodged in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and with the Duke of " *Chatelherault*. Upon this, an Embaſſy was ſent to *France*, of " Two Biſhops, Two Earls, and Four Lords; and the Marriage was " concluded. They were upon that dealt with, to endeavour, that " the Crown of *Scotland* might be given to the Dauphin. They " refuſed to undertake that; and believed, that it could not be " brought about. The Word upon that was changed. And it was " deſired only, that the *Matrimonial Crown* might be ſent him; (which was afterwards explained in the Act of Parliament that granted it, that he ſhould be King of *Scotland* during Life.) " The " Lords were ſuffer'd to return: But when they came to *Diep*, One " Biſhop, Two Earls, and Two Lords died in one Night. The " Three that were left, came home much amazed, believing that the " others had been poyſoned.

Here I muſt add another Particular, relating to that Deputation. In the Council-Book, that goes from *April* 1554, to *January* 1558, that was caſt by and neglected, many Leaves being cut out of it, and was firſt diſcover'd by a Nephew of mine, whom I deſired to ſearch their Regiſter for me; it appears, that on the 13th of *December* 1557, there was a Tax laid on the Kingdom, to be paid in before *Eaſter*, for the Expence of that Embaſſy, of 15000 Pounds *Scots* Money, that is 1250 *l.* Sterling; which was to be Levied by the ſame Proportion that all the Taxes were then Levied; of which there are ſeveral Inſtances in that Book: The One Half was Levied on the Spiritualty; and Two Thirds of the other Half was on Eſtates in Land, and the other Third was Levied on the Boroughs. This ſhews, that the Eſtates of the Spiritualty were then reckoned, by a ſettled Proportion, the full Half of the Kingdom. The Perſons deputed, were, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, (afterwards Earl of *Murray*) the Earls of *Caſſiles* and *Rothes*, and the Lord *Fleming*; with the Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and of *Montroſs*. When I wonder'd how ſo ſmall a Sum could anſwer the Expence of ſo great an Embaſſy, on ſuch an Occaſion; he ſhewed me, That either the Value of Money, or, which is the ſame Thing, the Value of Things to be purchaſed by Money, is almoſt incredibly changed now, in the Courſe of

of 160 Years; of which he gave me this Inſtance; the Tun of Wine was then by Act of Parliament to be Sold at 20 *Livres*; or in *Sterling* Money, at 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and in the retailing it, their Pint, which is 4 *Engliſh* Pints, was to be ſold at 4 Farthings, their Peny having 6 Farthings; ſo that reducing this to *Engliſh* Meaſures, 3 Quarts of Wine were to be ſold at a Peny. This I thought was a ſmall Digreſſion, which the Reader would not be ill pleaſed to find laid in his Way. To return to the *Scotch* Memorial. 1559.

" The Queen Dowager took Two Methods to gain her Point: " The one was, to ſhew Favour to all thoſe who had received no " Favour of the Duke during his Government, becauſe they were " in the Intereſt of *England*; whereas he was at that Time in the " Intereſt of *France*: The other was, ſhe offered them a Permiſſion " to live according to their Conſcience in Religion; in Concluſion, " the Queen Dowager brought the Parliament to give the *Matrimo-* " *nial Crown* to the *Dauphin*; but with this Condition, that the " Duke's Right ſhould not be impaired by it.

When all this was obtained, the Queen forgot all her Promiſes: " She began with the greateſt of the *Scottiſh* Lords then in Office; " the Earl of *Huntly*, who was then Lord Chancellor, and the Duke's " particular Friend: She took the Great Seal from him, and gave it " to one *Rubay*, a *French* Advocate: She alſo put the Earl of *Huntly* " in Priſon, and ſet a great Fine on him, and left him only the " Name of *Chancellor*. She made another *Frenchman* Comptroler, " who had the Charge of the Revenue of the Crown: And ſhe put " all *Scotchmen* out of the Secrets of the Council, committing theſe " only to *Frenchmen*. She kept in ſeveral Places Gariſons of *French-* " *men*, who lived on Diſcretion. She gave them no Pay. She ſent " the Revenue of the Crown to *France*; and brought over ſome baſe " Money that was decried in *France*, and made it current in *Scotland*. " She alſo ſet up a Mint for coyning baſe Money, with which ſhe " paid the Soldiers. She tried to get the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* " into her Hands, but that failed her. She gave ſuch Abbeys as fell " void, to *Frenchmen*, as to her Brother the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, and " others: And for the Space of Three Years, ſhe kept all that fell void " in her own Hands, except ſuch as were of any Value; and theſe " ſhe beſtowed on *Frenchmen*. Nor did ſhe ever follow the Advice " of thoſe Lords, who upon her firſt entring upon the Government, " were named to be of the Council. Many Interceſſions were made " to her upon theſe Proceedings, by the Nobility: Sometimes Com- " panies of them joined together; and ſometimes they applied to her " more privately, for they foreſaw that they could not be born " long.

" The Queen Dowager ſet herſelf next to a Practice, which of " all others was both the moſt Dangerous, and the moſt Diſhonour- " able, to ſet aſide the Duke and his Houſe: Pains was taken to en- " gage the Lord *James*, and other Lords in it, who had no Friend- " ſhip for the Duke; to whom the Queen Dowager promiſed that " ſhe would bear with their Devotion in Religion, if they would " join with her againſt the Duke, in Favour of the *French*. This " encouraged them to do thoſe Things, by which they incurred the

1559. " Cenſures of the Church; and were by Reaſon of a Law not much
" known, brought in Danger of the Guilt of Treaſon: So Proceſs
" was ordered againſt them: And upon that, the Queen Dowager
" tempted them to engage in the *French* Intereſt: But that not pre-
" vailing, they were declared Traytors. The reſt of the Nobility
" being allarmed at this, the Queen Dowager brought out her
" *French* Gariſons, and diſpoſed of their Eſtates, and entered into
" St. *John*'s Town, in a Warlike Manner: She changed the Magi-
" ſtrates, and left a Gariſon in the Town. The Whole Nation was
" allarmed at this, and were coming together in great Numbers. But
" ſhe not having Force enough to Conquer the Nation, ſent for the
" Duke, and the Earl of *Huntly*, and employed them to quiet the
" Country; promiſing that every Thing ſhould be redreſſed in a
" Parliament that ſhould be held next Spring, with many other more
" particular Promiſes: Upon this Aſſurance, theſe Lords quieted the
" Country: While this was a doing, the Duke's Eldeſt Son being
" then in *France*, was ſent for to Court, but he had ſecret Adver-
" tiſements ſent him, that it was reſolved to proceed againſt him to
" the utmoſt Extremity for Hereſy: Upon which he kept out of the
" Way, 'till an Order was ſent to bring him in Dead, or Alive:
" Upon that he made his Eſcape; but they ſeized on a Younger Bro-
" ther of his, of the Age of 15, and put him in Priſon.

" In *Scotland* the Nobility had ſeparated themſelves, truſting to
" the Faith that the Duke had given them, that all Things ſhould be
" kept quiet 'till the Parliament. But ſome Companies coming out
" of *France* to *Leith*, the Queen Dowager ordered that Town to be
" fortified, and put 22 Enſigns of Foot, with one Troop of Horſe
" in it. The Nobility upon that charged the Duke with Breach of
" Faith, who could do no more but preſs the Queen to forbear to
" give ſuch Cauſe of Jealouſy; but all was to no Purpoſe. The
" Town was fortified; all the Ammunition ſhe had, was carried into
" it, and the *French* continued ſtill to be ſending over more Forces.
" The Duke, with the Nobility, repreſented to the Queen Dowager,
" that it was now plain ſhe deſigned a Conqueſt: But ſhe deſpiſed
" all their Requeſts, for by this Time the *French* thought they were
" ſo ſtrong, that they reckoned it would be a ſhort Work to ſubdue
" *Scotland*. There were but Two or Three mean Lords, *Bothwell*
" and *Seaton*, that kept Company with the Queen Dowager, ; yet
" even theſe ſignified to their Friends, that their Hearts were with
" their Country-men: Upon all this, the Duke, with the reſt of
" the Nobility, and with the Barons, and Burgeſſes of the Realm,
" ſeeing an Imminent Danger to the Whole Nation, and no Hope
" of Remedy at her Hands, began deeply to conſider the State of
" the Kingdom: Their Sovereign Lady was married to a ſtrange
" Prince out of the Realm, and wholly in the Hands of *Frenchmen*;
" without any Council of her own Natural People; and they con-
" ſidered the Mortality of her Huſband, or of herſelf without Iſſue.
" The Queen Dowager, Siſter to the Houſe that rüled all in *France*,
" perſiſted in ruining the Liberties of her Daughter the Queen's
" Subjects, on Deſign to knit that Kingdom for ever to *France*;

and

" and ſo to execute the Old Malice of the *French* on the Crown of 1559.
" *England*, of which they had already aſſumed the Title.

" They upon all theſe Grounds, were conſtrained to conſtitute a " Council, for the Government of the Kingdom, and for the Uſe of " their Sovereign, to whom they had ſignified the Suſpenſion of the " Queen Dowager's Authority; maintaining, that being ſore op- " preſſed with *French* Power, they had, as natural Subjects, ſuffici- " ent Strength for that; tho' they are not able to ſtand againſt the " Power of *France*, but partly for the Right of their Sovereign; and " partly for the Antient Rights of the Crown, they have been forced " to ſpend their Whole Subſtance; yet they cannot longer preſerve " themſelves from being conquered by the Power ſent over from " *France*; a greater Force being promiſed to be ſent next Spring. " They therefore lay the Whole Matter before the Queen of *Eng-* " *land*'s Miniſters then upon their Borders; and commit their Cauſe " to her Protection; deſiring nothing but that their Country may " be preſerved from *France*, together with the Rights of their Sove- " reign, and of the Whole Nation.

To this they add a Petition, " That the Numbers of *French* Sol- " diers then within the Kingdom, might be removed ſpeedily; that " ſo they might Live quietly, and be ſuffered to offer to the King " and Queen, ſuch Articles as were neceſſary for the Peace and Good " Government of the Kingdom, without Alteration of their Antient " Liberties: This was ſigned by the Earl of *Aran*, as he was then " called, but that was his Father's Title; for he had no Higher Title in *Scotland*: The Son therefore ſigned *James Hamilton*. It was alſo ſigned by the Earls of *Argyle*, and *Glencairn*; by Lord *James*, afterwards created Earl of *Murray*; and by the Lords *Boyd*, *Uchiltry*, *Maxwell*, and *Ruthen*; and by a Son of the Earl of *Huntley*'s; and a Son of the Earl of *Athol*'s; both theſe Families being at that Time Papiſts. And thus by the Tenor of this Whole Paper, it appears that Religion was not pretended to be the Cauſe of the War.

Upon the ſuſpending the Authority of the Queen Regent, I will here add a particular Reflection, which will ſhew what Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*'s Senſe was, when he firſt wrote his Hiſtory of that Tranſaction. He gives an Account of the Opinion that *Willock* and *Knox* delivered, when they were called and required to give it, which they did in Favour of that Suſpenſion: For which he Cenſures the Opinion it ſelf, in theſe Words. *Howbeit the Power of the Magiſtrate be limited, and their Office preſcribed by God, and that they may likewiſe fall into great Offences; yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in Queſtion; or to make Inſurrection againſt them. God having reſerved the Puniſhment of Princes to himſelf.* Yet in a fair Manuſcript of that Hiſtory, written with great Care, as for the Preſs, this Whole Period was firſt penned quite in another Strain; *Allowing the States of the Kingdom a Right to reſtrain their Prince, when he breaks through Rules; only cenſuring Clergymens medling in thoſe Matters*: This is ſcored thro', but ſo that it is ſtill legible, and *Spotſwood* interlined with his own Hand the Alteration; according to which, his Book was printed. This Manuſcript belonged to me,

and

1559. and 42 Years ago, I preſented it to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and ſhewed him that Paſſage, on which he made great Reflection. I cannot find out in whoſe Hands that Manuſcript is fallen; but whoſoever has it, will, I hope, juſtify me in this Particular; for tho' I am not ſure, as to the Words, yet I am very ſure they are to this Purpoſe.

When this Repreſentation and Petition was brought to the Queen, *Cecil* drew up a State of the Matter, which will be found in the Collection; putting this as the Queſtion, *Whether it was meet that* England *ſhould help* Scotland *to expel the* French, *or not?*, For the Negative he

Coll. Numb. 54. " ſays, it was againſt God's Law, to Aid any Subjects againſt their Na-
" tural Prince, or their Miniſters: It was alſo Dangerous to do it:
" For an Aid ſecretly given, would be to no Purpoſe: And
" an Aid publickly given, would draw on a War: And in that
" Caſe, the *French* would come to any Compoſition with the *Scots*,
" to join with them againſt *England*: Since they will conſent to
" any Thing, rather than ſuffer *Scotland* to be united to the Crown
" of *England*: He adds, It may alſo be apprehended that the Empe-
" ror, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Savoy*, with
" the Potentates of *Italy*, will join with the *French* King, rather
" than ſuffer theſe Two Kingdoms to be joined in one Manner of
" Religion; and many within both Kingdoms will not approve of
" this. But in Oppoſition to all this, he concludes for aſſiſting the
" *Scots*.

" He lays it down for a Principle, that it is agreeable to the Laws
" of God, and of Nature, that every Prince and State ſhould defend
" it ſelf; not only from Perils that are ſeen, but from thoſe that
" may probably come after: To which he adds, that Nature and
" Reaſon teach every Perſon Politick, or other, to uſe the ſame Man-
" ner of Defence, that the Adverſary uſeth of Offence. Upon theſe
" Grounds, he concludes that *England* might, and ought to aſſiſt
" the *Scots* to keep out the *French*: And ſo earneſt was that great
" Stateſman in this Matter, that he proſecutes it very copiouſly.

" His firſt Reaſon is that which the *Scots* would never admit, but
" he might think it proper to offer it to an *Engliſh* Council; " that
" the Crown of *England* had a Superiority over *Scotland*, ſuch as
" the Emperor had over *Bohemia*, or *Milan*. He next ſhews that
" *England* muſt be in great Danger from the *French*, if they became
" the abſolute Maſters of *Scotland*. Upon this he runs out to ſhew
" that the *French* had been long Enemies to *England*; that they had
" been falſe, and double in all their Treaties with them theſe 700
" Years: And that the laſt Peace was forced from them by their
" Poverty. That *France* could not be Poor above Two Years; nor
" could it be long without War; beſide the Hatred that the Houſe
" of *Guiſe*, who then governed the *French* Councils, bore to *Eng-*
" *land*. They call in Queſtion the Queen's Title, and ſet up their
" own againſt it; and at the Treaty of *Cambray*, they ſet that Pre-
" tenſion on Foot; but it was then ſtopt by the Wiſdom of the Con-
" ſtable; yet they uſed means at *Rome*, to get the Queen to be de-
" clared Illegitimate: Upon which the Bull was brought into *France*:
" And at the Solemnities, in which the King was killed, the Arms

" of *England* and *Ireland* were joined with the Queen of *Scots* 1559.
" Arms. The preſent Embroilment in *Scotland*, is the Stop that
" now reſtrains them from carrying theſe Pretenſions further: But as
" ſoon as they can, they will certainly ſet them on foot: And the
" Aſſaulting *England* by the way of *Scotland* is ſo eaſy, that it is
" not poſſible to avoid it, but by Stopping the Progreſs of that Con-
" queſt. A War by the way of *Scotland*, puts *France* in no Dan-
" ger, tho' it ſhould miſcarry; but *England* is in the utmoſt Dan-
" ger, if it ſhould ſucceed. He concludes, That as the Matter was
" of the laſt Importance, ſo no Time was to be loſt; ſince the Pre-
" judice, if too long delay'd, would be irrecoverable.

What further Steps were made in the ſecret Debating of this Point, does not appear to me, but by the Concluſion of the Matter. For the Queen ſent Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, to the Borders of *Scotland*: What followed upon that, is ſet out fully in the Common Hiſtorians, and from them in my former Work.

But a Copy of the Bond of Aſſociation, into which the Lords and others in *Scotland* enter'd, (the Original of which remains ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*) will ſet out more particularly the Grounds that they went on. It is in the Collection: *Coll. Numb.* 55.
And it ſets forth, " That they promiſed faithfully, and in the Pre-
" ſence of God, that they would, to the utmoſt of their Power, ſet
" forward the Reformation of Religion, according to God's Word;
" that the true Preaching of it, might have a free Paſſage thro' the
" whole Kingdom; together with the Adminiſtration of the Sacra-
" ments. And that they, conſidering the Miſbehaviour of the *French*
" among them, and the intolerable Oppreſſion of the Poor by their
" Soldiers, maintained by the Queen Dowager, under Colour of Au-
" thority, together with the Tyranny of their Captains, and the ma-
" nifeſt Danger of becoming their Conqueſt, to which they were
" then reduced, by Fortifications on the Sea-Coaſt, and other At-
" tempts; do promiſe to join with the Queen of *England*'s Army,
" then come in to their Aſſiſtance, for driving out thoſe their Op-
" preſſors, and for Recovering their Ancient Liberty; that ſo they
" may be ruled by the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Country, and
" by the Natives of the Kingdom, under the Obedience of the
" King and Queen their Sovereign. And they promiſe, that they
" ſhall hold no private Intelligence with their Enemies, but by the
" Advice of the reſt, or at the leaſt of Five of their Number. And
" that they ſhall proſecute this Cauſe, as if it were the Cauſe of
" every one of them in particular; and hold all who with-
" ſtand it, as their Enemies; and that they will proſecute them as
" ſuch, according to the Orders of the Council; to whom they re-
" fer the Direction of the whole Matter, promiſing in all Things to
" ſubmit to their Arbitration.

This was firſt Subſcribed at *Edinburgh* on the 27th of *April*, in the Year 1560; and is Signed by the Duke of *Chatelherault*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Mortoune*, and ſome others, whoſe Hands are not legible; and by the Lords *Salton*, *Ruthen*, *Boyd*, *Ogilby*, *Uchiltre*, the Abbot of *Kinloſs*, and the Commendator of *Kilwin-*

1559. *Kilwinning*: About 140 more Subſcribed it. This was the Bond that was Signed by thoſe, who were at that Time at *Edinburgh*: And it is probable, that many other Bonds of the ſame Nature were Signed about the ſame Time, in other Parts of the Kingdom; but they have not been ſo carefully preſerved, as this has been. The Earl of *Huntley*, tho' he continued ſtill a Papiſt, ſigning it, ſhews, that either the ill Uſage he had met with from the Queen Dowager, had ſhaken him in his Religion, or that Provocation and Intereſts were then ſtronger in him than his Principles. But I leave my Conjectures, to go on with the Hiſtory.

The great Progreſs of Superſtition in Q. *Mary*'s Reign.

Coll. Numb. 56.

On the 2d of *November*, *Jewel* being returned from the Circuit, which he was ordered to make, wrote, (in a Letter to *Peter Martyr*, to be found in the Collection) "That the People were much "better diſpoſed to the Goſpel, than it was apprehended they could "be: But he adds, that Superſtition had made a moſt extraordina- "ry Progreſs in Queen *Mary*'s ſhort Reign. The People were made "believe, they had in many Places Pieces of the true Croſs, and of "the Nails, with which Chriſt was crucified: So that the Cathe- "dral-Churches were Dens of Robbers; and none were more vio- "lent and obſtinate, than thoſe who had been before of their Body; "as if, by that, they would juſtify their Falling off from them. "They had turned them all out. *Harding* went away, and would "not change again. *Smith*, who had been a violent Oppoſer of *Pe- "ter Martyr* in *Oxford*, fled towards *Scotland*; But was taken on "the Borders, and brought back; and had abjured a Fifth Time, "and was then become a violent Enemy to the Papiſts. In another Letter he tells him, "*Smith* was married; and that being hated and "deſpiſed by all Sides, he was forced to keep a Publick Houſe. *Jewel* wrote, "That if they had more Hands, Matters would go "well: But it was hard, to make a Cart go without Horſes. He "was glad to hear *Peter Martyr* was ſent for. But he owns he had "his Fears ſtill, that tho' Things were begun well, they would not "end ſo well. He adds, *We are Iſlanders in all Reſpects. Oxford* "wanted him extremely. The Queen was then Courted, both by "the King of *Sweden*, and by *Charles* of *Auſtria*. It was then given out, that *Sweden* was full of Mines of Gold, and only wanted Skill and Induſtry to work them: But he writes, "Perhaps the "Queen meant to marry one nearer at Hand: (He gives no other Hint in that Letter, to let it be underſtood of whom he meant: probably it was *Pickering*; as appears in another Letter.) He concludes, "That tho' Religion did make a quick Progreſs in *Scotland*, "yet that the *French* did not deſpair of bringing that Kingdom "back to their Obedience, and of Reſtoring their Religion in "it.

The Revenues of Biſhops leſſen'd, that they may be more diligent in their Duty.

On the ſame Day he wrote to *Simler*, who had congratulated him upon the News they had of his being to be promoted to a Biſhoprick. He wrote, "That there was yet nothing but a Nomination "of him. He adds, We hope our Biſhops ſhall be Paſtors, Labour- "ers, and Watchmen. And that they may be better fitted for this, "the Great Riches of Biſhopricks are to be diminiſhed, and to be

"redu-

" reduced to a certain Mediocrity : That ſo being delivered from 1559.
" that King-like Pomp, and the Noiſineſs of a Courtly Family,
" they may live in greater Tranquillity, and may have more Lei-
" ſure to take care of Chriſt's Flock with due Attention.

On the 5th of *November*, he wrote, " That he found Debates *Coll. Numb.* 57.
" raiſed concerning the Veſtments, which he calls the Habit of the *Jewell's* Opi-
" Stage, and wiſhes they could be freed from it. He ſays, they nion of the
" were not wanting to ſo good a Cauſe : But others ſeemed to love Diſputes con-
" thoſe Things, and to follow the Ignorance of ſome Prieſts, who cerning the
" were ſtupid as Logs of Wood, having neither Spirit, Learning, Veſtments.
" nor Good Life to commend them ; but ſtudied to recommend
" themſelves by that Comical Habit ; while no Care was taken of
" Learning, or of Breeding up of Youth. They hoped to ſtrike the
" Eyes of the People with thoſe ridiculous Trifles. Theſe are the
" Relicks of the *Amorites* : That cannot be denied. He wiſhes, that
" at ſome Time or other, all theſe may be taken away and extirpa-
" ted, to the very deepeſt Roots. He complains of a Feebleneſs in
" the Councils : They ſtill talked of bringing *Martyr* over ; but he
" feared, that we looked too much toward *Saxony*, to expect that.
" Some among them, he ſays, were ſo much ſet on the Matter of
" the Habits, as if the Chriſtian Religion conſiſted in Garments :
" But we (ſays he) are not called to the Conſultations concerning
" that Scenical Apparel : He could ſet no Value on thoſe Fopperies.
" Some were crying up a Golden Mediocrity ; he was afraid it would
" prove a Leaden one.

On the 16th of *November* he wrote, in a Letter to be found in *Coll. Numb.* 58.
the Collection, " That the Doctrine was every where purely preach- The Queen
" ed. There was in many Places too much Folly, concerning Cere- kept a Cruci-
" monies and Maſks. The Crucifix continued ſtill in the Queen's fix in her
" Chapel. They all ſpake freely againſt it, but till then without Chapel.
" effect. There was a ſecret Piece of worldly Policy in this, which
" he did not like. He complains of the uncertain, and Iſland-like
" State of their Affairs : All was looſe at preſent. He did not ſee
" in what they would ſettle ; and did not know, but he ſhould be
" obliged to return back to *Zurick* again.

In *December* and *January*, the Conſecration of the Biſhops came Biſhops con-
on. But here a Stop lies in my way. For ſome Months, the Thread ſecrated.
of the Letters to *Zurick*, by which I have been hitherto guided, is
diſcontinued. At this Time, an Ambaſſador came over from *Ferdi-* The Emperor
nand the Emperor, with Letters dated the 11th of *February* 1560, propoſes to
propoſing a Match between his Son, Arch-Duke *Charles*, and the the Queen a
Queen. He had writ of it to her before, but thought fit to follow Match with
theſe Letters with a formal Embaſſy. The Originals are yet extant. his Son *Charles*.
The Queen wrote an Anſwer in Form, and ſigned it : But, it ſeems, *Cotton* Libr.
that was, on ſome Conſiderations, not thought fit to be ſent : For the *Galba*, 11.
Original is in the Paper-Office. It will be found in the Colle- *Coll. Numb.* 59.
ction.

" The Queen wrote, That examining her own Sentiments in that She excuſes
" Matter very carefully, She did not perceive any Inclination to change her ſelf.
" her Solitary Life ; but found her ſelf more fixed to continue ſtill
" in it. She hoped the Emperor would favourably receive, and

1560. " rightly underſtand what She wrote to him. It might indeed ſeem " ſtrange, conſidering her Age and her Circumſtances : But this was " no new Reſolution, nor taken up on the ſudden, but was the ad- " hering to an old ſettled Purpoſe. There had been a Time, in " which her accepting ſome Honourable Propoſitions, might have de- " livered her out of very great Dangers and Troubles : On which " She would make no other Reflections, but that neither the Fear of " Danger, nor the Deſire of Liberty, could then move her, to bring " her Mind to hearken to them. She will not, by a plain Refuſal, " ſeem to offend him ; yet She cannot give Occaſion, by any of " her Words, to make him think, that She accepts of that, to which " She cannot bring her Mind and Will. Dated the 5th of *January* 1559. Signed, Your Majeſties Good Siſter and Couſin, *Elizabeth* :, Counterſigned, *Rog. Aſcham.*

A Conference concerning the Queen's Crucifix. *Coll. Numb.* 60.

The Firſt Letter of *Jewel*'s, after his Conſecration, is on the 4th of *February* 1560. It is in the Collection. He tells *Peter Martyr* " they were then engaged in the Queſtion about the Lawfulneſs of " having Images in Churches, (which he calls *Lis Crucularia.*) It " could ſcarce be believed to what a Degree of Folly ſome Men, who " were thought to have a right Judgment of Things, were carried in " that Matter. There was not one of all thoſe whom he knew, that " was drawn to be of that Mind, beſides *Cox.* There was to be a " Conference concerning it the Day following. *Parker* and *Cox* on " the one hand, and *Grindal* and he on the other hand, were to de- " bate it in the Hearing of ſome of the Council : He could not but " laugh within himſelf, when he thought what grave and ſolid Rea- " ſonings would be brought out on this Occaſion. He was told, " that it was reſolved on to have Crucifixes, of Silver or Tin, ſet up " in all Churches ; and that ſuch as would not obey this, would be " turned out of their Biſhopricks : If that was true, he would be " no longer a Biſhop. *White*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Oglethorp* of " *Carliſle*, *Bain* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Tonſtal* of *Dureſme*, " were lately dead. In another he writes, That *Boner* was ſent to " the *Tower*, and that he went to ſee ſome Criminals that were kept " there, and called them his *Friends* and *Neighbours* : But one of " them anſwered, Go, you Beaſt, into Hell, and find your *Friends* " there ; for we are none of them. I killed but one Man upon a " Provocation, and do truly repent of it ; but you have killed many " Holy Perſons, of all ſorts, without any Provocation from them, " and are hardned in your Impenitence.

The Zeal in ſinging Pſalms.

On the 5th of *March* he writes, " That a Change appeared now " more viſibly among the People. Nothing promoted it, more than " the Inviting the People to Sing Pſalms. That was begun in one " Church in *London*, and did quickly ſpread it ſelf not only thro' " the City, but in the Neighbouring Places : Sometimes at *Paul's* " Croſs, there will be 6000 People Singing together. This was ve- " ry grievous to the Papiſts : The Children began to laugh at the " Prieſts, as they paſſed in the Streets ; and the Biſhops were called " Hangmen to their Faces. It was ſaid, *White* died of Rage. He " commends *Cecyl* much.

Sands,

1560.

Sands, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, wrote in a Letter on the 1ſt of *April*, 1560, which will be found in the Collection, " That after he returned " from executing the Injunctions and Preaching in the *North*, he " was preſſed to accept of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*: He ſaw if he " abſolutely refuſed it, the Queen would have been highly offended. " He found it more truly a Burden, than an Honour. The Doctrine " of the Sacrament was pure, to which he and his Brethren were re- " ſolved to adhere firmly, as long as they lived. There was yet a " Queſtion concerning Images: The Queen thought that was not " contrary to the Word of God, and it ſeemed convenient to have a " Crucifix, with the Bleſſed Virgin, and Saint *John*, ſtill in her " Chapel. Some of them could not bear this: We had, ſays he, " according to our Injunctions taken away all the Images that we " found in Churches, and burned them. We ſee Superſtitious Peo- " ple plainly Worſhip this Idol: Upon this, he had ſpoken freely to " the Queen; with that ſhe was ſo diſpleaſed as to threaten to de- " prive him: She was ſince that Time more ſoftned, and the Images " were removed: But the Popiſh Veſtments were ſtill uſed; yet he " hoped that ſhould not laſt long. He laments much that *Peter* " *Martyr* was not ſent for. It was eaſy to gueſs what it was that " hindred it; it was the Pretence of Unity, that gave Occaſion to " the greateſt Diviſions.

Sands, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, much offended at the Image in the Queen's Chapel. *Coll. Numb.* 61.

Parkhurſt came into *England* in the End of the Year 1559. He went to his Church of *Cleve* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and kept out of the Way of the Court. He writes, that many Biſhops would be glad to change Conditions with him. He heard he had been named to a Biſhoprick, but he had dealt earneſtly with ſome Great Men to ſpare him in that: When he came through *London*, both *Parker*, and a Privy Councellor, had preſſed him to accept of one, but he could not reſolve on being Miſerable.

Sampſon had been with the other Divines at *Zurich*, and was reckoned by them both a Learned, and a Pious Man: While he was coming to *England* with the reſt, he was informed that a Biſhoprick was deſigned for him; ſo he wrote while he was on his Journey to *Peter Martyr* for his Advice, as will be found in the Collection, " in this, whether it was lawfull to ſwear to the Queen, as Supreme " Head of the Church under Chriſt. He thought Chriſt was the " Sole Head of the Church, and no ſuch Expreſſion of any Inferior " Head was found in the Scripture. He thought likewiſe, that the " want of Diſcipline made that a Biſhop could not do his Duty. " Many Temporal Preſſures lay upon Biſhops, ſuch as Firſt Fruits " and Tenths, beſide the Expence of their Equipage and Attendance " at Court: So that little was left for the Breeding up of Youth, for " the Relief of the Poor, and other more neceſſary Occaſions, to " make their Miniſtry acceptable. The whole Method of electing " Biſhops was totally different from the Primitive Inſtitution. The " Conſent either of the Clergy, or People, was not ſo much as aſked. " Their Superſtitious Dreſs ſeemed likewiſe unbecoming: He wrote " all this only to him, not that he expected that a Biſhoprick ſhould " be offered him, he prayed God that it might never happen. He " was reſolved to apply himſelf to preach, but to avoid having any

Sampſon's Exceptions at his being made a Biſhop. *Coll. Numb.* 62.

1560. " ſhare in the Government, 'till he ſaw a full Reformation made in " all Eccleſiaſtical Functions, both as to Doctrine and Diſcipline, " and with Relation to the Goods of the Church. He deſires his " Anſwer as ſoon as was poſſible.

Peter Martyr anſwered his Letter on the 1ſt of *November*; but what it was, can only be gathered from *Sampſon*'s Reply to it: He received it on the 3d of *January*, and anſwered it on the 6th, 1560. It is in the Collection. " They were then under ſad Apprehenſions, " for which he deſires their Prayers in a very ſolemn Manner. They " were afraid leaſt the Truth of Religion ſhould either be overturned, " or very much darkned in *England*. The Biſhops of *Canterbury*, " *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, were conſecrated: *Pilkinton* was de- " ſigned for *Wincheſter*; *Bentham* for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and " *Peter Martyrs Jewel*, for *Saliſbury*.

Coll. Numb. 63.

" Things ſtill ſtuck with him, he could neither have ingreſs, nor " egreſs: God knew how glad he would be to find an egreſs; let " others be Biſhops, he deſired only to be a Preacher, but no Biſhop. " There was yet a General Prohibition of all Preaching: And there " was a Crucifix on the Altar ſtill at Court, with Lights burning be- " fore it: And though by the Queen's Order, Images were removed " out of Churches all the Kingdom over, yet the People rejoyced to " ſee this was ſtill kept in the Queen's Chapel. Three Biſhops officiated " at this Altar; One as Prieſt, another as Deacon, and a Third as " Sub-Deacon, all before this Idol, in rich Copes: And there was " a Sacrament without any Sermon. He adds, that Injunctions " were ſent to Preachers not to uſe Freedom in the reproving of Vice; " ſo he aſks what both *Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Bernardin* thought of " this: Whether they looked on it as a Thing indifferent, and " what they would adviſe him to do, if Injunctions ſhould be ſent " out, requiring the like to be done in all Churches; whether they " ought to be obeyed, or if the Clergy ought not to ſuffer Depriva- " tion, rather than obey? Some among themſelves thought that all " this was indifferent, and ſo might be obeyed: He underſtood that " the Queen had a great regard to *Bernardin Ochino*, ſo he deſires " that he would write to her, to carry on the Work of God dili- " gently. He ſolemnly aſſures them, that ſhe was truly a Child of " God. But Princes had not ſo many Friends to their Souls, as they " had to their other Concerns. He wiſhes they would all write to " her; for ſhe underſtood both *Italian*, *Latin*, and *Greek* well. So " they might write in any Language to her: But if they wrote, " they muſt write as of their own Motion, and not as if any Com- " plaints had been writ over to them.

He refuſed a Biſhoprick.

" On the 13th of *May*, he wrote again that a Biſhoprick had been " offered to him, but that he had refuſed it: And he deſires *Peter* " *Martyr*, to whom he wrote, not to Cenſure this 'till he knew the " whole State of the Matter: But he rejoyces that *Parkhurſt* was made Biſhop of *Norwich*: And by his Letter, it ſeems *Norwich* was the Biſhoprick that was offered to him. *Parkhurſt* wrote ſoon after his Promotion to *Martyr*, and aſſured him there was no Danger of ſetting up *Lutheraniſm* in *England*; only he writes, " We are " fighting about Ceremonies, Veſtments, and Matters of no Moment.

Jewel

Jewel wrote to *Peter Martyr* on the 22d of *May*, " That the " Church of *Saliſbury* was ſo ſtruck with Thunder, that there was " a Clift all down for 60 Foot: He was not got thither; ſo he " could not tell whether Fooliſh People made Judgments upon this, " with relation to him, or not. He writes that *Boner*, *Feckham*, " *Pole*, *Scory*, and *Watſon*, were all put in Priſon for railing at the " Changes that were made. The Queen expreſſed great Firmneſs " and Courage in maintaining the Eſtabliſhment ſhe had made in " Matters of Religion. He tells him that not only *Cecil* and *Knolls*, " deſired to be kindly remembred to him, but *Petre* likewiſe, which " perhaps he did not look for. 1560.

On the 17th of *July* he writes to him, " That there was a Peace " made in *Scotland*, and that the *French* were ſent away. *Scotland* " was to be governed by a Council of 12 Perſons; only all greater " Matters were to be referred to a Parliament. He writes, that the " Duke of *Holſtein* was come over to ſee the Queeen, and was " nobly treated by her, and made a Knight of the Garter: The " King of *Sweden*'s coming over was ſtill talked of. After *Jewel* had been ſome Time in his Dioceſe, he wrote to *Gualter* on the 2d of *November*, 1560, " That he now felt what a Load Government " was to him, who had led his Life in the Shade, and at Study: " And had never turned his Thoughts to Government; but he would " make up in his Diligence what might be otherwiſe wanting: The " Oppoſition he met with from the Rage of the Papiſts was in- " credible. A Peace made in *Scotland*.

On the 6th of *November*, he wrote that *May*, Dean of Saint *Paul*'s, who was deſigned to be Archbiſhop of *York*, was Dead: It does not appear on what Views that See was ſo long kept void, after the reſt were filled. *Parker* was much troubled at this, and wrote very earneſtly about it to *Cecil*. The Letter will be found in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 64. " There were great Complaints in the *North*: The People there " were offended to ſee no more Care had of them; and for want of " Inſtruction they were become rude: This was like to have " an ill Influence on the Quiet and Order of the Country. It was " perhaps ſo long delayed for the Advantage the Queen's Exchequer " made by the Vacancy: but if, for want of good Inſtruction, the " People ſhould grow Savage, like the *Iriſh*, it might run to a far " greater Charge to reduce them. Why ſhould any Perſon hinder " the Queen's Zeal to have her People taught to know, and to fear " God. If thoſe hitherto named for the *North*, were not liked, or not " willing to go thither, he propoſed that ſome of thoſe already placed " migh be removed thither. And he named *Young*, Biſhop of Saint " *David*'s, for *York*; and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Gueſt*, for *Dureſme*: " And if any Suſpicions were had of any of their Practiſing to the " Prejudice of their Succeſſors, there were Precedents uſed in for- " mer Times to take Biſhops bound to leave their Churches in no " worſe Caſe then they found them: He had preſſed them formerly " with relation to thoſe vacant Sees: He ſaw the Matter was ſtill " delayed: He would never give over his Importunity 'till the Thing " was done; which he hoped he would inſtantly promote, out of " the Zeal he bore to Souls ſo dear to Chriſt. *Parker's* Care in the *Northern* Sees.

1560.

The Popiſh Biſhops made great Alienations.

This he wrote on the 16th of *October*; ſo it does not appear if the Deſign for *May* was then ſo well fixed as *Jewel* apprehended. The Hint in this Letter of the Practices of Biſhops, was occaſioned by the ruinous Leaſes that the Popiſh Biſhops had made; for ſeeing the Change that was deſigned, they had by the Law at that Time ſo Abſolute a Power over their Eſtates, having no Reſtraints laid on them, but thoſe of their own Canons, that their Leaſes how Miſchievous ſoever to their Succeſſors, were good in Law. The New Biſhops in many Places had ſcarce neceſſary Subſiſtence, or Houſes left them, and were to be ſupported by Dignities given them in *Commendam*: And it was perhaps ſuggeſted, that they to procure a little better Subſiſtence to themſelves, might be prevailed on to prolong, or confirm ſuch Leaſes.

See more of this in the Annals of the Refor. Chap. 12. *Coll. Numb.* 65.

The Archbiſhop's Importunity had its Effect: For in *February* thereafter, *Young* was removed to *York*; and *Pilkinton*, a Learned and Zealous Man, was made Biſhop of *Dureſme*. And thus the Sees of *England* were filled. *Jewel* in a Letter ſoon after to *Peter Martyr*, in *February* 1560, which will be found in the Collection: "Wiſhes "that all the Remnants of former Errors, with all the Rubbiſh, and "even the Duſt that might yet remain, might be taken away: He "wiſhes they could have obtained it. It ſeems by this, that their "Wiſhes had not prevailed. The Council of *Trent* was then to be "opened again, but the Queen was reſolved to take no notice of it. "He gives an Account of his Apology that was then ſet out. This has been ſo often printed, and is ſo well known, that it is not neceſſary to enlarge more upon it: As it was one of the Firſt Books publiſhed in this Reign, ſo it was written with that Strength and Clearneſs, that it together with the Defence of it, is ſtill to this Day reckoned one of our beſt Books. In that Letter he writes of the Counteſs of *Lenox*, the Mother to the Lord *Darnly*, "That ſhe was "a more violent Papiſt than even Queen *Mary* her ſelf. Her Son was "gone to *Scotland*, and it was believed he might marry the Queen "of *Scotland*: The Earl of *Hartford* had a Son by the Lady *Catha-*"*rine Gray*; ſome called him a Baſtard, but others affirmed that "they were married. If that was true, then according to King *Hen-*"*ry*'s Will, he muſt be the Heir of the Crown. But he adds, *Ah!* "*Unhappy we, that cannot know under what Prince we are to live.* "He complains that Schools are forſaken, and that they were under "a great want of Preachers. The few they had were every where "well received: He writes in another Letter, that in Queen *Mary*'s "Time, for want of good Inſtruction, the *Anabaptiſts* and *Arians* "did much increaſe; but now they diſappeared every where.

Jewel's Apology publiſhed.

The Popiſh Clergy, when they ſaw no appearance of any new Change, did generally comply with the Laws then made; but in ſo untoward a Manner, that they made it very viſible that what they did was againſt both their Heart and their Conſcience. This put the Biſhops on receiving many into Orders, that were not thoroughly well qualified; which expoſed them to much Cenſure. They thought that in that Neceſſity, Men of good Hearts, that loved the Goſpel, tho' not ſo Learned as might be wiſhed for, were to be brought into the Service of the Church: But Pains was taken, and Methods were laid down,

down, to breed up a more knowing Race of Men, as ſoon as was poſſible. 1560.

I turn now, to ſhew how the Affairs of Religion went on, particularly with Relation to *Scotland*, of which mention was made in ſome of *Jewell*'s Letters.

But before I open this, I will give an Account of Two Inſtruments ſent me from *Scotland*, that came not to my Hands, but ſince the Pages 280 and 281 were printed off; yet they are ſo important, that as I have put them in the Collection, ſo I will give a ſhort Account of them here. On the 19th of *April*, Fifteen Days after the Queen of *Scotland* had paſſed that ſecret fraudulent Proteſtation, formerly mentioned, when the Articles of the Marriage were mutually ſigned, it was not only provided, that the Crown of *Scotland*, in caſe She ſhould die without Children, ſhould deſcend to the Duke of *Chatelherault* and his Heirs; the Inſtrument it ſelf being publiſhed in the *French* Collection: But the Dauphin did, on the ſame Day, ſet his Seal to a Charter ſtill preſerved at *Hamilton*, ſetting forth the Faith and Engagements that the King his Father had formerly made, to Secure to the Earl of *Aran* the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Children; to which he promiſes he will pay all Obedience. He confirms and ratifies that Promiſe, for himſelf, and his Succeſſors; Promiſing in Good Faith, (*Bona Fide*), that in that Caſe, he will not only ſuffer that Lord to Enjoy that Crown, but that he will Aſſiſt and Maintain him in it. *Coll. Numb.* 66.

The Promiſe made by his Father, King *Henry*, to which this refers, bears Date the 17th Day of *June*, *Anno* 1549; and was ſent over to *Scotland*, in order to the getting of Queen *Mary* to be ſent to *France*. By it the King promiſed, in the Word of a King, That in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Children, he would aſſiſt the Earl of *Aran*, in the Succeſſion to the Crown, againſt all that ſhould oppoſe him. Theſe Inſtruments I have put in the Collection, as laſting Memorials of the Fidelity and Sincerity of that Court; to give a juſt Precaution to Poſterity in future Ages: By which it will appear, how little Contracts, Promiſes, and Publick Stipulations are to be depended on: Where a Secret Proteſtation, lodged in a Clandeſtine manner, is ſet up to make all this void; which, I hope, will not be ſoon forgotten, or neglected.

But to return from this Digreſſion, which, tho' a little out of its Place, ſeemed too Important to be omitted.

The Diſtraction that *France* was in, made it not eaſy to them to carry on the War of *Scotland*, by reaſon of the Charge, that the Sending Forces to ſo great a Diſtance put them to: Whereas it was but a ſhort March to the *Engliſh*, to go to the Aſſiſtance of the Lords of *Scotland*; ſo they were willing to make up Matters the beſt they could by a Treaty. Commiſſioners were appointed to Treat on both Sides. In the mean while, the Queen Regent of *Scotland* died: So *Cecyl* and *Wotton*, who were employed by the Queen in that Treaty, apprehending the *French* might, upon this Emergent, ſtudy to gain more Time, wrote to the Queen for poſitive Orders.

The *French* grew weary of carrying on the War in *Scotland*.

A Let-

1560. A Letter was written to them on the 15th of *June*, Signed by Five Privy-Counſellors; which is in the Collection, taken from the Original. By it it appears, that this Treaty was then a Secret, which they ſaw muſt ſoon break out; ſo the Perſons employed in *Scotland*, adviſed the Acquainting King *Philip* with it, becauſe they looked on it as brought very near a total Agreement. To this the Queen's Council agreed. Thoſe in *Scotland* apprehended, that perhaps the *French* would, upon the Regent's Death, go away, and leave the Kingdom, without coming to any Agreement. If they ſhould do ſo, they did order them to adviſe with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lords of *Scotland* in League with them, how the *French* may be forthwith expelled the Kingdom, without any Loſs of Time. For by all the Advertiſements they had, they underſtood that the *French* intended to gain Time, as much as was poſſible. If the *French* deſired to have ſome of their Collegues in the Town, to aſſiſt them in Managing the Treaty, that was by no means to be granted: But if they deſired the Aſſiſtance of ſuch *Scottiſh* Men, as were of their Faction; and if their Friends in *Scotland* conſented to it, that ſeemed reaſonable. The reſt of the Letter relates to one *Parrys*, an *Iriſhman*.

Coll. Numb. 67.

It was brought to a good end.

The Treaty, by Reaſon of the Weakneſs of the *French* Force, was ſoon brought to a Concluſion. The *French* were to be ſent away in Three Weeks. An Aſſembly of the States was to meet, and to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom: It was to be governed by a Council of Twelve Perſons; of whom the King and Queen were to name Seven, and the States to chuſe Five: And by theſe, all Affairs were to be governed, they being made accountable to the Parliament. The laſt Article was, "That the King and Queen ſhould not uſe the Title, "or Arms of *England* and *Ireland* any more.

When Matters were brought to a Settlement in *Scotland*, the *Scots* ſent up the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn* to the Queen. Their Meſſage will beſt appear, from the Inſtructions which will be found in the Collection, Copied from the Original, that is ſtill preſerved, and in the Poſſeſſion of the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*: By which, "the "Eſtates of Parliament, conſidering how the Two Kingdoms lay "joined together; and reflecting on the Inconveniences that they "and their Anceſtors had ſuffer'd by continual Wars, and on the "Advantages of a perpetual Friendſhip between them; therefore "they did order a Propoſition of Marriage, to be made to the "Queen of *England*, with the Earl of *Aran*; who, after his Fa"ther, in Default of Succeſſion of the Queen's Body, was the "next Heir of the Crown of *Scotland*. And they reſolved, that "an Embaſſy ſhould be appointed, to make the Propoſition in the "Honourableſt Manner that could be deviſed. They alſo order "Thanks to be given to the Queen, for the Good Will She has on "all Occaſions expreſſed for their Kingdom; which She had parti"cularly declared of late, by the Support She had given them for "their Relief; by the Means of which, they enjoyed their pre"ſent Quiet. And they were alſo ordered to move the Queen, to "ſend ſtrict Commands to her Wardens, and other Officers on the "Borders, to ſuppreſs all broken Men, and to reſtrain all Thefts.

Coll. Numb. 68.

Theſe Inſtructions were appointed to be Sealed, and Subſcribed by Six of every Eſtate; and that was to be held as Valid, as if all the Eſtates had Sealed and Subſcribed them. 1560.

This Order of Parliament is Signed by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Galloway*, *Dumblane*, *Argyle*, and the Elect Biſhop of the *Iſles*: And by as many Abbots and Priors; the Prior of St. *Andrews*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*; the Abbot of *Arbroth*, afterwards Marquis of *Hamilton*; the Abbots of *Newbotle*, and *Culros*; the Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and the Prior of *Lochlevin*. So many of the Eccleſiaſtical State of both Ranks concurring, ſhews, that they rejoiced in the Deliverance that they had from the Servitude, under which the *French* had almoſt brought them. Signed by the Three Eſtates.

Theſe Inſtructions are alſo Signed by the Duke of *Chatelherault*, who ſubſcribed only *James*; and by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Crawford*, and *Sutherland*; and by the Lords, *Erſkine*, *Gordon*, *Salton*, *Hay*, *Uchiltry*, *Innermeth*, *Boyd*, *Lindſay*, *Gray*, and ſome others, whoſe Names cannot be read. And by Eight Provoſts of Boroughs. But no Seals are in this Noble Inſtrument; ſo probably it was an Authentick Duplicate, that was depoſited in that Family, to remain as an undoubted Proof, of the Right of Succeeding to the Crown of *Scotland*, if the Queen had left no Iſſue of her own Body.

To this an Anſwer was given, which I have put in the Collection, from the Draught of it in *Cecyl*'s Hand. *Coll. Numb.* 69.

" The Queen received " the Hearty Thanks that the Three Eſtates ſent her, very kindly; " and was glad the Aſſiſtance She had given then, was ſo well ac- " cepted by them. She was ſo well ſatisfied with the Effects it had, " that if the like Cauſe ſhould happen, in which they might need " Aid from her, She aſſures them it ſhall not be wanting. The " Queen did perceive the Difference, between the Benefits beſtow- " ed by her Father, on many of the Nobility of that Nation, which " were ſuppoſed to be to the Prejudice of the Kingdom, and ſo had " not the Succeſs expected: And thoſe they had received from her, " which were directed to the Safety of the Realm: So the Diverſity " in the Beſtowing them, had made this Diverſity in the Accep- " tation of them. The Queen of *England*'s Anſwer to it.

" She received that Propoſition of Marriage, as a Mark of the " good Intention of the Eſtates, for Knitting the Kingdoms in Ami- " ty; in Offering to her the beſt and choiceſt Perſon that they had, " tho' not without danger of the Diſpleaſure of the *French* King. " But the Queen was not diſpoſed preſently to Marry; tho' the Ne- " ceſſity of the Kingdom might, perhaps, conſtrain her afterwards " to it. Yet She deſired, that the Earl of *Aran* might not forbear " to marry on her Account: But that the Amity between the Two " Kingdoms might remain firm; ſince it was ſo neceſſary to their " Preſervation, tho' no Marriage were made upon it. The Queen " had heard a very good Report of the Earl of *Aran*, and thought " him a Noble Gentleman of great Worth, and did not doubt, but " he would prove to be ſuch. In the laſt place, The Queen deſired " the States would reflect on former Practices among them, and

1560. " would continue in a good Agreement among themſelves, and not " fall into Factions. And She concluded with a Promiſe, that on " her Part, no Reaſonable Thing ſhould be neglected, that might " tend to the Common Defence of both the Realms, againſt any " Common Enemy.

The Death of *Francis* the IId.

Things went on purſuant to this Treaty; to which it was not thought the *French* would have any Regard, when their Affairs ſhould be in a better Condition. The Apprehenſions of that were ſoon at an end. In *December* 1560, the Union which that Kingdom had with *France*, was totally broke, by the Death of *Francis* the IId.; ſo that *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, had nothing left, but her own Strength to depend upon. The Treaty of *Leith* being in all other Points executed, the Queen ordered both *Throckmorton*, her Ordinary Ambaſſador in *France*, and the Earl of *Bedford*, whom She had ſent over Extraordinary, to demand Queen *Mary*'s Ratification of that Treaty. Which I ſhall open more particularly, becauſe upon this Occaſion, that Jealouſy was raiſed between the Two Queens, that ended ſo fatally to the one. The Queen of *Scots* uſed many Shifts, to excuſe her not doing it.

Collect. Numb. 70.

In a Letter of *Throckmorton*'s, of the 16th of *April*, which is in the Collection; he tells the Queen, " That having preſſed the " Queen of *Scots* to it; She ſaid, She had not her Council about " her, particularly the Cardinal of *Lorain*, her Uncle, by whom " She was adviſed in all her Affairs: Nor had She heard from her " Council in *Scotland*. She promiſed, that when She heard from " them, and had adviſed with her Council about her, She would " give an Anſwer that ſhould ſatisfy the Queen. But her Natural " Brother, the Lord *James*, being come over to her, the Queen " had commanded *Throckmorton*, to demand again the Confir- " mation of the Treaty. Upon which, the Ambaſſador ſent a " Gentleman to know her Pleaſure, when he ſhould wait on her, " to receive it from her Hand. This, as he wrote to her, was de- " ſired by the Queen, as a Mean to make them live hereafter in all " Love, Peace, and Amity together. And nothing could ſo de- " monſtrate that Queen's Intention, to entertain this, as the Eſta- " bliſhing that Knot of Friendſhip between them, for both their " Quiet and Comfort, which was at that Time the only Refuge of " them both." Of this he ſent the Queen, his Miſtreſs, a Copy.

Coll. Numb. 71.

On the Firſt of *May*, Mr. *Somer*, whom the Ambaſſador had ſent to *Nancy*, where the Queen of *Scotland* was at that Time, came back with her Anſwer: Which is in the Collection; it being the only Original Paper, that ever I ſaw in her Hand. Dated from *Nancy*, the 22d of *April* 1561.

The Queen of *Scotland* did not ratify the Peace.

" She writes, She was then leaving that Place; ſo ſhe could give " no Anſwer 'till ſhe came to *Rheims*, where ſhe intended to be at " the King's Coronation: And ſhe ſays that Lord *James* was only " come to do his Duty about her, as his Sovereign Lady, without " any Charge or Commiſſion whatſoever. This *Throgmorton* ſent to the Queen, together with a Letter from the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to the

the ſame Purpoſe, which he alſo ſent her in a Letter, which will be found in the Collection; in which he writes, "That though *Somer* "had uſed the beſt Means he could, to put the *Scottiſh* Queen in "Mind of the Promiſe ſhe had made to the Earl of *Bedford*, and to "*Throgmorton* himſelf, yet he could get no other Anſwer from her. The Ambaſſador was ordered by the Queen not to be preſent at the Coronation: So he did not know when, or where, he ſhould ſee her; for it was ſaid ſhe did not intend for ſome Time to come into the Neighbourhood of *Paris*: He therefore propoſed to the Queen to ſend a Letter of Credit by Mr. *Somer* to that Queen; and with it to order him to go and demand her Anſwer. By that Queen's Diſcourſe with Lord *James*, it ſeemed ſhe did not intend to give a plain Anſwer, but ſtill to ſhift it off: But he thought the Queen inſiſting on it by a Perſon ſent Expreſs to ſtay for an Anſwer, ſhe would be able to judge from thence what Meaſures ſhe ought to take. The Queen of *Scotland* had ſaid to the Ambaſſador, that ſhe intended to give Lord *James* a Commiſſion, with a Charge to look to the Affairs of *Scotland* during her Abſence: And he, when he took leave of her, left one to bring that after him: But that Perſon was come with Letters from that Queen, but with no Commiſſion: And he underſtood by him that ſhe had changed her Mind, and would give no ſuch Commiſſion, 'till ſhe ſhould come to *Scotland* herſelf: Nor would ſhe diſpoſe of any Thing 'till then. This was eaſily ſeen to be on Deſign to let all People underſtand on what Terms they might expect Benefices, Grants, or other Favours from her. 1561. *Coll. Numb.* 72.

The true Reaſon why ſhe would not employ Lord *James*, was becauſe ſhe found ſhe could not draw him from his Devotion to the Queen; nor from his Reſolution to obſerve the late Treaty; and League between *England* and *Scotland*: And it is added, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſaw he could not draw him from his Religion, though he uſed great Perſwaſions to prevail on him. Upon theſe Accounts, the Ambaſſador wrote over, "That he ſaw he might be "much depended on: So he adviſes the Queen to conſider him as "one that may ſerve her to good Purpoſe, and to uſe him liberally "and honourably. He had made great Acknowledgements of the "good Reception he met with as he came through *London*: So he "on many Accounts deſerved to be both well uſed, and much "truſted. The Queen of *Scotland* had great Expectations from the "Popiſh Party; and from the Earl of *Huntley* in particular. He gives "in that Letter, an Account of a great Tumult that had then hapned at "*Paris*, upon occaſion of an Aſſembly of Proteſtants for Worſhip in "a private Houſe, in the Suburbs. The Rabble met about the "Houſe, threatning Violence: Upon which thoſe within, ſeeing "Perſuaſions had no effect, fired and killed 7 or 8 of them. The "Court of Parliament ſent an Order to ſuppreſs the Tumult, and "diſperſe the Multitude. This was plainly contrary to the Edict "lately made: But the Ambaſſador apprehended that greater Diſ-"orders would follow: And that I may end all this Matter at "once, She is Jealous of Lord *James*.

1561. I find in a Letter of *Jewel*'s, that is in the Collection, that the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent to the Princes of *Germany*, to divert them from aſſiſting the Prince of *Conde*; aſſuring them that he himſelf was very moderate in the Points of Religion, and had very favourable Thoughts of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion: He ſtudied alſo to perſuade the Queen, that the War which was then breaking out in *France*, was not for Religion; but was a Conſpiracy againſt the Government: Which he hoped ſhe as a Queen would not aſſiſt. At the ſame Time the Queen of *Scotland* ſent the Queen a preſent of a Diamond of Value, with ſome very fine Verſes made by *Buchanan* then in her Court. She alſo in her Letters, vowed a perpetual Friendſhip with her, and wrote that ſhe would paſs through *England*. Yet the Queen ſaw through all this, and was not diverted by it from aſſiſting the Prince of *Conde*. Upon this the Duke of *Guiſe* did openly charge all the Diſorders in *France* on her, as the Principal Author of them: By this the Maſk was thrown away, and theſe Jealouſies broke out into an open War. *Jewel* wiſhes the Queen had begun it ſooner, and that the Princes of *Germany* would follow her Example; now that ſhe was engaged, and had ſent one to engage them likewiſe.

The Duke of *Guiſe* ſtudied to divert the Queen from aſſiſting the Prince of *Conde*.

Coll. Numb. 73.

But in vain.

By that Time the Queen of *Scotland* had got by Sea into her Kingdom: She alone had her Maſs, which was put down all the Kingdom over.

There was this Year an extraordinary bad Seaſon through every Quarter of the Year, and perpetual Rains. There was alſo much talk of many monſtrous Births, both by Women and Beaſts, Hogs, Mares, Cows, and Hens: Some Births were without Heads, or Heads of a ſtrange Form; and ſome without Arms, or Legs: Very probably Things of that Sort were magnified by thoſe who reported them; and, no doubt, they were made the Preſages of ſome diſmal Events to be looked for; it being ordinary in all great Changes to enlarge, and even to forge Stories of that ſort, on Deſign to alarm People with the Apprehenſions of ſome ſignal Judgments to follow after ſuch unuſual Warnings. This laſt Letter being written ſome Time after the Great Convocation that ſettled our Reformation, is mentioned here out of its Place, to finiſh a Matter to which I have nothing here to add.

Proceedings in Convocation.

But now to return to give an Account of that Famous Meeting of the Clergy. I muſt firſt lament that here there is another total Stop in the Correſpondence with *Zurich*, that has hitherto furniſhed me with ſo many particulars. I cannot think but that there were copious Accounts of the Progreſs of Matters in it given to them, if not during the Convocation, in which the Biſhops were no doubt much employed, yet at leaſt ſoon after the Prorogation; which was in the Beginning of *April*: But in all the Volume of Letters that is ſent me, I find not one, either during their ſitting, or after it was ended, 'till that I mentioned laſt, which is of the 14th of *Auguſt*. Being then deſtitute of thoſe Authentick Vouchers, I muſt gather up what Remains I could find to give a clear Account of the Great Tranſactions then on Foot.

The imperfect Abſtract which I have often vouched, gives us but a very defective Account of their Proceedings. Their Firſt Seſſion

was

was on the 13th of *January*, *Day* Provoſt of *Eaton* preached: *Parker* told them they had now in their Hands an Opportunity of Reforming all Things in the Church. The Queen did earneſtly deſire it, and ſo did many of the Nobility. He ſent them to chuſe a Prolocutor, and recommended *Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, to them. They choſe him upon that; and on the 16th of *January*, *Parker* exhorted them to conſider againſt the next Seſſion what Things wanted a Reformation. On the 19th, he ſent for the Prolocutor, who came up with Six of the Clergy. He ſaid they had before them ſome Sheets of Matters to be offered for a Reformation, which were then referred to be conſidered by a Committee. He alſo ſaid that the Articles ſet forth in a Synod at *London*, in King *Edward*'s Time, were likewiſe before a Committee to be conſidered, and if need was, to be corrected by them. On the 20th, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops were for the Space of Three Hours conſulting ſecretly about thoſe Articles. On the 22d, they were again for Three Hours conſidering the ſame Matter. On the 25th, they were Two Hours. And on the 27th, they were for Three Hours more upon the ſame Mattter. And on the 29th of *January*, all in the Upper-Houſe agreed unanimouſly in ſettling the Articles of Religion, and they ſubſcribed them. 1562.

The Differences between theſe Articles, and thoſe ſet forth by King *Edward*, are very particularly marked in the Collections, added to my Second Volume. The moſt material is the leaving out that expreſs Declaration that was made againſt the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which I then thought was done in compliance with the Opinion prevalent among the People of the Popiſh Perſuaſion, who were ſtrangely poſſeſſed with the Belief of ſuch a Preſence; but I am convinced by the Letters ſent me from *Zurich*, that in this, great regard was likewiſe had to the *Lutheran* Churches, with whom a Conjunction was much endeavoured by ſome: So that perhaps this was one Conſideration that made it be thought convenient to ſuppreſs the Definition then made in this Matter by the Convocation: But it does no way appear to me, whether theſe Words were ſuppreſſed by the Conſent of the Convocation; or whether the Queen ordered it to be done, either by a direct Command, or by denying to give her Aſſent to that Part of the Article. Some Alterations made in the Articles of Religion.

I muſt alſo add, that the Homily *againſt wilful Rebellion*, for that is its true Title, was not drawn up 'till ſome Years after this Convocation had ſettled thoſe Articles; in which the Title of the Homilies are ſet forth, though it is added in the Manuſcript to the Reſt, with the Title *againſt Rebellion*. It is plain both by the Body of the Homily, and by the Prayer at the End of it, that it was penned after the Rebellion that was raiſed by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland* many Years after this. And while there were Wars abroad on the Account of Religion. This I do not write as diſagreeing in any Part from the Doctrine delivered in that Homily, but only as a Hiſtorian, in Order to the ſetting Matters of Fact in a true Light.

But now I go on as the Minutes, or rather the Abſtracts lead me. When the great Matter of the Articles was ſettled; the Biſhops of

1562. *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Hereford*, were appointed to draw Articles of Diſcipline. On the 3d of *February*, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops were in a Secret Conference for the Space of Three Hours. On the 5th of *February*, a Committee was appointed to examine the Catechiſm. Then the Prolocutor with Six of the Clergy, brought up the Articles of Religion, that had been ſent by the Archbiſhop to the Lower-Houſe: Many had already ſubſcribed them, but he propoſed that ſuch as had not yet done it, might be required either to ſubſcribe them in the Lower-Houſe, or to do it in the Preſence of the Biſhops. Upon this the Upper-Houſe ordered that the Names of thoſe who had not ſubſcribed them, might be laid before them next Seſſion: On the 10th, the Prolocutor with Eight of the Clergy came up and told the Biſhops, that many had ſubſcribed ſince their laſt Meeting: Upon that the Biſhops renewed their former Order.

On the 13th, there was ſome Treaty concerning the Subſidy; but on that Day, and it ſeems, on ſome Days following, there were very warm Debates in the Lower-Houſe, of which I ſhall give a particular Account, from a Copy taken from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Lower-Houſe, which will be found in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 74.

Great Debates concerning ſome Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.

On the 13th Day, Six Articles were offered to the Houſe, which follow; Firſt, "That all Holy-Days, except Sundays, and "the Feaſts that related to Chriſt, ſhould be abrogated. Second, "That in the Common-Prayer, the Miniſter ſhould always turn his "Face towards the People, ſo as to be heard by the People, that "they might be Edified. Third, That the Ceremony of the Croſs "in Baptiſm may be omitted, as tending to Superſtition. Fourth, "That foraſmuch as diverſe Communicants were not able to Kneel "during the Time of Communion, for Age, Sickneſs, and other "Infirmities; and ſome alſo do Superſtitiouſly both Kneel and *Knock*, "that the Order of Kneeling may be left to the Diſcretion of the "Ordinary within his Juriſdiction. Fifth, That it be ſufficient for "the Miniſter in Time of ſaying Divine Service and Miniſtring the "Sacraments to uſe a Surplice; and that no Miniſter ſay Service, or "Miniſter the Sacraments, but in a comely Garment, or Habit. The "Sixth and laſt is, That the Uſe of Organs be removed. The Words are ſtrictly as I took them from the Copy of the Journal: But the Senſe of the 5th is not clear, except we ſuppoſe the Word *once* to have come after *the Miniſter*; ſo that it was propoſed that it ſhould be ſufficient *once* to uſe the Surplice.

A Practice common among Papiſts of knocking on their Breaſts, ſaying *Culpa mea*, at the Elevation.

There aroſe great Diſputes concerning theſe Propoſitions; ſome approving, and others rejecting them: And it was propoſed by ſome, to refer the Matter to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops. Many proteſted, that they could in no manner conſent to any one of them; ſince they were contrary to the Book of Common-Prayer, that was ratified by an Act of Parliament: Nor would they admit of any Alteration of the Orders, Rules, Rites or Regulations, already ſettled by that Book. There were Publick Diſputations between Learned Men, ſome approving, and others condemning the Propoſitions. Thirteen Perſons were named, as the Diſputants. In Concluſion, the Houſe was divided, and counted: Forty three voted for the Propoſitions, and

and Thirty five voted againſt them, and that no Change ſhould be made in the Book of Common-Prayer then eſtabliſhed. But when the Proxies were counted, thoſe who were for the Propoſitions, were in all Fifty eight; and thoſe who were againſt them, were Fifty nine. So that they were agreed to by a Majority of Eight, of thoſe who were preſent, and who had heard the Diſputations; yet thoſe were out-voted by a Majority of One Vote, by the Proxy of an abſent Perſon. All their Names are ſet down in the Paper. One Thing obſervable, is, That in this Minute it is added, that thoſe who rejected the Articles, ſeemed to go chiefly on this Ground; That they were contrary to the Authorized Book of Common-Prayer: As if this had been the Aſſuming an Authority, to alter what was ſettled by the Legiſlature. It is not to be imagined, but if the Affirmative Vote had prevailed, that it could not be intended to have any other Effect, but to make an Addreſs to the Parliament, to alter the Book in thoſe Particulars. I have repreſented this Matter as I found it, and will not make any Judgment upon it, either on the one Side, or the other; but will leave that to the Reader, and go on with what remains in the Abſtract. 1562.

But by one Proxy it was carried, that none ſhould be made.

This Debate in the Lower-Houſe, put a Stop to the Buſineſs of the Convocation for Six Days, in which they only treated of the Subſidy. On the 19th of *February*, ſome Articles were communicated to the Lower-Houſe; and they were ordered to bring them back, with their Obſervations on them. Theſe ſeem to relate to Benefices and Dilapidations. And they were ordered to enquire, how many Benefices were then vacant. On the 22d, the Subſidy was agreed to. On the 24th, the Prolocutor being abſent, his Surrogate, with the Clergy, were called up; and the Ingroſſed Bill of Subſidy was read to them, and they all unanimouſly agreed to it.

On the 26th, A *Book of Diſcipline* was brought to the Upper-Houſe, by the Prolocutor, with Ten of the Clergy; to which, as it was then ſaid, the whole Clergy did unanimouſly conſent. This was referred to the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Ely*. On the 1ſt of *March*, the Prolocutor brought up ſome Additional Articles, which they deſired might be added to the *Book of Diſcipline*, that they had formerly brought up. The Archbiſhop gave them the Book back again; and ordered them to bring it back, together with the Additions they had made to it.

A *Book of Diſcipline* offered by the Lower Houſe.

On the 3d of *March*, the Prolocutor brought up the *Catechiſm*; to which, he ſaid, the Houſe did unanimouſly agree: The Conſidering of it, was committed to the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, *Lincoln*, and *Coventry*. (This ſeems to be the Catechiſm, drawn by *Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s.) After that, there was a Conference among the Biſhops, for the Space of Two Hours. On the 5th of *March*, the Prolocutor brought up the *Book of Diſcipline*, with ſome Additional Chapters: One only is named, *Of Adultery*, with an *&c.* On the 10th, there was a Conference among the Biſhops for Two Hours; and on the 12th, for Two Hours more; and on the 16th, for other Two Hours; and on the 19th, for Two Hours more. After that, nothing is marked, but ſeveral Prorogations, till the 10th of

1562. of *April*, that the Royal Writ came for the Prorogation. And this is all that remains of this Great Convocation.

It does not appear, what that *Book of Diſcipline* was. In one of the *Zurick* Letters, as ſhall be told afterwards, it is ſaid, That ſome Things agreed to in this Synod, were afterwards ſuppreſſed. This, I ſuppoſe, relates to that *Book of Diſcipline*: But whether this was the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, prepared by *Cranmer*, and others; or whether it was modelled in any other manner, cannot now be certainly known.

But, to this Account that I have given, I will add ſome other Particulars, that the Diligent Mr. *Strype* has laid together; referring my Reader, for a more Copious Account of them, to his Annals.

Other Things prepared for the Convocation.

" It was deſigned, to have *Jewel*'s Apology joined to the Arti-
" cles: Which Archbiſhop *Parker* intended ſhould be in all Cathedral
" and Collegiate Churches, and alſo in Private Houſes.

" Degrees of Puniſhment were propoſed, for all thoſe who ſhould
" Preach, Write, or Speak, in Derogation or Contempt of this Book,
" for the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d Offence.

" It was propoſed, That all Veſtments, Copes and Surplices, ſhould
" be taken away; that none but Miniſters ſhould Baptize; that the
" Table for the Sacrament ſhould not ſtand Altar-wiſe; that Organs
" and Curious Singing ſhould be removed.

" That Godfathers and Godmothers ſhould not anſwer in the
" Child's Name; but ſhould recite the Creed, and deſire that the
" Child may be baptized in that Faith. Here, on the Margin, *Par-*
" *ker* writes, *Let this be conſider'd.*

" That none ſhould be Married, but after the Banns have been
" aſked for Three *Sundays*, or *Holidays*. On the Margin, *Parker*
" writes, *Prieſts ſolemnizing Matrimony, without Teſtimonial of*
" *Banns, to ſuffer grievous Puniſhment.*

" That the Queen and Parliament, be prayed to renew the Act,
" for Empowering Thirty two Perſons to gather Eccleſiaſtical Laws,
" and to review thoſe appointed in K. *Edward*'s Time.

" That all Peculiar Juriſdictions ſhould be extinguiſhed, ſo that
" the whole Dioceſe be put under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop;
" that no Appeal ſhall lie, in Caſes of Correction. On the Margin
" *Parker* writes, *Let this be thought on.*

" That in every Cathedral, a Divinity-Lecture ſhould be read
" Thrice a Week.

" That the Apparel of the Clergy ſhould be Uniform. That no
" Perſon, not in Prieſts Orders, ſhall hold any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity
" above a Year, if he does not take Prieſts Orders. *Parker* writes,
" *Too much: And let it be thought on.*

" That none be capable of a Diſpenſation for a Plurality of Be-
" nefices with Cure of Souls, if he is not at leaſt a Maſter of Arts,
" and they not beyond Twelve Miles Diſtance. *Parker* writes, *Let*
" *it be conſidered, whether this ought to be reſtrained to De-*
" *grees.*

" That if any has Two Cures, he ſhall reſide conſtantly on one, 1562.
" unleſs at ſome Times to go and Preach in the other; under the
" Pain of Loſing the greater Benefice. *Parker* adds, *Let this be*
" *thought on.*

" That no Patron Sell, or Aſſign the next Advowſon; and that
" no Grant be made of any Benefice, till it is void.

" That all Incumbents, or Curates, ſhall, on *Sundays* in the Af-
" ternoon, offer to teach the Children of the Pariſh the Cate-
" chiſm.

The next Paper is, of *Remedies, for the Poverty of Miniſters Livings* : But the *Remedies*, how good ſoever, were not found practicable; ſo all this Matter was let fall.

A further Continuation of the Hiſtory, beyond my former Work

With this Convocation, my Deſign of Continuing the Hiſtory of the Reformation is now concluded. And here I once intended to have ended my Work : But the Letters ſent me from *Zurick*, give me ſuch a full and particular Account, of the firſt Unhappy Breach that was made in our Church, with ſo many Curious Incidents, that I am by theſe invited to ſet that Matter out in a clear Light, ſince I have it before me, in the Letters of the moſt Eminent of our Biſhops.

A Controverſy about the Uſe of Things indifferent.

There was a great Variety of Sentiments among our Reformers, on this Point; *Whether it was fit, to retain an External Face of Things, near to what had been practiſed in the Times of Popery; or not?* The doing that, made the People come eaſily in, to the more Real Changes that were made in the Doctrines, when they ſaw the outward Appearances ſo little altered : So this Method ſeemed the ſafer, and the readier way to wean the People, from the Fondneſs they had for a Splendid Face of Things, by that which was ſtill kept up. But on the other Hand, it was ſaid, That this kept up ſtill the Inclination in the People to the former Practices : They were by theſe made to think, that the Reformed State of the Church did not differ much from them; and that they imitated them. And they apprehended, that this outward Reſemblance made the Old Root of Popery to live ſtill in their Thoughts; ſo that if it made them conform at preſent more eaſily to the Change that was now made, it would make it ſtill much the eaſier for them to fall back to Popery: So, for this very Reaſon, they ſtood upon it; and thought it better, to put Matters in as great an Oppoſition to the Practices of Popery, as was poſſible, or convenient.

The Queen had, in her Firſt Injunctions, ordered the Clergy to wear Seemly Garments, and Square Caps; adding, That this was only for Decency, and not to aſcribe any Worthineſs to the Garments : But when the *Act of Uniformity* was ſettled, whereas in the *Liturgy* paſſed in the Second Year of King *Edward*, *Copes*, and other Garments were ordered to be uſed; but in the Second Book, paſſed in the 6th Year of that King, all was laid aſide except the *Surplice* : Yet the Queen, who loved Magnificence in every Thing, returned back to the Rules in King *Edward*'s Firſt Book, till other Order ſhould be taken therein by the Queen. There was likewiſe a Clauſe

1564. put in the *Act of Uniformity*, impowering the Queen, to *Ordain and Publiſh ſuch further Ceremonies and Rites, as might be for the Advancement of God's Glory, the Edifying of his Church, and the due Reverence of Chriſt's Holy Myſteries and Sacraments.*

Great Diverſity in Practice.

The Matter being thus ſettled, there followed a great Diverſity in Practice: Many conforming themſelves in all Points to the Law; while others did not uſe either the Surplice, or the Square Caps and Hoods, according to their Degree. This viſible Difference began to give great Offence, and to ſtate Two Parties in the Church. The People obſerved it, and run into Parties upon it. Many forſook their Churches, of both Sides: Some, becauſe thoſe Habits were uſed; and ſome, becauſe they were not uſed. It is likewiſe ſuggeſted, that the Papiſts inſulted, upon this Diviſion among the Proteſtants; and ſaid, it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, till all returned, to come under One Abſolute Obedience.

The Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Cant.* to bring all to an Uniformity.

Upon this, the Queen, in *January* 156⅘, wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "reflecting (not without ſome Acrimony of Stile) "on theſe Diverſities; as if they were the Effect of ſome "Remiſneſs in him, and in the other Biſhops: Requiring him, that, "with the Aſſiſtance of other Biſhops, Commiſſioned by Her for "Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, he ſhould give ſtrict Orders, that all Diverſi-"ties and Varieties, both among the Clergy and People, might be "reformed and repreſſed; and that all ſhould be brought to one "Manner of Uniformity, thro' the whole Kingdom, that ſo the "People might quietly honour and ſerve God.

Upon that, ſome of the Biſhops met; Six in all. Of theſe, Four were upon the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion: The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely* and *Rocheſter*: And with theſe joined, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*. They agreed on ſome Rules and Orders meet to be obſerved, not as equivalent to the Word of God, nor as Laws that did bind the Conſcience, from the Nature of the Things conſidered in themſelves; or, as that they did add any Efficacy, or more Holineſs to the Publick Prayers and Sacraments; but as Temporary Orders, merely Eccleſiaſtick, and as Rules concerning Decency, Diſtinction, and Order for the Time.

Orders ſet out by the Biſhops.

They begun with Articles of Doctrine and Preaching: "That "all Preachers ſhould ſtudy to preach to Edification, and handle "Matters of Controverſy with Sobriety and Diſcretion; exhorting "People to receive the Sacrament frequently, and to continue in all "Obedience to the Laws, and to the Queen's Injunctions. All "former Licenſes are declared void; but are to be renewed, to ſuch "as the Biſhop thought meet for the Office; they paying only a "Groat for the Writing. If any ſhould preach unſound Doctrine, "they were to be denounced to the Biſhop, but not to be contra-"dicted in the Church. All were to be required to Preach once in "Three Months, either in Perſon, or by one in their ſtead. Such "as were not Licenſed to Preach, were to Read the Homilies, or "ſuch other neceſſary Doctrine as ſhould be preſcribed. In the Sa-"crament, the Principal Miniſter was to wear a Cope; but at all "other Prayers, only Surplices. That Deans and Prebendaries

"ſhould

" ſhould wear a Hood in the Choir, and Preach with their Hood : 1564.
" all Communicants were to receive the Sacrament kneeling : Then
" follow Rules about Tolling the Bell when People Die ; about the
" Altar ; the Font ; and who may be Godfathers in Baptiſm : That
" no Shops be opened on *Sundays* : That Biſhops ſhall give Notice
" againſt the Day of giving Orders, that all Men may except againſt
" ſuch as are Unworthy : That none be Ordained, but within their
" own Dioceſe, except thoſe who have Degrees in the Univerſity.
" Rules follow for Licences, for Archdeacons to appoint Curates to
" get ſome Texts of the New Teſtament by Heart ; and at the next
" Synod to hear them rehearſe them. Ordinaries were to guard
" againſt Simoniacal Practices, and none were to Marry within the
" *Levitical* Degrees : Then follow Rules of their wearing Apparel,
" Gowns, and Caps : They were to wear no Hats, but in Travelling :
" But thoſe who were deprived, might not wear them. To this
" they added a Form of Subſcription to be required of all that were
" to be admitted to any Office, or Cure, in the Church ; to this
" Effect, that they ſhould not Preach, but by the Biſhop's Special
" Licenſe ; that they ſhould read the Service diſtinctly and audibly ;
" that they ſhould keep a Regiſter Book, and uſe ſuch Apparel, ſpe-
" cially at Prayers, as was appointed ; that they ſhould endeavour
" to keep Peace and Quiet in their Pariſhes. That they ſhould every
" Day read a Chapter in the Old and New Teſtament, conſidering
" it well, to the Increaſe of their Knowledge ; and in Concluſion,
" that they ſhould Exerciſe their Office to the Honour of God, and
" the Quiet of the Queen's Subjects ; and obſerve an Uniformity in
" all Laws and Orders already eſtabliſhed ; and that they ſhould uſe
" no Sort of Trade, if their Living amounted to Twenty Nobles,
" or upwards.

The Proceedings here in *England*, are fully collected by Mr. *Strype* ; ſo as to theſe, I refer my Reader to the Account given by him, which is both full and impartial. I ſhall only give the Abſtracts of the Letters that paſſed in this Matter between our Biſhops and *Bullinger*, *Gualter*, and the other Divines in *Zurich*. Theſe Foreign Divines did not officiouſly, nor of their own Motion intermeddle in this Matter. It began in *January* $156\frac{4}{5}$, for then the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop, and in *March* the Order was ſettled by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops : But when the Biſhops ſaw the Oppoſition that many were making to this, *Sampſon* and *Humphreys* being the moſt Eminent of thoſe who oppoſed it, who were in great Reputation, particularly in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where the one was Dean of *Chriſt's-Church*, and the other was Preſident of *Magdalen's*, and Divinity Profeſſor : And they were much diſtinguiſhed for their Learning, Piety, and Zeal in Religion : Upon this, *Horn*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, wrote on the 16th of *July* to *Gualter*, and ſtated the Matter clearly to him : I have put his Letter in the Collection, though it is already printed ; but I thought it convenient to inſert it, ſince the Letters that are to follow depend upon it.

Horn Biſhop of *Wincheſter* writes to *Zurich* upon theſe Diverſities in Practice. *Coll. Numb.* 75.

After he had mentioned ſome of *Gualter's* Works, he commends thoſe of *Zurich* for not being impoſed on by the Artifices of the *French* ; in which he hopes thoſe of *Bern* would follow the Example

1565. that they had ſet them; he comes to the Affairs of *England*, " Where " they were ſtill in fear of the Snares of the Papiſts, who took great " Advantage from a Queſtion lately raiſed about Veſtments, to ſay " Proteſtants could never agree together: The Act of Parliament " was made before they were in Office; ſo that they had no Hand " in making it: By it the Veſtments were enacted, but without any " Superſtitious Conceit about them, the contrary being expreſsly " declared. What was once enacted in Parliament could not be alter- " ed, but by the ſame Authority. The Biſhops had obeyed the " Law, thinking the Matter to be of its Nature Indifferent: And " they had Reaſon to apprehend, that if they had deſerted their Sta- " tions upon that Account, their Enemies might have come into " their Places. Yet upon this, there was a Diviſion formed among " them: Some thought they ought to ſuffer themſelves to be put " from their Miniſtry, rather than obey the Law; others were of " a different Mind. He deſires that he would write his Opinion of " this Matter, as ſoon as was poſſible. They were in hope to pro- " cure an Alteration of the Act in the next Parliament; but he ap- " prehended there would be a great Difficulty in obtaining it; by " Reaſon of the Oppoſition the Papiſts would give them; for they " hoped that if many ſhould leave their Stations, they might find " Occaſions to inſinuate themſelves again into the Queen's Fa- " vour.

Coll. Numb. 76. Anſwers from thence, juſtifying thoſe who obeyed the Laws.

It ſeems he wrote a Letter in the ſame Strain to *Bullinger*, as will appear by his Anſwer of the 3d of *November*, which will be found in the Collection. " He writes, that he had heard of the Diviſion " among them from others; but not knowing the whole State of " the Queſtion, he was not forward to give his Opinion, 'till he " had his Letter. He laments this unhappy Breach among them: " He approves their Zeal, who wiſhed to have the Church purged " from all the Dregs of Popery: On the other Hand, he commends " their Prudence, who would not have the Church to be forſaken, " becauſe of the Veſtments. The Great End of the Miniſtry was " Edification; and that was not to be abandoned, but upon very " good Grounds: Epecially when the deſerting their Stations was " like to make way for much worſe Things: And that they ſaw ei- " ther Papiſts, or *Lutherans*, would be put in their Places, and then " Ceremonies would be out of meaſure increaſed. No doubt, they " had brought many Perſons of all Sorts to love the Purity of Do- " ctrine; but what a Prejudice would it be to theſe to open ſuch a " Door, by which Swarms of Abuſes might creep in among them: " This they ought carefully to prevent: As for thoſe who firſt made " thoſe Laws, or were Zealous Maintainers of them, he confeſſes he " is not pleaſed with them. They acted unwiſely, if they were " truly of the Reformed ſide: But if they were only diſguiſed Ene- " mies, they were laying Snares with ill Deſigns: Yet he thinks " every Thing of that Sort ought to be ſubmitted to, rather than " that they ſhould forſake their Miniſtry: And ſince it was declared " that thoſe Veſtments were to be uſed without any ſuperſtitious " Conceit, he thinks that ought to ſatisfy Men's Conſciences. But in

" the mean while he propoſes to them, to preſs the Queen and the " Nobility to go on and compleat a Reformation, that was ſo Glo- " rioufly begun. He knew that in many Places Queſtions were at " that Time moved, concerning the Extent of the Magiſtrates Autho- " rity ; he wiſhes theſe might be every where let alone : Certainly " Matters of that Nature ought not to be meddled with in Sermons : " There may be an Occaſion to debate about them in Parliament, " and it may be proper to ſpeak to the Queen, and to her Counſel- " lors, in Private about them. Upon the Whole Matter he con- " cludes, that as on the one Hand he would be tender in dealing with " Men of Weak Conſciences ; ſo on the other Hand he propoſes " St. *Paul*'s Rule in ſuch Caſes, of *becoming all Things to all Men* : " He circumciſed *Timothy*, that he might not give Offence to the " *Jews* ; though at the ſame Time he condemns thoſe who were im- " poſing the Yoke of the *Judaical* Law, as neceſſary in the Begin- " nings of Chriſtianity. 1565.

When *Sampſon* and *Humphreys* underſtood in what a Strain *Bullinger* and *Gualter* had written concerning the Veſtments, they wrote on the 16th of *February*, a copious Account of the Grounds, on which they founded their Refuſal to obey theſe Orders. Their Letters came to *Bullinger* on the 26th of *April* ; and he anſwered them on the 1ſt of *May*. This will be found in the Collection. " He " puts them in mind of *Peter Martyr*'s Opinion in a like Matter, " when he was at *Oxford* ; to which he could add nothing. He " could not approve of any Perſons officiating at an Altar, on which " there was a Crucifix ; and in a Cope, on the Back of which there " was a Crucifix. He tells them how both he and *Gualter* had an- *Bullinger* writes to thoſe who would not obey them. *Coll. Numb.* 77.

" ſwered *Horn*'s Letter on the Subject : And he ſent them Copies of " theſe Letters. He would be extreme ſorry, if theſe did not give " them Satisfaction. He prayed earneſtly to God for them. He " had a great diſlike to all Controverſies of that ſort ; and did not " willingly meddle in them : He did think that Laws might be made " preſcribing decent Habits to the Clergy, which may be reduced to " that Branch of St. *Paul*'s Character of a Biſhop, that he ought to " be κοσμίος, which may be rendred decent, as well as we have it " of *good Behaviour*. Nor was this the reviving the *Levitical* Law. " Every Thing is not to be called *Levitical*, becauſe it was practiſed " by the *Jews*. The Apoſtles commanded the Converts to Chriſti- " anity, to abſtain from Things ſtrangled, and from Blood. The " maintaining the Clergy by the Tythes, came from Laws given to " *Jews* ; and from them we have the ſinging of Pſalms among us : " So Things are not to be rejected becauſe of ſome Conformity to " the *Moſaical* Inſtitution. Nor can this be called a Conformity to " Popery : Nor is every Thing practiſed among them to be rejected " on that Account ; otherwiſe we muſt not uſe their Churches, nor " pronounce the Creed ; nor uſe the Lord's Prayer ; ſince all theſe " are uſed by them. It was in this Caſe expreſſed, in the Orders ſet " out lately by them, that the Habits were not enjoyned on the " Superſtitious Conceits of the Papiſts : They were only to be uſed " in Obedience to the Law. It ſavours too much of a *Jewiſh*, " or of a Monaſtick Temper, to put Religion in ſuch Matters : If it

" is

1565. " is pretended that the obeying Laws in Matters indifferent, was " the giving up our Chriſtian Liberty ; that would go a great way " to the denying all Obedience, and might provoke the Magiſtrate " to lay yet heavier Loads on them. Habits peculiar to the Clergy " was an Antienter Practice than Popery it ſelf : St. *John* is ſaid to " have carried on his Head ſome-what like a Mitre : And mention " is made of St. *Cyprian*'s having a peculiar Garment, called a *Dal-* " *matica*. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of their White Garments. *Tertul-* " *lian* tells us, that the Heathens converted to Chriſtianity, quitted " their *Toga*, the *Roman* upper Garment, and uſed the *Pallium*, or " Cloak. He wiſhes there were no Impoſitions on the Clergy in " ſuch Matters : Yet ſince this was an Antient Habit, and was now " enjoyned, without making it a Matter of Religon ; he wiſhes " they would not ſet too great a Value upon it, but yield ſomewhat " to the preſent Time ; and that they would conſider it as a Thing " indifferent, and not affect to diſpute too ſubtily about it ; but to " behave themſelves Modeſtly. They had put a Queſtion to " him, whether any Thing may be preſcribed that is not ex- " preſſed in Scripture : He did not approve of laying on a Load of " ſuch Things on Peoples Necks ; but ſome Things might be ap- " pointed for Order and Diſcipline. Chriſt kept the Feaſt of the " Dedication, tho' appointed by no Law of God. If it is ſaid " the Things commanded are not Neceſſary, and are of no Uſe, yet " they are not for that to be condemned, nor are Schiſms to be raiſed " on that Account : Many Things are again repeated in this Letter, " that were in his Letter to *Horn*.

That Letter was printed in *England*.

A Copy of this was ſent to *Horn*, and both *Grindal* and he apprehending the good Effect that the Printing it might have, in ſettling the Minds of many that were much ſhaken by the Oppoſition that was made to the Orders that had been ſet out, printed it here. So that it was not neceſſary for me to put it in the Collection, if I did not intend to lay the chief Papers relating to this Matter ſo together, as to ſet it all in a clear Light.

Upon this *Sampſon* and *Humphreys* wrote over to *Zurich*, complaining of the Printing of their Letter, and carrying their Complaints againſt the Conſtitution of the Church much further, than to the Matter of the Veſtments : They complain of the Muſick, and Organs ; of making Sponſars in Baptiſm anſwer in the Child's Name ; of the Croſs in Baptiſm ; of the Court of Faculties ; and the Paying for Diſpenſations ; all which will appear fully in a Letter of theirs in the Collection, which they wrote to them in *July* : " They acknow- " ledge their Letter had not fully ſatisfied them : They do not " think the preſcribing Habits to the Clergy meerly a Civil Thing ; " they think St. *Paul*'s κοσμίος belongs to the Ornaments of the Mind. " And add, how can that Habit be thought decent, that was brought " in to dreſs up the Theatrical Pomp of Popery ? The Papiſts glo- " ried in this our Imitation of them. They do approve of ſetting " Rules concerning Order, but that ought not to be applyed to this, that " overturns the Peace and Quiet of the Church, in Things that are " not either Neceſſary, or Uſeful ; that do not tend to any Edifica- " tion, but ſerve to recommend thoſe Forms, which all do now abhor.

Coll. Numb. 78.

" abhor. The Papiſts themſelves glory in this, that theſe Habits 1565.
" were brought in by them; for which they vouch *Otho*'s Conſtitu-
" tion, and the *Roman* Pontifical. They were not againſt the Re-
" taining any Thing that was good, becauſe it had been abuſed in
" Popery.

" They affirm, that in King *Edward*'s Time, the Surplice was not
" univerſally uſed, nor preſſed; and the Copes then taken away, are
" now to be reſtored. This is not to extirpate Popery, but to plant
" it again; and inſtead of going forward, is, to go back. It was
" known, how much Virtue and Religion the Papiſts put in the Sur-
" plice; and at this Day it is held in as great Eſteem, as the Monks
" Habits were wont to be. The Uſe of it, may, by degrees, bring
" back the ſame Superſtition. They did not put Religion in Ha-
" bits; they only oppoſed thoſe that did: And they thought, that
" it gave ſome Authority to Servitude, to depart from their Liber-
" ty. They hated Contention, and were ready to enter into friend-
" ly Conferences about this Matter. They do not deſert their
" Churches, and leave them expoſed to Wolves; but to their great
" Grief, they are driven from them. They leave their Brethren, to
" ſtand and fall to their own Maſters; and deſire the ſame favoura-
" ble Forbearance from them, tho' in vain hitherto. It was by other
" Men's Perſuaſion, that the Queen was irritated againſt them: And
" now, to ſupport theſe Orders, all that is pretended, is, that they
" are not unlawful: It is not pretended, that there is any Thing
" good, or expedient, in the Habits. The Habits of the Clergy are
" Viſible Marks of their Profeſſion; and theſe ought not to be ta-
" ken from their Enemies. The Ancient Fathers had their Habits;
" but not peculiar to Biſhops, nor diſtinct from the Laity. The In-
" ſtances of St. *John*, and *Cyprian*, are ſingular. In *Tertullian*'s
" Time, the *Pallium* was the Common Habit of all Chriſtians.
" *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of *White Garments*, but with no Approbation:
" He rather finds Fault with them. They had cited *Bucer*; but he
" thought, that the Orders concerning Habits, by reaſon of the Abuſe
" of them in the Church of *England*, ought to be taken away, for
" a fuller Declaration of their Abhorrence of *Antichriſt*, for Aſſert-
" ing the Chriſtian Liberty, and for Removing all Occaſions of Con-
" tention. They were far from any Deſign of making a Schiſm,
" or of Quarrelling. They will not condemn Things Indifferent,
" as Unlawful: They wiſh, the Occaſion of the Contention were
" removed, that the Remembrance of it might be for ever buried.
" They, who condemned the Papal Pride, could not like a Tyranny
" in a Free Church. They wiſh, there might be a Free Synod, to
" Settle this Matter; in which, Things ſhould not be carried ac-
" cording to the Mind of One or Two Perſons. The Matter now
" in Debate, had never been ſettled by any General Decree of a
" Council, or of any Reformed Church. They acknowledge, the
" Doctrine of this Church was now pure; and why ſhould there be
" any Defect in any Part of our Worſhip? Why ſhould we borrow
" any Thing from Popery? Why ſhould they not agree in Rites,
" as well as in Doctrine, with the other Reformed Churches? They
" had a good Opinion of their Biſhops, and bore with their State and

1565. " Pomp: They once bore the ſame Croſs with them, and preached " the ſame Chriſt with them: Why are they now turned out of " their Benefices, and ſome put in Priſon, only for Habits? Why " are they publickly defamed? The Biſhops had printed the Pri- " vate Letter that they had written to them, without their Know- " ledge or Conſent. The Biſhops do now ſtand upon it, as if the " Cauſe were their own. But to let them ſee, that the Diſpute was " not only about a Cap; they ſent them an Abſtract of ſome other " Things, to which they wiſh ſome Remedy could be found, (which is in the Collection) " and conclude with ſome Prayers to " God, to quiet thoſe Diſſentions, and to ſend forth Labourers into " his Vineyard.

Coll. Numb. 79.

Coll. Numb. 80.

To this, I have joined the Anſwer, that *Bullinger* and *Gualter* wrote to them. In it they tell them, " That they did not ex- " pect that their Letters ſhould fully ſatisfy them: They on- " ly wrote their Opinion to them, becauſe they deſired it. They " were heartily ſorry to find, that they could not acquieſce in it. " They would engage no further in that Matter: They could an- " ſwer their Arguments, but they would give no Occaſion to end- " leſs Diſputations. They thought it would be more expedient, to " ſubmit to thoſe Habits, and to continue in the Church, than by " refuſing to uſe them, to be forced to leave their Churches. They " went no further, and did not approve of any Popiſh Defilements, or " Superſtitions. Nor did they in any ſort enter into thoſe other " Matters, of which they do now complain, and of which they " knew nothing before. Theſe were Matters, of much greater Con- " ſequence, than either the Surplices, or the Copes: So that it was " to be hoped, that the Letter they had written about the Habits, could " not be ſtretched to theſe Matters. There was nothing left to them, " but to commend them to God, and to pray that he would quiet this " unhappy Diſſention among them, and give his Church the Bleſ- " ſings of Peace. They only deſire them to remember, that the " Miniſters of the Goſpel ought not only to hold faſt the Truth, " but likewiſe to be Prudent Stewards, having a due Regard to the " Times, bearing many Things with Patience and Charity, and ſo " maintain the Peace of the Church: And not to prejudice it by an " over-eager, or moroſe Temper; nor think it enough, that they " had a good Deſign; but they muſt purſue it by prudent Me- " thods.

Bullinger's Anſwer to *Sampſon.*

They wrote to the Earl of *Bedford.*

Bullinger and *Gualter*, ſeeing the Diviſion like to be carried much further than the Matter of the Veſtments, thought the beſt Office that they could do their Friends, was, to write to the Earl of *Bedford*; being well aſſured of his Zeal in the Matters of Religion. They wrote to him on the 11th of *September*, that Year: The Letter will be found in the Collection. They tell him, " That when " they firſt heard of the Contention raiſed about the Veſtments, " they were afraid it might have a further Progreſs. They, being " deſir'd, did give their Opinion freely in the Matter; and thought, " that for Things of ſo little Importance, it was not fit for the " Clergy to deſert their Stations, and to leave them to be filled, per-

Coll. Numb. 81.

" haps,

" haps, by Wolves, and Deceivers. They were ſorry to find, that 1565.
" their Fears of the Miſchief that might follow on this Contention,
" were but too well grounded. They hear, that not only the Veſt-
" ments are complained of, but that many other Things are except-
" ed to, that plainly favour of Popery. They are alſo ſorry, that
" the Private Letter which they wrote, ſhould have been printed;
" and that their Judgment of the Veſtments was extended to other
" Things, of which they could in no ſort approve: So that their
" Opinion in one Particular is made uſe of, to caſt a Load on Per-
" ſons, for whom they ſhould rather have Compaſſion in their Suf-
" ferings, than ſtudy to aggravate them. It gave them a very ſenſi-
" ble Grief, to ſee the Church of *England* ſcarce got out of the
" Hands of their bloody Enemies, now like to be pulled down by
" their inteſtine Broils. So, having an entire Confidence in his
" good Affection to the Goſpel, they pray him to interceed with
" the Queen and the Nobility; in the Parliament that was ſoon to
" meet, for their Brethren that were then ſuffering; who deſerved,
" that great Regard ſhould be had to them, and that their Faults
" ſhould be forgiven them. It had appeared, what true Zeal they
" had for Religion; ſince the only Thing, about which they were
" ſo ſollicitous, was, that Religion ſhould be purged from all the
" Dregs of Popery. This Cauſe in general was ſuch, that thoſe
" who promoted it, proved themſelves to be worthy of the Higheſt
" Dignity. Princes were to be Nurſing Fathers to the Church:
" Then they perform that Office truly, when they not only reſ-
" cue her out of the Hands of her Enemies, but take care that the
" Spouſe of Chriſt be not any way ſtained with the falſe Paint of
" Superſtition, or render her ſelf ſuſpected, by having any Rites un-
" becoming the Chriſtian Simplicity. They do therefore earneſtly
" pray him, that as he has hitherto ſhewed his Zeal in the Cauſe of
" the Goſpel, ſo he will at this Time exert himſelf; and employ all
" the Intereſt he has in the Queen, and in the Nobility, that the
" Church of *England*, ſo happily Reformed, to the Admiration of
" the whole World, may not be ſtained with any of the Defilements or
" Remnants of Popery. This will look like a Giddineſs in them:
" It will offend the Weak among them, and give great Scandal to
" their Neighbours, both in *France*, and in *Scotland*, who are yet
" under the Croſs. The very Papiſts will juſtify their Tyranni-
" cal Impoſitions, by what is done now among them. They lay all
" this before him with the more Confidence, knowing his Zeal, as
" they do. They alſo wrote in the ſame Strain to *Grindall* and *Coll. Numb.*
Horn, as will be found in the Collection. 82.

When *Grindall* and *Horn* underſtood, that thoſe of *Zurick* were not pleaſed with the Printing of their Letter; of which they wrote to them, and ſent with it the Paper, in which were put the Heads of thoſe other Things in the Conſtitution of this Church, to which they excepted; they both, jointly, wrote Anſwer to them, in one Letter to *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, on the 6th of *February*; which will be found in the Collection. *Coll. Numb.* 83.

1566.

Grindall and *Horn*'s Letter, ſhewing their Uneaſineſs in many Things.

" They tell them, they had printed their Letter, but had ſuppreſſed the Names of thoſe to whom it was directed. It had the " good Effect that they expected from it: For it had ſatisfied and " ſettled the Minds of many, who were upon the Point of Leaving their Churches: And even the moſt troubleſome were ſo far " wrought on by it, that they were ſilent, and leſs violent in " their Oppoſition, than they had formerly been. Some few were " turned out, but they were not of the more Learned Sort; except *Sampſon*, who, they acknowledge, was both Pious and Learned. *Humphreys*, and other Learned Men, were ſtill continued in " their Stations. The Letter that they had printed, related only to " that Particular upon which it was written, and could not be applied to any Thing elſe: Nor was there any other Queſtion then on " foot: So that it was a Calumny to ſay, that their Opinion was " aſked about any other Matter. The Noiſe and the Complaints " that ſome had made, had very much provoked the Queen and " many of the Nobility againſt them. The Papiſts triumphed upon it, and hoped to come in again, and to fill the Places, " which were made void upon their Deſerting their Stations. They " do ſolemnly atteſt the Great God, that this Diſſention was not " raiſed by any Fault of theirs; and that it did not lie at their " Door, that thoſe Veſtments were not quite taken away. They " may take their Oaths upon it, that they had uſed all poſſible " Means in that Matter; and had, with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs, " and the moſt ſincere Diligence, laboured to obtain that which their " Brethren deſired, and which they themſelves wiſhed for. But " ſince they could not do what willingly they would do, they muſt " be content with doing what they could do.

" As to the other Particulars complained of, they plainly write, " they did not approve of that figured Muſick, together with the " Uſe of Organs, that was continued in Cathedrals. They enlarge " on many other Particulars, and ſet forth the Method of Convocations. They did in no ſort approve of Women's Baptizing. They " gave way, till God ſhould ſend better Times, to the Form of making the Sponſors in Baptiſm anſwer in the Child's Name; for " which St. *Auſtin*'s Authority was pretended: But they did openly " declare, that they thought it was not convenient. Nor did they " approve of uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm; tho' the Words ſpoken when " it was made, did plainly ſhew, there was no ſuperſtitious Conceit kept up by the Uſe of it. They alſo ſuffered the Poſture of " Kneeling in the Sacrament, with the due Caution with which it " was enjoined, that was ſet down in King *Edward*'s Book, declaring the Reaſon for which that Poſture was ſtill continued. For " the Abuſes of their Courts, tho' they cannot correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh againſt them; which they would " continue ſtill to do, till they ſhould be ſent back to Hell, from " whence they came. Every Man had full Freedom, to declare his " Mind as to all theſe Abuſes: They had laboured in the laſt Parliament all they could, to purge out all Errors and Abuſes; which, " tho' it had not then the deſired Effect, yet they would not give " over their Endeavours to bring it to a happy Concluſion: And this

" they

" they would do, as they desired the Continuance of their Friend- 1566.
" ship and Brotherly Love.

The others still insisted, and *Sampson* in a Letter from *Oxford* the 9th of *February*, 156⅝, to *Bullinger*, reduces the Questions concerning the Habits to Seven Heads. 1st, If a Habit different in Form, and Colour, from the Laity, ought to be enjoyned to the Clergy? 2dly, If the Mosaical Ceremonies may be brought into the Christian Church? 3dly, If it is lawful to conform to Papists in Habits and outward Rites, and if it is fitting to borrow Ceremonies from that Corrupt Church? 4thly, If the using a peculiar Priestly Habit, is meerly a Civil Matter, and if it does not savour of Monkery, Popery, and Judaism? 5thly, If those who have hitherto used their Liberty, may with a good Conscience, upon the Account of the Queen's Mandate, involve themselves, and the Church again in a Yoke of Bondage? 6thly, If the Popish Clerical Habit can be called a Thing that is Indifferent? And the 7th is, If they ought to use these Habits, rather than desert their Stations? To these he begs him to send as soon as may be, a full and copious Answer.

A few Days after this, *Jewel* wrote to *Bullinger*, (in the Letter that is in the Collection,) " That he was so attacked by many dif- *Coll. Numb.* 84.
" ferent Hands, that it took him wholly up to prepare Answers to *Jewel's* Sense of those Matters.
" them. He was not in the House of Lords during the last Parliament, in which there was great Heat for a whole Month, concerning the Succession to the Crown: But the Queen would suffer no Declaration to be made in that Matter, though it was most vehemently pressed, there appearing on both Sides a great deal of Earnestness. The Queen thought any such Declaration would turn the Eyes of the Nation too much towards the rising Sun. He says the Controversy about the Vestments had raised great Heats. The Queen was fixed, and could not be wrought on to let any Change be made. Some of their Brethren were so eager in disputing about that Matter, as if the whole Business of Religion was concerned in it. They leave their Stations, and Churches, rather than yield a little. Nor were they at all moved from their Stiffness by the most Learned Letters, that he and *Gualter* had written to them on that Subject; nor by all the Advices of their Friends. He thanks God that they had no other, nor more Important Debates then among them. *Cheyney*, Bishop of *Glocester*, did indeed in Parliament profess himself openly to be a *Lutheran*; but he was not like to have many Followers.

In a Letter of his, that is also in the Collection, written to *Bullinger* on the 1st of *March*, 1565: " He writes that he was over- *Coll. Numb.* 85.
" whelmed with the Books that the Papists had written against him, and was by that Means engaged in a profound Course of Study. He tells him how Cardinal *Grandvell* had intended to cut off the Intercourse between *England* and the *Netherlands*; hoping by that Means to provoke the *English* to break out into Tumults; but the Design turned upon himself: For the *English* resolving to settle their Trade and Staple at *Embden*, the People of *Flanders* could not bear that. The Pope had sent one to *Ireland* to raise a Flame in that Island. But the Pope's Agent, who was an *Irish* Man, was

1566. " taken and ſent over a Priſoner to *England*. In *Scotland* the Queen " only had her Maſs, all the Nation being averſe to it.

Reflections on this Matter.

By *Grindal* and *Horn*'s Letters, it appears that they had no other Zeal in this Matter, but to preſerve the Church in the Queen's Favour, and in Obedience to the Laws: Yet in Letters that were upon this Occaſion written to *Zurich*, (a Part of one is in the Collection;) by ſome others that adhered to *Sampſon*, they let them know that both *Parker* the Archbiſhop, and *Grindal* and *Horn* were too much ſharpned in this Matter: Therefore they pray them to uſe their Endeavours to ſoften them more towards their Brethren: But they acknowledge that *Pilkinton* of *Dureſme*, *Sands* of *Worceſter*, and *Parkhurſt* of *Norwich*, had by their Moderation made good all their Promiſes: So they deſerved that Thanks ſhould be given them: They deſire further, that they would write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get thoſe Dregs of Popery to be removed: And that they would tolerate, at leaſt connive at thoſe who did not approve them. I find *Pilkinton* complains in a Letter to *Gualter*, " That the Diſputes which began about the Veſtments, were carried " much farther, even to the whole Conſtitution. Pious Perſons la- " mented this; Atheiſts laughed at it; and the Papiſts blew the " Coals, and were full of hopes upon it. The Blame of all was " caſt on the Biſhops: He adds, I confeſs we ſuffer many Things " againſt our Hearts, groaning under them: We cannot take them " away, though we were ever ſo much ſet on it. We are under " Authority, and can innovate nothing without the Queen; nor " can we alter the Laws: The only Thing that is left to our Choice " is, whether we will bear theſe Things, or break the Peace of the " Church.

Coll. Numb. 86.

Other Letters written to *Zurich* by ſome Biſhops.

Parkhurſt in one Letter writes, " Many good People are pleaſed " with all that is done; but there are ſome Things that do not " pleaſe me. And in another he writes, Matters of Religion go on " well: There are but a very few Things that I dare find Fault with. " That which grieved him moſt was, that the Lives of thoſe who " profeſſed the Goſpel, were ſo very contrary to it. The Goſpel " was never preached among them more Faithfully, and with more " Zeal: He prays, God grant us his Spirit that we may walk in the Spi- " rit, and mortify the Works of the Fleſh. The laſt Letter that thoſe of *Zurich* wrote on this Subject, was on the 26th of *Auguſt*, 1567, directed to the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Norwich*. " They " expreſs their Grief that ſome Learned Men were deprived: They " hear daily that ſome of thoſe that had given good Proofs of them- " ſelves in the *Marian* Perſecution, were now not only turned out, " but impriſoned: They hear that in *Ireland*, many that have the " ſame Scruples, are yet kept out of all Trouble by the Queen's " Order, upon the Interceſſion of their Biſhops: Which makes it " probable that the like Favour might be obtained in *England*, if the " Biſhops would interceed with her Majeſty for it; which may the " rather be expected, ſince the Biſhops themſelves acknowledge, that " it were better for the Church, that theſe Ceremonies were all laid " aſide; and affirm that they had often moved in Parliament that " they might be taken away, that ſo the Church might be more pure

Coll. Numb. 87.

and

" and leſs burdened. Therefore they do not doubt but that they, 1566.
" out of their Piety, will endeavour to procure Favour to their Bre-
" thren, to which they do very earneſtly, but yet decently, and
" modeſtly, preſs them. *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who I do not find meddled much in theſe Controverſies, has in a Letter to *Gualter* ſome very ſad Expreſſions; for which there is too much Occaſion at all Times. " When I conſider the Sins that do every where abound,
" and the Neglect and Contempt of the Word of God, I am ſtruck
" with Horrour, and tremble to think what God will do with us.
" We have ſome Diſcipline among us with relation to Mens Lives,
" ſuch as it is; but if any Man would go about to perſuade our No-
" bility to ſubmit their Necks to that Yoke, he may as well venture
" to pull the Hairs out of a Lions Beard.

Sands was of the ſame Mind: He lamented the occaſion of this Diſpute, and hoped to ſee an End put to it. In a Letter to *Bullinger* from *Worceſter*, Dated the 3d of *January* 1566, he writes thus: " The True Religion of Chriſt is now ſettled among us,
" which is the moſt valuable of all things. The Goſpel is no more
" ſhut up but is freely preach'd, and for other things we need not be
" much concerned about them. There is ſome ſmall Diſpute con-
" cerning the Popiſh Veſtments whether they ought to be uſed or
" not? But God will put an end to theſe Things.

Contenditur aliquantulum de veſtibus Papiſticis utendis vel non utendis dabit Deus hic quoque finem.

A few Days after that, *Jewel* in a Letter Dated the 8th of *February* 1566, to *Bullinger*, (a part of it is in the Collection, the reſt of it relates to the Books he was then writing in defenſe of his Apology) tells him " That the Queen ſeemed fixed in her Reſolution
" not to Marry: He expreſſes his great Concern that the heat raiſed
" on the account of the Surplice was not extinguiſhed: He writes
" that the Affairs of *Scotland* were not in a quiet State, ſome of the
" chief of the Nobility had retired into *England*; others fortified
" themſelves in their Caſtles, and were as in a State of War with
" the Papiſts. The Queen, tho' an obſtinate Papiſt, yet does not
" ſeem reſolved what courſe ſhe had beſt take; for in Matters of
" Religion the greateſt part both of the Nobility and People were
" againſt her; and their Number did daily increaſe. The King of
" *Spain* ſent lately an *Italian* Abbot thither with *Spaniſh* Gold. He
" was a ſubtle and crafty Man, and did ſo far gain not only on the
" Queen, but on the King, that tho' he had hitherto gone to Ser-
" mons, and had no Maſs, yet upon the aſſurance of a rich Ship
" that was expected within a Day, he preſently ordered Maſs to be
" ſaid in his Church; while *Knox* in the very next Church was
" preaching againſt Idolatry, and the whole Papal Tyranny, with
" greater Zeal than ordinary: But the *Spaniſh* Ship was furiouſly
" ſhattered by a Storm and was caſt on the Coaſt of *England*, ſo
" that weak King would find what he had gained by his going to
" Maſs. *Sampſon* and *Humphreys* wrote a long and particular An-
ſwer to the Letter that *Grindal* and *Horn* wrote to *Bullinger*, but that runs into a tedious Controverſy, with which the Divines of *Zurich* wrote that they would meddle no more in thoſe Matters, ſo I do not think fit to inſert it.

of the Affairs of *Scotland*. *Coll. Numb.* 88.

" They

1566. " They complain that the Archbiſhop had contributed to buy an " Organ for *Canterbury*, which was no Sign of his diſliking it. They " complain that many were put in Priſon becauſe they would not pro- " vide Godfathers and Godmothers for baptizing their Children: They " ſay the Convocation ſignified little: For many things were agreed to " in the Convocation in the Year 1562, that would have tended to " the great good of the Church, but were ſuppreſſed: for nothing " was of force but as the Queen and the Archbiſhop conſented. And " in the laſt Convocation, a very learned Man that belonged to the " Biſhop of *Norwich* propoſed ſomewhat relating to the Veſtments; " to whom a Biſhop ſaid, What have you to do in thoſe Matters, ſince " began them and we will end them? He anſwered the Biſhop, this " Matter has been hitherto laid wholly on the Queen, but now you " take it on your ſelves. They alſo in another Paper ſet forth, that " in Queen *Mary*'s Days, when the Church of *England* was broken " and diſperſed, a Body of Proteſtants formed themſelves into a " Church at *London*, and had their Miniſters and Deacons, and " continued thro' all her Reign tho' many of them were burned: " But that after Queen *Mary*'s Death, the Exiles were recalled, and " the Priſoners were ſet at liberty; only this Church that had con- " tinued all the while in the midſt of the Flame was now extin- " guiſhed. In another Letter he aſſures *Simler* there was no danger " of *Lutheraniſm* only we are now fighting among our ſelves about " Ceremonies, Veſtments, and Matters of no Importance. That " Matter has ſomewhat ſhaken Men of weak Minds: I wiſh that all " even the ſmalleſt Remnants of Popery could be wholly put, not " only out of our Churches but chiefly out of the Minds of all Peo- " ple; but the Queen at this time cannot bear any Alteration in " Religion.

I ſhall carry this Matter no farther, having gone beyond what I had at firſt propoſed by the Importance of theſe Papers, that give ſo clear and ſo true an Account of the beginnings of thoſe unhappy Diſputes, of which we have ſeen and do ſtill feel the unhappy Conſequences. In theſe we clearly ſee what was the Senſe of the moſt Eminent and the moſt Learned of our Reformers in thoſe Matters. They continued their Correſpondence with *Zurich* as long as thoſe great Men lived with whom they had lodged in their great Diſtreſs, and to whom they had been ſo ſingularly obliged, that they were ready always to acknowledge it, and were often ſending Preſents to them.

The Queen of *Scots* Marries the Lord *Darnley*.

In *Scotland* Things were running into great diſorder. The Queen, as ſhe liked the Perſon of the Lord *Darnley*, and perhaps the better, becauſe he ſeemed to be of a ſoft and gentle Temper, and eaſy to be governed; ſo her faithfulleſt Counſellors concurred in adviſing the Marriage. He was the next Heir to the Crown of *England* after the Queen. For tho' the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, that was *Henry* the VIIIth's Siſter, having married the Earl of *Angus*, after King *James* the IVth was killed; but falling to be in ill Terms with him, either found or ſuborned Witneſſes (as it was given out) to prove upon him a Pre-contract in Words of the preſent Time, by which ſhe obtained a Sentence diſſolving that Marriage: Yet the

Daughter

Daughter ſhe had born to him, was declared Legitimate, in the Bull that confirmed the Sentence, declaring that Marriage diſſolved, The Original of which I ſaw: The Reaſon given is, becauſe ſhe was Born of the Mother's Part *Bona fide*. Lord *Darnly* being thus deſcended, and born within the Kingdom of *England*, might have been a dangerous Competitor for that Crown, eſpecially if he ſhould fortify himſelf by a prudent Marriage, and a good Conduct in *England*: So it was certainly good Advice given the Queen, ſince ſhe liked his Perſon, to ſecure her Right to that Succeſſion by this Marriage. When ſhe Married him ſhe declared him King, and put his Name on the Coin after her own. The Qualities of his Mind did not anſwer the Gracefulneſs of his Perſon: For ſometimes he was in all Things compliant to the Queen, but that laſted not long. She had ſuch an affable and obliging Air, which her Education in the Court of *France* had much improved, that it was not eaſy to reſiſt it. At firſt ſhe ſeemed ſo Indifferent as to the Matters of Religion, that the Minds of the Nation were much quieted, when they concluded that ſhe continued to be a Papiſt more from Principles of Honour and Intereſt than from her own Perſuaſion. 1566.

But they came to have other Thoughts of her when ſhe began to expreſs more Zeal in thoſe Matters. Her Kindred by her Mother puſhed her on, and ſhe was animated both from the Court of *France*, and from *Rome*, to reſtore the Popiſh Religion: On theſe Hopes ſhe ſet her Gates open to all that deſired to come to her Maſs, and had many Maſſes every Day in her Chapel. The Body of the *Scottiſh* Nation did not eaſily bear with the Maſs, which the Queen had at firſt privately in her Court for her ſelf; and for a very ſmall Number of Servants, who were of her own Religion: In the Parliament in the Year 1563, a Petition was offered by the Noblemen, and the Superintendents, and Miniſters of the Reformed Religion, which will be found in the Collection, ſetting forth, That whereas in the laſt Convention of the Kirk that was held at *Edinburgh* in *June* laſt, ſome were ſent to the Queen with certain Articles to which they deſired anſwer; and tho' the Queen had anſwered them in part, yet ſhe referred the farther Anſwer to the preſent Parliament; ſo a full Anſwer was now prayed. And whereas in the Parliament held in *July* 1560, it was Enacted, That the Maſs, and all Papiſtry, ſhould be put out of the Realm, and Chriſt's Religion ſhould be Univerſally received; and that the Queen, by divers Proclamations, has approved Chriſt's Religion, which ſhe found publickly received at her arrival, in particular at *Dundee*, on the 15th of *September* laſt, in which the King and Queen did both by Act of Council, and by Proclamation, promiſe, That in this preſent Parliament ſhe would eſtabliſh the Religion of Chriſt, and aboliſh all Laws and Conſtitutions contrary to the ſame; upon which they deſired, that the Premiſes might be conſidered; and ſo they laid before the Parliament the Articles which they had laid before the Queen and her Council, together with her Anſwer, and the Reply made to it by the Kirk.

She ſhews more Zeal in her Religion.

Coll. Numb. 89.

In the Articles they demand firſt, That the Papiſtical Maſs with all Idolatry, and the Popes Juriſdiction, might be aboliſhed, not only in the Subjects but in the Queen's own Perſon: And that the true Re-

The Demands of the Reformed.

1566. ligion might be ratified through the whole Kingdom, as well in the Queen's Perſon, as in the Subjects: And that the People might be required to reſort on *Sundays* to Prayers and Preaching, as they were before to the Idolatrous Maſs. Secondly, That Proviſion may be made for the Miniſters Maintenance; and that ſuch as are admitted into the Miniſtry may have their Livings aſſigned them where they Labour, or in Parts adjacent; and that they may not be put to crave them of others: And that the Benefices then vacant, or that have been vacant ſince *March*, *Anno* 1558, or that ſhall become vacant, be given to learned Perſons, able to Preach God's Word, upon their Tryal and Admiſſion by the Superintendants. And that no Biſhopricks, Abby, or other Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, having many Churches annexed to it, be given to any one Man: But that the Churches may be ſeverally diſpoſed of, ſo that every Man may ſerve at his own Church; and that Glebes and Manſes be aſſigned to them, that they may reſide at their Churches, and diſcharge their Conſciences in them; and that the Churches may be kept in due Repair. Thirdly, That none may have Charge of Souls, or be put in Colleges or Univerſities, or publickly Inſtruct the Youth, but ſuch as are tried by the Superintendents and the Viſitors of the Churches, and are admitted by them. Fourthly, That Lands founded for Hoſpitals may be reſtored to the Uſe of the Poor; and that all Rents and Profits belonging to any Order of Friars be applied to the Poor, and for Schools in Towns. Fifthly, That horrid Crimes, Blaſphemy, Sorcery, Adultery, Inceſt and Murther, with many other Crimes that are reckoned up, may be ſeverely puniſhed; and that ſome Order may be taken for the eaſe of the Labourers of the Ground, concerning the reaſonable Payment of their Tithes, and in the letting of them.

The Queen's Anſwer to them.

To this the Queen anſwered, "That as She did not think that "there was any Impiety in the Maſs; ſo She hoped, her Subjects "would not preſs her to receive any Religion againſt her own Con- "ſcience, which would throw her into a perpetual Unquietneſs, by "the Remorſe of her Conſcience. She would never leave the Reli- "gion in which She had been brought up. And it would be fur- "ther a great Prejudice to her, in that by her ſo doing, She ſhould "loſe the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, the Ancient Ally of "this Kingdom, and of other Princes, from whom She may find great "Supports: So She will not in an Inſtant put her ſelf in hazard of "loſing all her Friends: And ſince She has not yet preſſed, nor "means She hereafter to preſs the Conſcience of any Man, but "leaves them to Worſhip God according to their Perſuaſion, She "hopes they will not preſs Her to offend Her own Conſcience. But "when the Parliament meets, Her Majeſty will conſent to every "Thing that the Three Eſtates ſhall agree upon; and She renews "the Aſſurance She had given, That Mens Lives or Eſtates ſhall be "in no hazard for any Cauſe of Religion.

As to the Second Article, "The Queen thought it not reaſonable that "She ſhould deprive her ſelf of ſo great a part of the Patrimony of the "Crown, by putting the Patronage of Benefices out of her Hands,

"for

" for her own Neceſſity required the keeping them in her own " Hands: Yet She was contented to aſſign what might ſerve for " the Reaſonable Suſtentation of the Miniſters. She referred the " other Articles to the Parliament. 1566.

To this Anſwer the Kirk replied, " That the Firmneſs She ex- " preſſed to the Maſs, gave no ſmall Grief to her good Subjects. " Their Religion was no other than that which Chriſt revealed, and " his Apoſtles preached; which differed from the Impiety of the " *Turks*, the Blaſphemy of the *Jews*, and the vain Superſtition of " the Papiſts. And, upon that, as they run out into a high Com- mendation of their Religion, ſo " they require the Queen, in the " Name of God, to embrace the Means, by which She may be " perſuaded to the Truth: Which they offered preſently to her, " by the Preaching of God's Word, and by Publick Diſputation " againſt the Adverſaries of it, whenſoever She thought it expedi- " ent. And as for the Maſs, they undertook to prove it to be a " Maſs of Impiety, from the Beginning to the End. As for the " Prejudice, that the Queen thinks would follow on her Changing " her Religion, by Diſſolving the Alliance She is in with the King " of *France*, and other Foreign Princes; they anſwer, That the " true Religion is the undoubted Means to keep up a perfect Confe- " deracy with him, who is the *King of Kings*, and who has the " Hearts of all Princes in his Hands; which ought to be more valu- " ed, than all other Confederacies whatſoever.

As to the Second Article; " They did not intend to defraud her " of the Patronages; but only, that Perſons preſented to Benefices, " ſhould be tried and examined by the Learned Men of the Kirk, or " the Superintendents appointed for that End. But as the Preſenta- " tions belong to Her, ſo Collation upon them belongs to the Church, " and the Patrons may not Preſent, without Trial and Examination: " which if they might do, muſt bring great Ignorance and Diſorder " into the Church. And it was far againſt all good Conſcience, for " the Queen to retain a good Part of the Benefices in her own Hands. " This was ſo contrary both to all Divine and Human Laws, that " they were unwilling to open up that whole Matter to her. And " therefore they beg She would conſider, that tho' the Patronage of " Benefices belonged to her, yet the Retention of them in her own " Hands, and the not Giving them to Qualified Perſons, is ungodly, " and contrary to all Order, and ruinous to the Souls of the Peo- " ple. They were deſirous to have her Neceſſities relieved: But " they add, that the Tithes are the Patrimony of the Church; out " of which, in the firſt place, thoſe who ſerve in the Miniſtry ought " to be relieved, the Churches ought to be repaired, and the Youth " inſtructed. They concluded with Thanks, for her Willingneſs to " have the Miniſters provided for: And they pray, that a Special " Condeſcending on Particulars may be thought on.

But all theſe Petitions were ſtill put off: And the Queen, by her Practice among the Nobility, began to divide them into Factions; and plainly ſaid, when theſe Petitions were read to her, That *She would do nothing in Prejudice of the Religion that She profeſſed*: And in wrath told them, *She hoped, before a Year was expired, to have* *Spotſwood.*

1566. *the Maſs, and the Catholick Religion profeſſed thro' the whole Kingdom.* And She managed the Parliament ſo dextrouſly, that neither was the Treaty of *Leith*, nor the Settlement of Religion made in the Parliament 1560, ſo much as named, much leſs confirmed. In this Parliament, ſome ſmall Proviſion was made for the Miniſters; and Acts were made againſt Sorcery and Adultery, that they ſhould be puniſhed by Death. There was indeed an Act of Oblivion paſs'd, for all that was done from the 6th of *March* 1558, to the 1ſt of *September* 1561: But the Parliament of the Year 1560, came to be looked on as an Illegal Aſſembly: So that upon this, a great Alarm was given to the whole Body of the Reformed in that Kingdom; and the Jealouſy was increaſed, by the Queen's Marrying the Lord *Darnly*. He had been bred up a ſtrict Papiſt, but now pretended to be a Proteſtant; yet as he was all the while ſuſpected of Favouring the Religion he was bred up in, ſo he quickly returned to the open Profeſſion of it. This gave Occaſion to another Petition in a bolder Strain, in which the Body of the Reformed ſet forth, "That "the true Religion was eſtabliſhed in that Nation; that the Maſs, "and all the Idolatry and Tyrannical Uſurpations of the Pope were "ſuppreſſed, and that they were going on to a perfect Reformation: "But that all had been ſtopp'd now for the Space of Four Years. "That upon her Arrival, that Idol the Maſs was again ſet up, and "Men were put in Offices, to which they had no Right. From "ſuch Beginnings, they ſaw what they might look for; yet, in "hope that God would mollify the Queen's Heart, and out of their "Deſire to maintain the Publick Peace, they had long expected to "ſee what Anſwer would be made to their Petitions. But they ſaw "Things grew daily worſe and worſe. The Queen's Gates were then "ſet open, in Contempt of Proclamations ſet out by her ſelf to the "contrary. The Patrimony of the Church was beſtowed on un-"worthy Perſons: Their Miniſters were reduced to great Poverty, "and put to much Trouble. Vices of all ſorts abounded univerſal-"ly: They therefore prayed the Queen, to think of Redreſſing "theſe Matters, and to anſwer their other Petitions; aſſuring her "of all due Obedience, to her Laws and Authority. They alſo "pray, that She would give them no Occaſion to think, that She "intended the Subverſion of the true Religion, and the Deſtructi-"on of thoſe who profeſſed it: For they aſſure her, they would "never be ſubject to that *Roman* Antichriſt, nor ſuffer (as far as it "lay in their Power to hinder it) any Branches of his Uſurped "Authority to have place within the Realm. This, which is in the Collection, prevailed no more, than their other Petitions had done.

Coll. Numb. 90.

I will add to this a few Particulars relating to the Affairs of *Scotland*, as they are ſet forth in ſome of theſe Letters that were ſent me from *Zurick*. *Parkhurſt*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, in a Letter to *Bullinger*, (which is in the Collection) writes in the Year 1566, "That in *March* laſt, an *Italian*, called Signior *David*, (whom he "charges as ſkilled in Necromancy) who was in great Favour with "the Queen, was dragg'd out of her Room, and ſtabb'd by many

Coll. Numb. 91.

" Hands. And adds, That an Abbot was then ſo wounded, that 1566.
" though he eſcaped, yet he died of his Wounds ſoon after: And
" that one *Black*, a Dominican, in great Eſteem among the Papiſts,
" was alſo killed in the Court. And upon all that Diſorder, while
" the Privy Council was ſitting, the Lords eſcaped with their Lives:
" Since that Time, the Queen had brought forth a Prince: She was
" reconciled to her Huſband, and had called home her Brother, and
" the Lords that were of the Reformed Side: But though the Queen
" had born her Son Ten Weeks before he wrote, yet all that while
" ſhe was not Baptized; for ſhe intended to do it with Pomp, and
" many Maſſes in the Great Church, though the Inhabitants of *Edin-*
" *burgh* were reſolved to hinder that: They apprehended ſhe would
" bring over a Force from *France*: He concludes with a Prayer, not
" very Evangelical, that *God would either convert, or confound her.*
" There are Circumſtances in this Letter, of ſome others killed with
" Seignior *David*, that I have found no where elſe.

About the ſame Time, *Grindal* wrote likewiſe a Letter to *Bullin-* *Coll. Numb.*
ger, which is alſo in the Collection; in which he thanks him for 92.
the Letters he had written over concerning the Controverſy about the Habits: He writes, " That it was not credible that a Queſtion
" about Things of no Moment, ſhould have raiſed ſo great a Diſtur-
" bance, as this had done: Many, both of the Miniſters, and the
" People, were deſigning to withdraw from them, and to ſet up ſe-
" parate Meetings; but moſt of them were now come to a better
" Mind. He acknowledges their Wiſe and Good Letters had con-
" tributed much towards that: Yet ſome continued ſtill in their for-
" mer Reſolutions. It were an eaſy Thing to reconcile them to the
" Queen, if they could be brought to change their Mind: But 'till
" that was done, it was not in their Power to effect it. The Biſhops
" upon their Return, and before they were Conſecrated, had endea-
" voured all they could to get thoſe Things removed; that gave Oc-
" caſion to the preſent Diſpute: But in that they could not prevail,
" neither with the Queen, nor with the Parliament. So they upon
" conſulting among themſelves, came to a Reſolution, not to deſert
" their Churches for the ſake of a few Rites that were not unlawful,
" ſince the Doctrine was entire and pure; in which they agreed in all
" Things with them of *Zurich*. They ſaw the good Effects of theſe
" their Reſolutions: And thoſe unſeaſonable Contentions about Things
" Indifferent, did not edify, but tear the Churches.

" From their own Affairs he turns to thoſe of *Scotland*;
" where he writes, Things were in no good State. They ſtill re-
" tained the Profeſſion of the Truth; but the Queen endeavoured
" by all Means to extirpate it: She had lately ordered 6 or 7 Maſſes
" to be ſaid every Day in her Chapel; and admitted all that pleaſed
" to come to them: Whereas at firſt ſhe was contented with one pri-
" vate Maſs, to which no *Scotchman* was admitted: And whereas it
" was provided that the Miniſters ſhould be maintained out of the
" Revenues of the Church, ſhe had now for Three Years ſtopt all
" Payments: There were no Publick Changes yet made; both the
" the Nobility and the People continued very firm: Of whom he
" reckons the Earl of *Murray* the Chief: He underſtood that the

1567. " Queen was in very ill Terms with her Huſband on this Account :
" There was one *David* an *Italian*, recommended to her by the Car-
" dinal of *Lorrain*, who governed all the Councils there, and was
" Secretary of State. The King, finding he had no regard to him,
" grew uneaſy at it ; and being Young and Raſh, he entered into a
" Conſpiracy with ſome of the Nobility, and ſome of his Court ;
" ſo the *Italian* was dragged out of the Queen's Preſence, notwith-
" ſtanding her earneſt Intreaties to ſave him ; and he was no ſooner out
" than many run their Daggers into him ; ſo he was murdered with-
" out any Cauſe declared. This horrid Crime ſtuck deep in the
" Queen's Heart ; ſo that, though ſhe had born a Son to him, ſhe
" could never forgive him.

The diſmal Fate of that Unfortunate Queen is ſo tender a Point, that I will ſay nothing of it, but in the Words of others. There is a Letter of *Grindal*'s to *Bullinger*, dated the 21ſt of *June*, 1567. All in that Letter which relates to this Matter, is in the Collection ; in which, theſe Words will be found. " *Scotland* is fallen into new
" Troubles : For their late King *Henry*, on the 10th of *February*,
" was found Dead in a Garden near his Lodgings. It is not yet agreed
" how he died. Some ſay that a few Barrels of Gun-Powder, being
" on Deſign, laid under the Chamber in which he lay ; theſe being
" kindled, the Houſe was blown up, and ſo he was thrown out
" into that Garden. Others ſay, that in the Night he was dragged
" out of his Chamber and ſtrangled, and that then the Houſe was
" blown up. The Earl of *Bothwel* was generally thought the Au-
" thor of this Murder : He alſo procured, by the Authority of the
" Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, a Divorce from his Lawful Wife :
" And on the 15th of *May* laſt, the Queen had married him, and
" created him Duke of *Orkney*. Almoſt all the Nobility had left the
" Court before this Marriage, when they ſaw that no Enquiry was
" made into the King's Murder : They had a Meeting at *Sterlin*,
" where it appeared by clear Evidences, that the Murder was com-
" mitted by *Bothwell* : So an Army was brought together on Deſign
" to ſeize on him, but he made his Eſcape ; and it was not then
" known whither he was gone. Some ſay the Queen was beſieged
" in a certain Caſtle ; and others ſay ſhe was made a Priſoner in
" the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, as having been Conſcious to the Mur-
" der of her Huſband. But whatſoever may be in this, that Infa-
" mous Marriage muſt end Tragically : With this he Concludes that
" Matter, promiſing him a more particular Account, when the cer-
" tainty of it was better underſtood.

Coll. Numb. 93.

To this I will add another Relation that may be more certainly depended on. Cardinal *Laurea*, whom the Pope had ſent to be his Nuncio in *Scotland*, may be ſuppoſed to have had the beſt Information that he could procure from thoſe of her Party, and of her Religion, and he would certainly have put the beſt Face poſſible on that Matter ; eſpecially after her Tragical Fate, which raiſed an Univerſal Diſpoſition in all People, to think as well of her as was poſſible : But chiefly among thoſe of that Religion, ſo that I know no Relation of that Affair that can be ſo certainly depended on, (making ſtill ſome Allowances for the Softnings of a Partial Writer,) as that which we find

find in that Cardinal's Life, which was written by the Abbot of *Pigerol*, and was printed at *Bologna* in the Year 1599, in which he gives this Account of this Whole Matter. 1567.

Pope *Pius* the Vth, ſent *Laurea* to be his Nuncio in *Scotland*, to aſſiſt and encourage the Queen in her Zeal: He ſent by him 20000 Crowns to her, as an Earneſt of further Supplies; and wrote to her with his own Hand, recommending his Nuncio to her. The Nuncio came to *Paris* in the Dog-Days, and brought him who writes his Life along with him to be his Secretary. He received Letters from the Queen of *Scots* by the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, who was then her Ambaſſador in *France*: By theſe ſhe expreſſed her Deſires that he might come to *Scotland* as ſoon as might be; but wiſhed him to delay coming, 'till he ſhould hear from her once more, that ſhe might have all Things prepared for his Reception. He upon that wrote to her in a very vehement Stile, preſſing her to Zeal and Fortitude of Mind, in carrying on the Reſtoring the Catholick Religion in her Kingdom: With that he ſent her over 4000 Crowns, and ſent one *Edmund Hay* a Jeſuit, and a Man of a Cunning, and Penetrating Temper, to be a ſecret Aſſiſtant to her: In particular, he preſſed her, either to puniſh, or at leaſt to diſgrace *Lethington*, who he believed ſet on all the Tumlts, and was a determined Heretick, and a Favourer of the Earl of *Murray*.

Con has printed theſe Letters. *Pius* the Vth's Letter bears Date the 16th of *June*, 1566. In it, "He recommends his Nuncio to "her Confidence, who was then Biſhop of *Mondovi*, (*Montis Re-*"*galis*) and promiſes all poſſible Aſſiſtance to her, in her Deſign of "bringing back her Kingdom to the Obedience of the Holy See. Queen *Mary*'s Anſwer bears Date the 9th of *October* that Year, from *Edinburgh*: "She in it acknowledges the Pope's Favour and "Bounty to her: She adds ſome high Expreſſions of her Senſe of "the Pope's Zeal and Piety; and promiſes to treat his Nuncio with "all Reſpect and Confidence. She tells him that ſhe had born a Son; "and that ſhe had brought her Nobility, though not without much "difficulty, to conſent that he ſhould be publickly Baptized after "the Manner of the Catholick Church. She promiſes to bring him "up in that Religion: And ſhe hoped this ſhould prove a good Be-"ginning of reſtoring the Right Uſe of the Sacraments, in her Do-"minions. The Pope ſeemed much pleaſed with this Beginning of his Pontificate; and in his Anſwer, on the 22d of *January* following, "He congratulates the Birth and Baptiſm of her Son, and prays that "it may have a good Effect. Life of Queen *Mary*, printed at *Rome*, *An.* 1624.

Three Months paſſed before *Laurea* had any Intimation from the Queen concerning his coming over: Upon which, he ſent the Biſhop of *Dunblane*, who was then at *Paris*, with copious Advices to that Queen, and continued to preſs her very earneſtly by his Letters, to admit of his coming over: The Subſtance of all which, is ſet forth in his Life: He tells us further, "That the Queen held a Con-"vention of the Eſtates, and had obtained Two Things of them, not "without difficulty: The one was, that her Child ſhould be Bap-"tized according to the Rites of the *Roman* Church; and the other "was, that the Pope's Nuncio ſhould be admitted with due Reſpect:

Upon

1567. Upon this the Nuncio deſigned to go to *Antwerp*, thinking that the Navigation would be ſafer from thence, than from *Calais*. But then he adds, " That ſuch a Barbarous and Impious Crime was committed " in *Scotland*, that it gave a Horrour to think of it, much more to " write of it. Of what follows in that Life, I will add a Verbal Tranſlation.

" The King, as was ſaid, had the Small-Pox; upon which that " the Contagion might not endanger the Queen, he retired to a " Houſe at ſome diſtance from the Palace: As he began to recover, " he was often viſited by her: One Day they Supped together, and " after much Diſcourſe, and that they had diverted themſelves 'till " it was late, the Queen pretended ſhe could not ſtay with him all " Night, for one of her Maids of Honour being Married that Day, " ſhe muſt according to the Cuſtom of former Queens, ſee the Bride " put to Bed. She was ſcarce gone, when ſome Gun-Powder that " was ſecretly laid under the Houſe, was fired, ſo that the whole " Houſe was blown up, and the King killed: Though ſome ſaid, " that he was not blown up, but that hearing ſome Noiſe of armed " Men, he had got out by a Back-Door into a Neighbouring Garden; " and that he, and one of his Servants, were ſtrangled before the " Houſe was blown up. It is certain, that the King's Dead Body " was found in that Garden, with no other Hurt, but that about " his Neck a blackneſs appeared all round it. When this baſe Mur- " der was known, all People were ſtruck with Horrour: Some " ſpoke ſeverely of the Queen herſelf; Libels were publiſhed upon " it; and ſome having diſcovered that *Bothwel* was the Author of " this horrid Murder, they charged him, as being not only an Aſſaſ- " ſinate, but a Cruel Hangman. It being on ſuch Occaſions ordina- " ry for People to ſearch into, and to diſcover ſuch Things.

" *Bothwel*, though a Heretick, had been always Zealous for the " Queen, and Faithful to her; and he had lately with great Cou- " rage reſcued her out of a Danger ſhe was in, from a very great Se- " dition: Beſides, that the Queen loved him *deſperately*; therefore, " he in hope to be Married to the Queen, firſt divorced his Wife, as " if upon Adultery that might be ſo done, that he might Marry ano- " ther Wife, and then he cruelly contrived the Murdering the King. " The Queen after ſhe had born down ſome very wicked Reports " concerning herſelf, and *Bothwel*, being afraid of ſome Tumult, " that might have been Fatal to them, thought fit to leave *Edinburgh*. " So ſhe carried her Son with her to *Sterlin*, a Place of Defence: " Having laid (as is probable) a Deſign with *Bothwel* how Matters " were to be managed: A few Days after, ſhe pretended to go out " a Hunting; then *Bothwel* with 200 Horſe ſeemed to ſurprize her, " and to ſeize her by Force. But the Queen coming back with him " to the Caſtle, preſently made him Duke of *Orkney*, and declared " him her Huſband. That Marriage did neither prove Happy, nor " laſting: It being a Conjunction that had nothing of the Matrimo- " nial Dignity in it, but had ſprung from a Partnerſhip in an Un- " worthy Crime. *Murray* was then out of *Scotland*, but he had " left *Ledington* among others behind him, who were to raiſe New " Quarrels and Tumults upon every Occaſion. It was eaſy to

Ledington

" *Ledington*, to work up the Minds of the People, who were uni- 1567.
" verſally enraged againſt the Queen and *Bothwell* to a great Flame :
" Therefore a tumultuary Army being in haſte brought together at
" *Edinburgh*, they marched towards *Sterling*. But when the Queen
" heard that, She, with a few Women, and ſome of her Court,
" went to them. They received her with due Reſpect : And be-
" ing aſked, why they came thither Armed ? They anſwered, they
" came only to puniſh *Bothwell*, for the Crimes committed by him,
" both in the baſe and cruel Murder of the King, and in the Force
" he had put on her Perſon. The Queen juſtified *Bothwell* ; and
" ſaid, He had done nothing, but by her Conſent : This did pro-
" voke them to ſuch a degree of Indignation, that they cried all out
" with one Voice, *Then, Madam, you ſhall be our Priſoner* : And
" without more delay, they impriſoned her in a Caſtle within an
" Iſland in *Lochlevin* ; appointing only One Footman, and Two or-
" dinary Women to attend upon her.

Thus the Pope's Nuncio underſtood this Matter. There are ſome inconſiderable Circumſtances in this Relation, wrong told ; yet the Main of the Story agreeing with other Relations, ſhews how falſely this Matter has been ſince that Time repreſented, not only by Writers in the Church of *Rome*, but by many among our ſelves, to put better Colours on this odious Buſineſs. To this (that I may end all this Unhappy Matter at once, without adding any Reflections on it, or telling what were the Cenſures that paſſed on this Occaſion ; of which I have a great Variety on both Sides by me, in Books printed very near that Time) I ſhall only add another very important Paſſage, that is in the Life of that Cardinal, relating to the Teſtament, which that Queen wrote with her own Hand in *French*, the Day before She was beheaded. In it, " She expreſſed *P. 72.*
" her conſtant Zeal for the Catholick Religion ; and provided, that
" if the Prince, her Son, did not renounce the falſe and Heretical
" Perſuaſion which he had drunk in, the Inheritance of the Crown
" of *England* ſhould never deſcend to him ; but ſhould devolve from
" him, to *Philip* King of *Spain*. When this Original Will was
" brought to the Cardinal, he examined it with great Care ; that ſo it
" might appear that it was truly her Laſt Will, and that it ought to be
" acknowledged as ſuch. He compared it with the Letters he had
" formerly received from that Queen : And not only he himſelf,
" but one *Lewis Owen*, an *Engliſhman*, (Biſhop of *Caſana*) then at
" *Rome*, whom the Writer calls a Pious and a moſt Honeſt Man, ſigned
" and atteſted it. The Will being thus confirmed, and as it were fortifi-
" ed by a Publick Authority ; he delivered it to the Count of *Oli-*
" *vares*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador, that it might be faithfully
" tranſmitted to that King himſelf. I have put the Words of the
Author of that *Life*, in the Language in which he wrote it, in the *Coll. Numb.*
Collection ; ſo that the Reader may compare the Tranſlation I have 94.
given, with the Original. I leave this Diſmal Relation as I found it in theſe Vouchers, without any further Canvaſſing of that Black Affair ; which was followed by a Train of very Extraordinary Tranſactions.

The

1567. The *Scotiſh* Nation, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, concurred in the New Settlement; of which I ſhall give a particular Account from an Authentick Proof lately found in *Scotland*, and now kept in the Library of the College of *Glaſgow*: It is the firſt Bond of Aſſociation that was entred into, upon the Reſignation of the Crown, which the Queen was prevailed on to make, (by *Force*, as ſhe afterwards declared, when ſhe made her Eſcape out of the Priſon, with which ſhe was threatened): She ſent it by the Lord *Lindſay* (Anceſtor to the Earl of *Crawford*) and the Lord *Ruthven*, afterwards made Earl of *Gowry*. This bears Date at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *July*, 1567. By it, She reſigned the Crown to her Son; and during his Infancy, She named the Earl of *Murray* to be Regent, who was then in *France*, and did not come to *Scotland*, at leaſt he did not Sign this Bond before the 22d of *Auguſt*. But in the Council-Book, on the 25th of *July*, the Bond it ſelf is entred on Record: And the Council removing to *Sterling* on the 29th of *July*, the Queen's Reſignation was preſented, and received by the Earls of *Morton*, *Athol*, *Glencairn*, *Mar*, *Monteith*, the Maſter of *Grame*, the Lord *Home*, and the Biſhop of *Orkney*, in the Name of the Three Eſtates: And the Earl of *Morton* taking the Coronation-Oath in the Name of the Prince, he was Anointed and Crowned by the Biſhop of *Orkney*: Who did indeed little Honour to this Ceremony; for he, a few Days before, had performed the Nuptial Ceremonies between the Queen and the Earl of *Bothwell*. Upon all this, the Bond (which is in the Collection) was made to this Purpoſe. "That whereas the Queen be-

Coll. Numb. 95.

"ing weary of the Pains and Travail of Government, and deſiring "that in her Life-time her Son might be placed in the Kingdom, "and be obeyed by all her Subjects, had reſigned the Crown in "Favour of her Son: They therefore promiſed, and bound themſelves to aſſiſt their King, in Setting him on the Throne, and Puting the Crown on his Head: And that they ſhould give their "Oaths of Homage, with all dutiful Obedience, to him, as became "true Subjects; and ſhould concur in Eſtabliſhing him in his Kingdom, and reſiſt all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe it.

This was made up in ſome Sheets of Vellum; and there are above Two Hundred Hands of the moſt Eminent Families of that Kingdom ſet to that Bond. Twenty Five of theſe were then Earls and Lords; and there are Fifteen others, whoſe Families are ſince that Time advanced to be of the Nobility. The Noblemen are, the Earl of *Murray*, (who ſigns *James Regent*) the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argyle*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Mar*, *Glencairn*, *Errol*, *Buchan*; the Lords, *Graham*, *Home*, *Ruthen*, *Sanquar*, *Glams*, *Lindſay*, *Carliſle*, *Borthwick*, *Innermaith*, *Uchiltry*, *Sempil*, *Methven*, *Cathcart*, *Grey*, *Raſs*, *Lovat*, and the Maſter of *Montroſs*: For Earls Sons were then ſo deſigned. The Noble Families, whoſe Anceſtors ſigned this Bond, are, *Buccleugh*, *Queenſberry*, *Athol*, *Roxburgh*, *Anandale*, *Galloway*, *Findlater*, *Panmur*, *Dalhouſy*, *Leven*, *Stair*, *Kenmore*, *Jedburgh*, *Cranſton*, *Kircudbright*.

Beſides thoſe who ſubſcribed the Firſt Bond, there was a Second Bond (that is likewiſe in the Collection) entred into in *April* 1569; "by which they did not only acknowledge the King's Authority,

Coll. Numb. 96.

"but

G. Vertue Sculpsit

FRANCISCUS WALSINGHAM Reg: Elis: a Secretis
A.D. 1573. Obiit A.D. 1590.

" but likewiſe (during the King's Minority) the Authority of the " Earl of *Murray*, as Regent; renouncing all other Authority. And " they ſwear to obſerve this Bond; in which if they fail'd, they are " contented to be counted Falſe, Perjured, and Defamed for ever. This, beſides many of thoſe who ſigned the former Bond, was ſigned by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Caſſilis*; and the Lords *Salton*, *Ogilby*, *Oliphant*, and the Anceſtors of the Earls of *Seaforth* and *Southeſk*, and of the Lord *Duffus*. And in a ſubſequent Bond, ſigned to the Earl of *Morton* when he was Regent, there are Five other Lords, who ſigned it: The Earl of *Angus*, Anceſtor to the Duke of *Douglas*, the Lords *Levingſton*, *Drummond*, *Boyd*, and *Hoy* of *Yeſter*, the Anceſtors of the Earls of *Linlithgow*, *Perth*, and *Kilmarnock*, and of the Marquis of *Tweedale*. 1567.

Papiſts joined with Proteſtants.

Theſe were for the greateſt part Proteſtants: But there were many Papiſts that joined with them. The Earl of *Huntley*, Anceſtor to the preſent Duke of *Gordon*, was the Head of the Popiſh Party. The Earl of *Athol*, whoſe Name was *Stuart*, and whoſe Family is ſince extinct in the Male Line, proteſted againſt the Reformation in Parliament, and had aſſiſted at the Baptiſm of the Young King, in the Popiſh Manner. And beſides theſe, the Lords *Oliphant*, *Gray*, *Sempill*, *Maxwell*, and *Borthwick*, were ſtill Papiſts. Thus, as the War againſt the Queen Regent (Eight Year before) was engaged in on National Grounds, this great Revolution of that Kingdom, ſeems to have proceeded, as to the Civil Part, upon the ſame Principles. So that whatſoever was done in this Matter, was done, not upon the Grounds of the Reformation, but upon National Grounds, and pretended Precedents and Laws: In all which, the Queen of *England* had ſecretly a great Hand, how much ſoever it was diſguiſed, or denied.

The Reaſons that moved Q. *Eliz.* to be jealous of the K. of *Scotland*.

The Intereſt of State was clearly of her Side: For the Houſe of *Guiſe*, that began to form Great Projects in *France*, laid a main Part of their Scheme, in the Deſign of Advancing the Unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*: And in the View of that Succeſſion, many Plots were formed, to deſtroy that Glorious Queen. They alſo practiſed upon the King, her Son, as ſoon as he was capable of being wrought on, by the Duke of *Lenox*, and others; whom they employed about him, to keep him in a Dependance on them. They aſſured him, he ſhould ſtill be King of *Scotland*; their Deſign being, that if their Practices againſt Queen *Elizabeth* had ſucceeded, his Mother ſhould have left *Scotland* to him, when She was advanced to the Crown of *England*. They did likewiſe engage him to continue unmarried: Tho' He, being the only Perſon of his Family, it was otherwiſe very reaſonable to Marry him ſoon. Yet they durſt not venture on a Popiſh Match, till their Great Deſign on the Crown of *France* had ſucceeded: And they would by no means ſuffer him to Marry into a Proteſtant Family.

They kept him ſo much in their Management, that the Queen of *England*, and her Wiſe Council, underſtanding all this Practice, raiſed thoſe Jealouſies of his Religion, and made ſuch Diſcoveries of

1567. that ſecret Correſpondence he was in with the Houſe of *Guiſe*, that to this all the Troubles that the Kirk gave him were chiefly owing. The Leaders among them knew, from the Intelligence ſent them by the Court of *England*, more than they thought fit to own, or than could be well proved. This was the true Cauſe of all that peeviſh Oppoſition, that he met with from the Miniſters there; which is copiouſly ſet forth by Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*. But either he knew not, or did not think fit to ſet that out, as the Effect of the Jealouſy raiſed by the Court of *England*, on the Account of the Confidence, in which he was engaged with the Houſe of *Guiſe*.

The Effects that this had.

But as theſe Practices had a fatal Concluſion with Relation to the Unfortunate Queen *Mary*, after her long Impriſonment, ſo when upon the Murder of the Duke of *Guyſe*, and the Succeſſes in the Beginning of *Henry* the IVth of *France*'s Reign, all thoſe Projects of that Ambitious and Perſecuting Houſe, were at an End; the King of *Scotland* married to a Daughter of *Denmark*, and continued ſtill after that in a Confidence with the Queen of *England*, which ſecured to him the Succeſſion to that Crown.

In giving this Short View, which I thought Important, and in which I was inſtructed by many Papers that I have ſeen, I have run a great way beyond my Deſign; which was only to open the Firſt Settlement of the Reformation in the Iſle of *Great-Britain*, now happily by her Late Majeſty united into One Kingdom: So that nothing remains to be written in Purſuance of that. Only, ſince upon ſome Publick Occaſions, I have referred to a Declaration of Queen *Elizabeth*'s, (by which She owned and juſtified, the Aſſiſtance that She gave to the Subjects, both of *Scotland*, and in the *Netherlands*, in the Neceſſary Defence, to which the Illegal Cruelty of their Governors forced them;) and ſince I have been Challenged to Publiſh it, not without Inſinuations that it was a Forgery; I have thought it proper to conclude my Collection of Records with that Declaration; that ſo a Paper of ſuch Importance may be preſerved, and may be more generally read.

Coll. Numb. 97.

The Concluſion.

I now conclude this Work; in which, as I have faithfully ſet out every Thing, according to the Materials and Vouchers with which I was furniſhed, ſo I have uſed all proper Means, to procure the beſt Information that I could. It remains, that I leave this to Poſterity, as the Authentick Hiſtory of a Series of Great Tranſactions, honeſtly (tho' often feebly) conducted, with good Intentions, and happy Beginnings, tho' not carried on to the Perfection that was deſigned and wiſhed for.

The *Proviſo* that had paſſed in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, that continued all the Canon-Law then received in *England*, till a Code of Eccleſiaſtical Laws was prepared; which tho' attempted, and well compoſed, was never ſettled; has fixed among us many groſs Abuſes, beſides the dilatory Forms of thoſe Courts, which make all Proceedings in them, both ſlow and chargeable. This has in a great meaſure enervated all Church-Diſcipline. A Faint Wiſh, that is read on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, intimates a Deſire of Reviving the Ancient Diſcipline; yet no Progreſs has been made, to render that more effectual.

The

The Exemptions ſettled by the Papal Authority, do put many Parts of this Church in a very disjointed State; while in ſome Places the Laity, and in many others Preſbyters exerciſe Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, independent on their Biſhops; in Contradiction to their Principles, while they aſſert a Divine Right for ſettling the Government of the Church in Biſhops, and yet practiſe Epiſcopal Authority in the Vertue of an Act of Parliament, that proviſionally confirmed thoſe Papal Invaſions of the Epiſcopal Power; which is plainly that, which by a Modern Name is called *Eraſtianiſm*, and is ſo ſeverely cenſured by ſome who yet practiſe it; ſince whatſoever is done under the Pretence of Law, againſt the Divine Appointment, can go under no better Name, than the higheſt, and worſt Degree of *Eraſtianiſm*.

The Abbots, with the devouring Monaſteries, had ſwallowed up a great Part of that which was the true Patrimony of the Church: Theſe Houſes being ſuppreſſed, unlimited Grants were made of their Lands, without reſerved Proviſions for the Subſiſtance of thoſe who were to ſerve at the Altar; this has put a great Part of our Clergy under crying Neceſſities; and though the Noble Bounty of the late Queen has ſettled Funds for their Relief, the good Effect of that comes on but ſlowly: Yet it is ſome Comfort to think that within an Age, there will be an ample Proviſion for all that ſerve in the Church; and upon that Proſpect we may hope that many Abuſes will be then quite aboliſhed.

But with all theſe Defects, we muſt rejoice in this, that our Doctrine is pure and uncorrupted; that our Worſhip is truly a *reaſonable Service*, freed from Idolatry and Superſtition; and that the main Lines of our Church Government agree to the Firſt Conſtitution of the Churches by the Apoſtles: So that upon the Grounds laid down by St. *John*, all may *hold Fellowſhip with us, ſince we hold Fellowſhip with the Father, and with the Son Jeſus Chriſt*.

May we all adhere firmly to the *Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, and continue in *their Fellowſhip, in Sacraments and Prayers*, ſuitably to the Rules laid down by them: Contending earneſtly for the Faith delivered by them to the *Saints*, the Firſt *Chriſtians*: *And may all who believe in God, be careful to maintain Good Works for Neceſſary Uſes*; which are both *Good and Profitable unto Men*; *avoiding Fooliſh Queſtions, and Contentions, for they are unprofitable and vain*.

May we all continue to recommend our Doctrine and Church by a Holy and Exemplary Deportment, *Shining as Lights, and walking Worthy of God, who has called us to his Kingdom and Glory*; improving all the Advantages that we have, and bearing with all the Defects that we labour under, uſing our beſt Endeavours to have them redreſſed; yet ſtill keeping the *Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*; waiting for ſuch a Glorious Conjuncture, as may reſtore every Thing among us to a Primitive Purity and Splendor: Which God may perhaps grant to the Prayers of thoſe who call on him Night and Day for it.

But

1567. But if we never ſee ſo happy a Time upon Earth, we know if we continue Watchful, and *Faithful to the Death*, we ſhall arrive at laſt at a Bleſſed Society, of *innumerable Companies of Angels*, and the *Spirits of Juſt Men made Perfect*; of whom is compoſed the *General Aſſembly and Church of the Firſt Born, who are Written in Heaven, who ſee and enjoy God for ever.* In the View of Directing my ſelf, and others thither, I have written, and now I do conclude this Work.

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An ADDITION.

I Have laid out, by all the Methods I could think on, for that *MS.* of Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*'s Hiſtory, that I mention *Pag.* 285. I once thought I had found it; for I fell on one Copy, that had belonged to the late Duke of *Lauderdale*; but it was not that which had belonged to me: Yet by that I ſee, that Archbiſhop came gradually, and not all at once, out of his firſt Opinion. For in this *MS.* there is a Material Difference in the Correction that is in the Archbiſhop's own Hand, from the firſt Draught. The firſt Draught is, That Princes *may commit Offences deſerving Deprivation*: But the *Correction* is, *They may fall into great Offences*, without any more. A little after he had written, *Whatſoever may be thought of this Opinion*; which imports ſome Doubt concerning it: Theſe Words are ſtruck out; but ſo that they are ſtill legible. A little after that, the *MS.* has it, that *by an Act of Council, all the Errours committed by the Queen Regent were reckoned up.* This is ſoftned, by theſe Words inſerted after *Errours*; *alledged to have been committed.* Thus it appears, that the Archbiſhop's firſt Notions, had carried him to write in a Stile that wanted great Correction, as his Thoughts grew into a better Digeſtion, or as his Intereſts carried him to ſee Things in a different Light, from that in which they had at firſt appeared to him.

A

COLLECTION

OF

Records, Letters,

AND

Original Papers;

With Other

INSTRUMENTS

Referr'd to in the Former HISTORY.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

Number 1.

The Bull *of Pope* Paul *the* IVth, *annulling all the Alienations of Church Lands.*

Reſciſſio alienationum & locationum quorumcunque bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum, in damnum Eccleſiarum, vel non ſervatis juris ſolemnitatibus aut alias nulliter factarum. *Bullar. Cherubini. Bulla ſecunda Pauli quarti.*

SImilem reſciſſionem fecit, Leo X. & poſtea Jul. III. quas prætermiſi tanquam minus neceſſarias, & eas inſeruit Rodoan. in ſuo Tract. de Reb. Eccleſ. non alienan. & eandem edidit etiam Pius IV. quo ad bona Sedis, & Cameræ Apoſtolicæ in conſt. 104. Apoſtolica. Quamvis prius ipſe hanc bullam generaliter reduxiſſet ad terminos juris communis in Conſt. 11. Provida. Sed Pius V. ejuſmodi bonorum omnium Eccleſiaſticorum alienationis reſciſſionem commiſit Collegio Fabricæ Baſilicæ S. Petri de Urbe, ut in ſua Conſt. 98. & ſi de ſingulis.

De alienationibus iſtis, habes ſupra Conſt. 1. Leonis 1. Fol. 1. & Pauli II. in Conſt. 5. Ambitioſæ. Fol. 329. Et de alienationibus ac infeudationibus Civitatum & Terrarum ſedis Apoſtolicæ, ac bonorum quæ ſubditi Papæ habent in ejus ſtatu Eccleſiaſtico, plene dicam in conſtitut. 1. Innocent IX. Quæ ab hac.

Paulus Epiſcopus, *ſervus ſervorum Dei. Ad futurum rei memoriam.* *Edita A. D.* 1555.

1. Injunctum nobis deſuper, meritis licet imparibus, Apoſtolicæ ſervitutis officium, mentem noſtram continua pulſat inſtantia, ut bona Eccleſiaſtica, quæ cæca hominum cupiditate occupata detinentur, Symmachus Papa bona Eccleſiaſtica alienari prohibuit. in c. 6. de Reb. Eccleſ. non alienan.

noſtræ operationis Miniſterio, ad jus, & proprietatem eorum quorum antea erant, omnino reducantur. Cum itaque (ſicut nobis innotuit) licet alias fel. re. Symmachus Papa Prædeceſſor noſter prædium Eccleſiæ pro aliqua neceſſitate quovis modo alienari, aut jura Eccleſiæ in uſum fructum dari prohibuerit, & lege hujuſmodi omnes cuſtodes aſtringi, ac donatorem, ac cenſuatorem, & venditorem honorem perdere, & qui præmiſſis ſubſcriberet, anathema eſſe, cum eo qui daret, ſive reciperet, niſi reſtituerentur, & quas libet Eccleſiaſticas perſonas contradicere, & cum fructibus alienata repoſcere poſſe, hocque non ſolum in Eccleſia Romana conſervari, verum etiam in univerſis per provincias Eccleſiis convenire voluerit.

Paulus 2. alienationes bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum, & ultra triennium locationes &c. interdixit in Conſt. cit. in rubr.

2. Et piæ mem. Paulus Papa 2. etiam prædeceſſor noſter omnium rerum, & bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum alienationem, omneque pactum, per quod ipſorum dominium transferretur, ac conceſſionem, hypothecam, locationem, & conductionem ultra triennium, necnon infeudationem, vel contractum emphyteuticum, præterquam in caſibus à jure permiſſis, ac de rebus & bonis in emphyteuſim ab antiquo concedi ſolitis, fieri prohibuerit. Et ſi quis contra hujus poſterioris prohibitionis ſeriem, de bonis & rebus eiſdem quicquam alienare preſumeret, alienatio, hypotheca, conceſſio, locatio, conductio, infeudatio hujuſmodi nullius omnino eſſent roboris, vel momenti, & tam qui alienaret, quam qui alienatas res, & bona reciperet, ſententiam excommunicationis incurreret, & nihilominus res & bona alienata hujuſmodi, ad Eccleſias, monaſteria, & loca pia, ad quæ antea pertinebant, libere reverterentur.

Alienationes tamen multæ factæ fuerunt in damnum Eccleſiarum, vel non ſervatis ſolemnitatibus.

3. Nihilominus à nonnullis annis citra diverſæ perſonæ, tam ſeculares quam Eccleſiaſticæ, complura Caſtra, Terras, Oppida, Civitates, & loca, tam Romanæ prædictæ, quam diverſarum Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitanum & aliarum Eccleſiarum, necnon Monaſteriorum, domorum, & aliorum Regularium locorum, ac Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Piorum locorum, prætextu diverſarum alienationum, eis de caſtris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, & locis prædictis in evidens damnum Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, domorum, Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Regularium, & Piorum locorum, ſeu alias non ſervatis ſolemnitatibus à jure requiſitis factarum occupaverint, & occupata detinuerint, detineant de præſenti, ac ex inde factum ſit, ut non ſolum Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, & domorum Prælati, ac Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Regularium, & Piorum locorum hujuſmodi Rectores, qui ex fructibus, redditibus & proventibus caſtrorum, terrarum, oppidorum, civitatum, & locorum hujuſmodi, Eccleſias, Monaſteria, & domus, Hoſpitalia, & alia loca prædicta gubernabant, & illuſtrabant, ac eorum Miniſtris alimoniam prebebant, notabiliter ſint damnificati, verum etiam Rom. Pont. qui antea egenis, & miſerabilibus perſonis, præſertim nobilibus ad hanc Almam Urbem pro tempore confugientibus alimenta aliunde ſubminiſtrare conſueverat, vix ſe & familiam ſuam ſuſtentare, ne dum aliis alimenta ſubminiſtrare poſſit, in divinæ Majeſtatis offenſam, & ordinis clericalis opprobrium, ac plurimorum Chriſti fidelium ſcandalum.

Idco hic Pont. alias reſcindit, & annullat.

4. Nos præmiſſa conniventibus oculis pertranſire nequeuntes, quinimmo cupientes eis, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, opportunum remedium adhibere, motu proprio, & ex certa noſtra ſcientia, ac de

Apoſtolicæ

Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, omnes & ſingulas alienationes, & in emphyteuſim, ſeu cenſum perpetuum, aut tertiam, vel aliam generationem, ſeu hominis vitam, aut aliud tempus ultra triennium locationes vel conceſſiones, ſeu permutationes, hypothecas, & obligationes, de quibus vis caſtris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, & locis, aut aliis bonis immobilibus, ſeu rebus, & juribus, tam ſpiritualibus quam temporalibus ejuſdem Romanæ, & quarumcunque Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitan, & aliarum Eccleſiarum, necnon Monaſteriorum, domorum, & aliorum Regularium locorum, & quorumvis beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, cum cura & ſine cura, ſecularium, & quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, necnon Hoſpitalium, & aliorum piorum locorum quorumlibet, per quoſcunque etiam Rom. Pont. prædeceſſores noſtros, ſeu eorum auctoritate, vel mandato, Camerarios ſuos, & Clericos Cameræ Apoſtolicæ Præſidentes, ac quoſvis Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, & domorum Prælatos, & beneficiatos, necnon Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Regularium, & piorum locorum Rectores, cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatus gradus, ordinis, & conditionis exiſtentes, etiam ſi Cardinalatus honore pollerent, in damnum Eccleſiæ, ſeu non ſervatis ſolemnitatibus à jure requiſitis, aut alias nulliter hactenus factas, & contractus ſuperinde ſub quibuſvis formis, & verborum expreſſionibus habitos, & Celebratos, etiam ſi juramento vallati exiſtant, & quantumvis longa temporis præſcriptione robur ſumpſiſſe dici poſſint, ac ipſius Romanæ Eccleſiæ favorum, aut commodum concernant, eorum omnium tenores, ac ſi de verbo ad verbum inſererenter, præſentibus pro expreſſis habentes, Apoſtolica auctoritate, tenore præſentium reſcindimus, irritamus, caſſamus, & annullamus, ac viribus omnino evacuamus, ac pro reſciſſis, irritis, caſſis, & nullis, ac penitus infectis haberi Volumus.

5. Ipſoſq; detentores ad Caſtra, terras, oppida, civitates, & loca occupata, ac bona, res, & jura prædicta Romanæ & Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitan ac aliis Eccleſiis, necnon Monaſteriis, domibus, Hoſpitalibus, & beneficiis, ac Regularibus, & piis locis relaxandum, & de fructibus, tam hactenus perceptis quam in poſterum percipiendis, realiter ſatisfaciendum teneri, & ad id etiam ſententiis, cenſuris, & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, ac etiam pecuniariis, omnibuſq; aliis opportunis, juris & facti, remediis cogi, & compelli poſſe. Detentores q: debere relaxare bona occupata, & fructus reſtituere declarat.

6. Sicque in præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis per quoſcunque Judices, & Commiſſarios, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam cauſarum Palatii Apoſtolici Auditores, & ipſius Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinales, ac eorum Collegium in quavis cauſa, & inſtantia, ſublata eis, & eorum cuilibet quavis aliter judicandi, & interpretandi auctoritate, & facultate, judicari, & diffiniri debere ac ſi ſecus ſuper his à quoquam quavis auctoritate, ſcienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum & inane decernimus. Decretum irritans.

7. Non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus, & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunque. Nulli ergo &c. Si quis &c. Clauſulæ derogatoriæ.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, 1555. Pridie idus Julii, Pont. noſtri Anno primo. D. P. An. 1. die 12. Julii.

A Letter

Number 2.

A Letter of Queen Katherine's *to King* Henry, *upon the Defeat of* James *the 4th, King of* Scotland.

An Original.

SIR,

Veſpatian. F. 3. P. 15.

MY Lord *Howard* hath ſent me a Letter open to your Grace within oon of myn, by the whiche ye ſhall ſee at length the grete Victorye that our Lord hath ſent your Subjects in your Abſence: And for this Cauſe it is noo nede herin to trouble your Grace with long Writing; but to my thinking this Batell hath been to your Grace and al your Realme the gretteſt Honor that coude bee, and more than ye ſhuld wyn al the Crown of *Fraunce*: Thankend bee God of it, and I am ſuer your Grace forgeteth not to doe this, which ſhal be cauſe to ſende you many more ſuche grete Victoryes, as truſt he ſhal doe. My Huſband, for haſtyneſſe with *Rogecroſſe*, I coude not ſend your Grace the Peeſe of the King of *Scotts* Cote, which *John Clyn* now bringeth, in this your Grace ſhall ſee, how I can kepe my Promys: Sending you for your Baners a Kings Cote. I thought to ſend himſelf unto you, but our *Engliſhe* Mens Harts wold not ſuffer it: It ſhuld have been better for hym to have been in Peas than to have this Rewarde, al that God ſendeth is for the beſt. My Lord of *Surroy*, My *Henry*, wold fayne knowe your Pleaſure in the Buryeing of the King of *Scotts* Body, for he hath written to me ſoo, with the next Meſſanger your Grace Pleaſure may bee herin knowen; and with this I make an ende, prayng God to ſende you Home ſhortly: For without this no Joye here can be accompliſhed: And for the ſame I pray and now go to our Lady at *Walſingham*, that I promiſed ſoe longe agoe to ſee, at *Woborne* the xvj Day of *September*.

I ſend your Grace herin a Bill founde in a *Scottyſhe* Mans Purſe, of ſuche Things as the *Frenſhe* King ſent to the ſaid King of *Scotts* to make Warre againſt you: Beſeeching you to ſend *Mathewe Heder* aſſone this Meſſanger cometh to bringe me Tydings from your Grace.

Your humble Wife and true

Servant

Katherine.

Number

Number 3.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolſey's *to King* Henry, *with a Copy of his Book for the Pope.*

An Original.

SIR,

THESE ſhall be onely to advertiſe your Grace that at this preſant Tyme I do ſende Mr *Tate* vnto your Highnes with the Booke bounden and dreſſed, which ye purpoſe to ſend to the Popes Holynes, with a Memoriall of ſuch other, as be allſo to be ſent by him with his autentique Bulles to all other Princes and Univerſities. And albeit Sr. this Booke is right honorable pleaſant and fair, yet I aſſure your Grace, that which *Hall* hath written (which within 4 Days wolbe parfited) is ferre more excellent and princely: And ſhall long contynue for your perpetuall Memory whereof your Grace ſhall be more plenarlye Informed by the ſaid Mr *Tate*. I do ſend alſo unto your Highnes the Choyſe of certeyne Verſis to be written in the Booke to be ſent to the Pope of your owne Hande: With the Subſcription of your Name to Remain *in Archivis Ecclie ad perpetuam & Immortalem veſtre Mageſtatis gloriam Laudem & memoriam*, by your

Paper-Office.

Moſt humble Chaplain

T Carlis. Ebor.

Number 4.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolſey's *to King* Henry, *about Foreign News; and concerning* Luther's *Anſwer to the King's Book.*

An Original.

SIR,

AFter my moſt humble and lowly recommendations, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe your Highneſs that as yet our Lord be thanked there is not commen any Confirmation either from *Rome Venice Italy France* or *Flanders* of the late Newes, which was ſent from the Archeduke to the Lady *Margaret*: whereof by many other Letters I advertiſed your Grace. So that nowe the ſaid News be generally reputed and taken but as frasks: and the braging avaunts of the *Spaniards* be ſo accalmed that they not only account ſuch Money as they have hitherto layde upon the ſaid News to be thereby Loſt; but alſo they dare not nowe aventre fyve foure or thre for a hundred. Howbeit Sir I do not a Lytel marvyle that ſinnes the ſeventh Day of the laſt Month in the which it was wrytten that

the feate againſt the *Venetians* ſhould be doon, there be more Letters commen either from *France Rome Venyſe* or *Italy*. It is bruted in *Flanders* that *Pavy* by Dedition ſhould be delivered to the ſaid *Venetians* hands, which if it be true your Grace ſhall ſhortly here of the *Spaniards* total exterminion out of *Italy*.

I forbere Sir to diſpech your Letters to the Cardinal of *Magunce* and the Duke *George* of *Saxe*: becauſe I have not as yet neyther *Luthers* original Letters, which were very neceſſary to be ſent to the Popes Holineſs, nor alſo any Copy thereof, which muſt nede be ſent with your Anſwer to the ſaid Cardinal and Duke. It may be your Pleaſure to take Orders that the ſaid Original Letter or Copy thereof may be ſent unto me with Diligence. Other News I have none to ſignify unto your Highneſs at this preſent tyme but as other ſhall occurr I ſhall not fail to advertiſe your Grace of the ſame accordingly. At your Grace mannor of *Hampton Court* the fourth Day of *Auguſt* by your

moſt humble Chapleyn
T. Carlis. Ebor.

To the Kings moſt Noble Grace, Defender of the Faith.

Number 5.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolſey's *to King* Henry, *ſent with Letters that the King was to write to the Emperor.*

An Original.

Paper-Office. AND foraſmuch as at my commyng to your Town of *Calais*, I ſuppoſe I ſhall be greatly preſſed to repair to the Emperors preſence, which to do without your Letters written with your owne hand I cannot conveniently do, Therfor I have diviſed two ſhort Letters, the one to the ſaid Emperor, and the other to my Lady, beſeechyng your grace to take the payne to write and ſende the ſame unto me by this berer; whom I perpoſely ſende at this tyme to your grace, ſurely to bring the ſame unto me with diligence. And albeit I ſhall have your ſaid Letters in redyneſs, yet I ſhall never the rather advance my Jorney towards hym till ſuch tyme as I ſhall ſee opertunite: ſo that I have takyn ſome convenient order, with the Ambaſſadors of *France* for voidyng of all Jelouſie and Suſpition: and as I ſhall proceed with the Ambaſſadors on both parties, and fynde them diſpoſed, ſo ſhall I advertiſe your grace with all diligence from tyme to tyme. And thus Heauen preſerue your moſt noble and roiall aſtate. At *Dover* the firſt day of *Auguſt* by your

moſt humble Chapleyn
T Car.lis Ebor.

To the Kings grace.

Numbe

Number 6.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolſey's *to the King, concerning the Emperor's Firmneſs to him.*

An Original.

SIR,

THes wrytten with my owne hand ſhall be onely to Advertiſe your Grace, what I do perceyve and be in the Emperors owne parſon, wich I aſſure your Grace for his Age is very wyſe and wel underſtanding hys afferys: rygth colde and temperat in ſpech, with aſſury'd maner towchyng hys words, rygth wel and to good purpoſe when he doth ſpeke: and undowgttydly by all appearance he ſhall prove a very wyſe Man, gretly inclyned to trewgth and obſervance of his promyſe; determynyd not onely faſtly holly and entirly for ever, from hens forth to be joyned with your Grace, leving all other practyſe and intellygens apart: but alſo in all his afferys to take and folowe your counſell and adviſe: And nothing to do without the ſame, And lyke as your Grace hath your ſinguler affyance in me, puttyng the Burdeyn of your officys on my ſhulders, thougth I knowleg my ſelf farr unmeet for the ſame; ſo he ys determyned to do for his part. And hereunto he hath not onely bowndyn him ſylf to me apart, twys or thrys by hys feyth and trowth givyn in my hande; but alſo he hath to every one of your Privy Counſell in moſt conſtant wyſe declary'd the ſame, in ſuche maner and faſhion as we all may perceyve that the ſame procedyth of his harte, without coloure, diſſymulation or faſhion. Wherfor, Syr, ye have cauſe to give thanks to almighty God, wich hath given you grace ſo to ordyr and commen your afferys, that ye be not only the ruler of thys your Realme, wich ys in an angle of the Worlde; but alſo by your wiſdome and counſel *Spayne*, *Itally*, *Almayne*, and thes Lowe Cowntyes, wich ys the greteſt parte of *Chryſtendome*, ſhall be ruled and governed. And as for *France*, thys knot nowe beyng aſſurydly knit, ſhall not fayle to do as your grace ſhall commande. What honour thys is to your highnes I dougth not but that your grace of your high wyſdom can rygth well conſyder: giveying moſt harty thanks to almighty God for the ſame accordingly, beſeechyng your grace moſt humbly ſo to do, whereby thys thyng thus honorably commenſyd ſhall not fayle to your great exultation, to come to the deſyryd ende: to the atteynyng wherof I ſhal empley my poore parſon wyt exſpenſyons, ſubſtance and Blood. From *Grevelyng* the 28th day of *Auguſt*, with the rude hand of your

Paper-Office.

Moſt humble Chapleyn

T Carlis Elor.

To the Kings grace ys owne hands onely.

Number 7.

The First Letter of Cardinal Wolsey *to King* Henry, *about his Election to the Popedom upon* Adrian's *Death.*

From the Originals lent me by Sir William Cook.

SIR,

IT may like your Highneſſe to underſtand I have this Houre received Letter's from your Orator's Reſident in the Court of *Rome*, mentioning how the xivth Day of this Inſtant Moneth It pleaſed Almighty God to call the Popes Holyneſſe to his Mercy, whoſe Soul our Lord Pardon. And in what trayn the Matters there were at that Time for Election of the future Pope, your Highneſſe ſhall perceive by the Letters of your ſaid Orator's, which I ſend unto the ſame at this Time, whereby appeareth that mine Abſence from thence ſhall be the onely Obſtacle (if any be) in the Election of me to that Dignity; albeit there is no great Semblance that the College of Cardinals ſhall conſent upon any being there preſent, becauſe of the ſundry Factions that be among themſelves, for which Cauſe, tho afore God, I repute my ſelf right unmeet and unable to ſo high and great Dignity, deſiring much rather to demure, continue and end my Life with your Grace, for doing of ſuch Service as may be to your Honour and Wealth of this your Realm, than to be X Popes; yet nevertheleſſe, remembring what Mind and Opinion your Grace was of, at the laſt Vacation, to have me preferred therunto, thinking that it ſhould be to the Honour Benefit, and Advancement of your Affaires in Time coming: And ſuppoſing verily that your Highneſſe perſiſteth in the ſame Mind and Intent, I ſhall deviſe ſuch Inſtructions Commiſſions and other Writings, as the laſt Time was delivered to Mr. *Pace* for that purpoſe: And the ſame I ſhall ſend to your Grace by the next Poſt, whom it may like to do farther therein as ſhall ſtand with your gracious Pleaſure, whereunto I ſhall always conform my ſelf accordingly. And to the Intent it may appear farther to your Grace what Mind and Determination they be of, towards mine Advancement, which as your Orators wrote, have now at this preſent Time the Principal Authority and Chief Stroke in the Election of the Pope, making in manner *Triumviratum*, I ſend unto your Highneſſe their ſeveral Letters to me addreſſed in that behalf, beſeeching our Lord that ſuch One may be choſen as may be to the Honour of God, the Weal of Chriſt's Church, and the Benefit of all *Chriſtendom*. And thus Jeſu preſerve your moſt Noble and Royal Eſtate: At the *More* the laſt Day of *September*, by

Your moſt humble Chaplayn

T Carlis. Ebor.

Number 9.

Number 8.

The Second Letter of Cardinal Wolſey *to the King, about the Succeſſion to the Popedom.*

SIR,

IT may like your Grace to underſtand that enſuing the Tenor of my Letter ſent unto your Highneſſe yeſterday, I have deviſed ſuch Commiſſions and Letters to be ſent unto your Counſellors the Biſhop of *Bath*, Mr *Richard Pace*, and Mr *Thomas Hanibal*, jointly and ſeverally, as at the laſt Time of Vacation of the Papall Dignity were delivered unto the ſaid Mr *Richard Pace*; for the Preferment either of me, or that failing of the Cardinal *de Medici* unto the ſame, which Letters and Commiſſions if it ſtand with your gracious Pleaſure to have that Matter ſet forth, It may like your Highneſſe of your Benign Grace and Goodneſs to ſigne, ſo to be ſent to the Court of *Rome* in ſuch diligence as the Importance of the ſame, with the Brevity of the Time doth neceſſarily require. And to th' Intent alſo that the Emperor may the more effectually and ſpeedily concurre with your Highneſſe for the furtherance hereof, Albeit I ſuppoſe verily that enſuing the Conference and Communications which he hath had with your Grace in that behalf, he hath not prætermitted before this Time to advance the ſame, yet nevertheleſſe for the more acceleration of this Furtherance to be given thereunto, I have alſo deviſed a familiar Letter in the Name of your Grace to be directed unto his Majeſty, which if it may pleaſe your Highneſſe to take the Payne for to write with your own Hand, putting thereunto your ſecret Sign and Mark, being between your Grace and the ſaid Emperor, ſhall undoubtedly do ſingular Benefit and Furtherance to your gracious Intent, and vertuous Purpoſe in that behalf. Beſeeching Almighty God that ſuch Effect may enſue thereof, as may be to his Pleaſure, the Contentatation of your Highneſſe, the Weal and Exaltation of your moſt Royal Eſtate, Realm and Affaires, And howſoever the Matter ſhall chance, I ſhall no leſſe knowledge my ſelf obliged and bounden farr above any my Deſerts unto your Highneſſe, then if I had attained the ſame, whereunto I would never in Thought aſpire, but to do Honor Good and Service unto your Noble Perſon and this your Realm. And thus Jeſu preſerve your moſt Noble and Royal Eſtate, At the *More* the Firſt Day of *October*, by

Your moſt humble Chaplayn

T. Carlis. Ebor.

Number 9.

The Third Letter of Cardinal Wolſey ; *giving an Account of the Election of Cardinal* Medici *to be Pope.*

SIR,

AFter my moſt humble and lowly Recommendations, This ſhall be onely to advertiſe your Highneſſe that after great and long Altercations and Contrariety which hath depended between the Cardinall's in the Conclave, they at the laſt fully reſolved and determined (the Faction of *France* abandoned) to elect and chooſe either my Lord Cardinal *de Medici* or Me, which Deliberation coming to the Knowledge of the Nobles and Citizens of *Rome*, they alledging that the Affairs of *Italy* being in the Trayn as they then were, It ſhould be to the extreme Danger thereof to chooſe a Perſon abſent, which could not ne might in Time come to put Remedy unto the ſame, made ſundry great Exclamations at the Conclave-Window, whereby the Cardinall's being in fear not only of the Inconvenience like to enſue unto *Italy*, but alſo of their own Perſon's, Albeit they were in manner principally bent upon me, yet for eſchewing of the ſaid Danger and Murmur, by Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, without further Difficulty or Buſineſſe the xixth Day of the laſt Moneth in the Morning elected and choſe the ſaid Cardinal *de Medici*, who immediately was publiſhed Pope, and hath taken the Name of *Clement* VII. Of which Good and Fortunate New's, Sir, your Highneſs hath much Cauſe to thank Almighty God : Foraſmuch as not onely he is a perfect and faithful Friend to the ſame, but that alſo much the rather by your Mean's he hath attained to this Dignity. And for my Part, as I take God to record, I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned upon my Perſon, knowing his excellent Qualitys, moſt meet for the ſame ; And how great and ſure a Friend your Grace and the Emperor be like to have of him, and I ſo good a Father, by whoſe Aſſumption unto that Dignity, not only your and the ſaid Emperors Affair's, but alſo of all *Chriſtendom* ſhall undoubtedly come to much better and more proſperous Perfection : Like as upon the Firſt Knowledge thereof the *Frenchmen* be clearly departed from *Milan*, and paſſed a River towards *France* called *Ticino*, Truſting that the next New's which ſhall come from thence ſhall be of their Arrival at Home, wherin as I ſhall have further Knowledge, ſo I ſhall Advertiſe your Highneſſe thereof accordingly, And thus Jeſu preſerve your moſt Noble and Royal Eſtate. At my poor Houſe beſides *Weſtminſter* the vith Day of *December*, by

Your moſt humble Chapleyn

T. Carlis Ebor.

Number 10.

A Remarkable Paſſage in Sir T. More's Utopia, *left out in the latter Editions.*

CÆterum Theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in Sacerdotes ac Monachos adeo eſt exhilaratus, ut jam ipſe quoque cæperit ludere, homo alioqui prope ad torvitatem gravis. At ne ſic quidem, inquit, extricaberis à mendicis, niſi nobis quoque proſpexeris fratribus. Atqui, inquit, paraſitus, hoc jam curatum eſt. Nam Cardinalis egregie proſpexit vobis, quum ſtatueret de cohercendis, atque opere exercendis erronibus. Nam vos eſtis errones maximi. Hoc quoque dictum, quum conjectis in Cardinalem oculis, eum viderent non abnuere, cæperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfuſus aceto, ſic indignatus eſt, atque incanduit, ut nec à conviciis quidem potuerit temperare: Hominem vocavit nebulonem, detractorem, ſuſurronem, & filium perditionis, minas interim terribiles citans è ſcriptura ſacra. Jam ſcurra ſerio ſcurrari cæpit. Et erat planè in ſua Palæſtra. Noli, inquit, iraſci bone frater, ſcriptum eſt, in patientia veſtra poſſidebitis animas veſtras. Rurſum frater (referam enim ipſius verba) non iraſcor, inquit, furcifer, vel ſaltem non pecco. Nam Pſalmiſta dicit, Iraſcimini & nolite peccare. Admonitus deinde frater à Cardinale ſuaviter, ut ſuos affectus compeſceret. Non domine, inquit, ego loquor niſi ex bono zela, unde dicitur, zelus domus tuæ comedit me. Et canitur in eccleſiis, Irriſores Helizei, dum conſcendit domum dei, zelum calui ſentiunt, ſicut fortaſſe ſentiet iſte deriſor, ſcurra, ribaldus. Facis inquit Cardinalis, bono fortaſſis affectu, ſed mihi videris facturus, neſcio an ſanctius, certe ſapientius, ſi te ita compares, ne cum homine ſtulto & ridiculo, ridiculum tibi certamen inſtituas. Non domine inquit, non facerem Sapientius nam Solomon ipſe Sapientiſſimus dicit: Reſponde ſtulto ſecundum ſtultitiam ejus, ſicut ego nunc facio, & demonſtro ei foveam in quam cadet, niſi bene præcaveat. Nam ſi multi irriſores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, ſenſerunt zelum calui, quanto magis ſentiet unus deriſor multorum fratrum, in quibus ſunt multi calui? Et etiam habemus bullam Papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos, ſunt excommunicati.

Number 11.

A Letter of the Pope's upon his Captivity, to Cardinal Wolsey.

An Original.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius* B. 9.

DIlecte fili noster Calamitas nostra cum à nobis digne explicari nequeat tuæ Circumspectioni per dilectum filium Equitem Castalium referretur qui interfuit ipse omnibus, & filium nobis amantem exhibens quam essent grata ejus in nos officia ad extremum ostendat. Nos in tanto constituti dolore & luctu unicum solamen ac spem in tuæ Circumspectionis apud illum Serenissimum Regem auctoritate & ipsius Regis erga nos & S. Ecclesiam pietate reponimus; ut pro vestra consuetudine & bonitate S. Ecclesiam tam indigne afflictam commendatam suscipiatis: sicut ex eodem Equite atque ex Nuntio nostro omni alio presidio quam tuæ benignitatis spoliato intelliget. Datum in Arce S. Angeli sexta Junii 1527.

J.

Number 12.

A Part of Cardinal Wolsey's *Letter to the King concerning his Marriage:*

Taken from the Original.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius*, B. 9. P. 146.

WE dayly and howerly musing and thinking on your Gracs gret and secrete Affayre, and howe the same may cume to good Effecte and desired Ende, aswel for the Deliverance of your Grace out of the thrauld pensif and dolorous Lif that the same is in, as for the Continuance of your Helth and the Suertie of your Realme and Succession, considering also that the Popes consent, or his Holines deteyned in Captivite, the Auctorite of the Cardinalls nowe to be convoked into *France* equivalent thereunto, must concurre for Approbation of such Processe as I shal make in that behaulf; and that if the Quene shal fortune, which it is to be supposed she will doe, eyther appele or utterly decline from my Jurisdiction (one of the said Auctorites is also necessaryly requisite) I have noon other thought ne studye but howe in avaylable maner the same may be attayned. And after long discussion and debating with my self, I finally am reduced and resolved to two Points; the oon is that the Poopes consent cannot be obteyned and had in this Case, oonles his Delyveraunce out of Captivite be first procured: the other is that the Cardinalls canne nothing doe in this behalfe, oonless there be by them Consultation and Order taken, what shall be doon *in Administratione rerum Ecclesiasticarum durante dicta captivitate summi Pontificis.*

As touching the Reſtitution of the Pope to Libertie the State of the preſent Affaires conſidred the moſt prompte ſure and redy waye is, by concluſion of the Peace betwixt the *Emperor* and the *French* King: for the avancement and ſetting forward whereof I ſhall put my ſelf in extreme devour, and by al poſſible meanes induce and perſuade the ſaid *French* King to ſtrayne himſelf and condeſcende to aſmuch of the Emperours Demands as may ſtande with Reaſon and Suertie of his and your Graces Affayres; moving him further, that foraſmuch as the Emperour taketh your Highnes as a Mediator making fayre demonſtration in Words, that he wil at your Contemplation and Arbitre, not oonly declare the botom of his Mynde concerning his Demaund, but alſo remitte and relent in the ſame, he wil be contented that your Grace forbering the Intimacion of Hoſtilite maye in the managing of the ſaid Peace and inducyng the Emperour to reaſonable Conditions, be ſo taken and reputed of him, without any outward declaration to the contrary untyl ſuch tyme as the conducying of the ſaid Peace ſhalbe clerely deſperate: Whereby if the ſaid *French* King canne be induced thereunto, maye in the meane ſeaſon uſe the benefit of their Entercourſe in the Emperours *Lowe-Countries:* not omitting nevertheles for the tyme of ſolliciting the ſaid Peace, the diligent Zeal and effectual Execution of the Sworde by Monſeur *de Lautrek* in the Parties of *Italy:* wherby your Graces ſaid Mediation ſhal be the more ſet by and regarded.

And in caſe the ſaid Peace cannot be by theſe means brought to effecte, whorupon might enſue the Popes delyverance, by whoſe auctorite and conſent your Graces affayre ſhuld take moſt ſure honourable effectual and ſubſtancial ende, and who I doubte not conſidering your Graces gratitude, wold facilly be induced to doe all things therin that might be to your Graces good ſatisfaction and purpoſe, thenne and in that caſe there is noone other remedy but the Convocation of the ſaid Cardinalls; who as I am enformed will not nor canne conveniently convene in any other Place but at *Avinion*, where the Adminiſtration of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction hath been in ſemblable Caſes heretofore exerciſed. To the which Place if the ſaid Cardinalls canne be induced to cume, your Highnes being ſoo contented, I purpoſe alſo to repare, not ſparing any labour travayl or payne in my body chargs or expenſe, to doe ſervice unto your Grace in that behalfe; according to my moſt bounden Dutie and harty Deſyre, there to conſulte and deviſe with them for the Governance and Adminiſtration of the Auctorite of the Church during the ſaid Captivity: which ſhall be a good Grounde and Fundament for the effectual execution of your Graces ſecrete Affayre.

And for aſmuch as thus reparing to *Avinion* I ſhall be nere to the Emperours Confines, and within an hundred Myles of *Perpinian* which is a commodious and convenient Place to commen and treate with the Emperors Perſonne, I think in my poor Opinion that the conducing of Peace by your Graces Mediation not being deſperate, nor Intimation of Hoſtilite made on your behalfe, it ſhould much conferre aſwell for the Delyverance of the Poope, as for concluding of the Peace between the *French* King and the Emperor, if his Majeſtie

ſtie canne be ſoe contented that a meating might be betwen him, my Lady the *French* Kinges Modre, and Me at the ſaid *Perpinian*; to the which ——

This is all in the Copy written in Cardinal Wolſey's *Hand.*

Number 13.

A Letter written by King Henry VIII. *to Cardinal* Wolſey, *recalling him Home.*

Among S.W. Cook's *Papers.*

MY Lord this ſhall be to thank you of your great paines and travaile which you have ſuſtained ſince your departure hence, for our buſyneſſe and cauſes: wherin you have done to us no little honour, pleaſure and profitt, and to our Realm an infinite goodneſſe; which Service cannot be by a kind Maſter forgotten, of which fault I truſt I ſhall never be accuſed, ſpecially to youward which ſo laborioufly do ſerve me. Furthermore becauſe as yet ſince the Popes Captivity we never ſent to ſalute him, nor have no Man reſident there to advertize us of the Affaires there; and alſo leſt the Queene ſhould prevent us by the Emperour's means in our great Matter; We think it meet to ſend this Bearer thither, of whoſe Truth and Sincerity we have had long proof, praying you to give him ſuch Inſtructions and Commiſſions as ſhall be for our Affair's there Requeſite: and that with convenient diligence, to the intent our Affair's there may have ſome ſtay. No more at this time, but that greatly I deſire your Return home, for here we have great Lack of you, and that you give full Credence to my Secretary this Bearer; Written with the Hand of your loving Sovereign Lord and Friend

HENRY R.

Number 14.

A Letter from Rome *by* Gardiner *to King* Henry, *ſetting forth the Pope's Artifices.*

An Original.

Paper-Office.

PLeaſeth it your Majeſtie to be advertiſed that endevoring our ſelfs to the beſt of our Powers al joyntely and I my ſelf aparte applying al my poore Wit and Lernyng to atteyne at the Popes hande ſum parte of the accomplyſhement of your Highnes deſires, finally have nothing prevayled: but now ſee it called in Queſtion whether the Auctorite geven to the Legats there ſhulde be revoked or noe. The circumſtaunce wherof and what hath been doon and ſaid therin, your Highnes ſhall underſtande by our commen Letters which we

have writen to my Lorde Legats Grace, but to ſaye as I conjecture I think that Matier was moved but for a ſtop of our other Suts, and that it is not erneſtely ment: And albeit there is mencion of the Queen in that Matier as thowe ſhe ſhould have a Procter for the ſame, yet the Pope two dayes before, in an other Comunication ſaid that the Emperour had advertiſed him, how the Queen wolde do nothing in this Matier, in ſaying nor ſpeaking to any Man for the let delaye or hindrance of this Matier, but as your Highnes ſhal wil and command her to doe: And that the Emperour ſaid, he would therfore more earneſtly looke unto the Cauſe himſelf. I marveled much when the Pope ſaid this, and me thought he ſpoke it as though he wolde we ſhuld ſignifie the ſame unto your Highnes, and I noted it the more, for becauſe your Highneſs had commanded me to enquire out who ſhuld be here the Queens Proctor: and it ſemed ſpoken for the nones, as to put me out of doubt therof. But whither the Pope hath this writen out of *Spayne* or out of *Englande*, I wot not what to ſaye. But it ſeemed ſtrange to us to rede in Cardinal *Campegnis*'s Letters, that neyther he nor *Campanus*, made on the Pope's Behalf, any Promyſe to your Highnes, but only in general Terms, conſidering that upon theſe ſpecial Terms *de plenetudine poteſtatis*, and truſt that the Pope wolde uſe that in your Highnes Cauſe, I was ſent hither, like as in my Inſtructions is conteyned: Which failing, your Highneſs I doubt not right well remembreth how Maſter *Wolman*, Mr. *Bell*, and I ſhowed your Highnes ſuch Things as wer to be required, not to be impetrable: My Truſt is that your Highnes wil accept in good Part my true Harte and good Will, which according to my moſt bounden Duty ſhall never want, but be holly applyed where your Highnes ſhall command without reſpeck or regard of any other lyving Creature, being very ſory to ſee your Highnes Cauſe handled in this ſorte. But your Highnes hath ſo much vertue in you, wherof God is to be thanked, as may ſuffice to converte other Mens Faults into Goodneſs, to your Highnes gret Glory, Renowne, and Immortal Fame: which is all that canne be ſaid after my poor Witt herin, conſidering that your Highnes hath been not well handled, nor according to your Merits by the Pope, or ſum other: it becometh not me to arrecte the Blame certaynly to any Man. And the Pope ſhewith Cardinal *Campegnis* Letters for his Diſcharge, which Thing your Highnes ſhall much better judge and conſider by your high Wiſdom thenne I came write, moſt humbly deſiring your Highnes that being in theſe Termes with the Popes Holyneſs, we may know of your Highneſs what to ſay further.

As touching the Bulles to be here impetracte for your Highneſs, I have ſpoken with the Popes Holynes, and he is content in all Points to grant as I required him, ſaving in that matier *de animadverſione in Clericos*, to the which he wolde not abſolutely aſſent, but ſaid he wold with the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* diviſe that ſhuld be to your Highnes Satisfaction: wiſhing then that he might grante as eaſely our other Peticions, which he knoweth your Highnes to have more to Harte, as he may theſe, adding by and by that he would for the Welth of *Chriſtendom*, the Queen wer in her Grave: and as he thought the Emperour wolde be thereof moſt glad of al: ſaying allſo

that he thought like as the Emperour hath deſtroyed the Temperaltis of the Church, ſoe ſhall ſhe be the Cauſe of the Deſtruction of the Spiritualties. Making exclamation of his Misfortune in whoſe Perſonne theſe two Adverſites ſhuld chaunce, and upon the Occaſion of that Famylie. Whenne we ſpeak with him we think we ſhuld have all Things, and in the Ende his Counſail denyeth all: By reaſon the Cardinall *Sanctorum quatuor* hath been ſick, and is every other Day ſikely, and for the moſt parte when the Cardinall is hol the Pope is ſike, we have yet no expedition of the ſaid Bulles, truſting that your Highnes will have Conſideration of theſe Letts, accordingly praying Almighty God to preſerve your moſt Noble and Royall Eſtate. From *Rome* the 4th Daye of *Maye*,

Your Highnes moſt Humble

Subject Servant and dayly Orator,

Steven Gardyner.

Number 15.

The Pope's Promiſe in the King's Affair.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius* B. 12.

CUM nos Clemens Domina providentia illius nominis papa ſeptimus modernus juſtitiam ejus cauſæ perpendences quam chariſſimus in Chriſto Filius noſter Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illuſtris Fidei Defenſor & dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus Matrimonii nullitate tanquam Notorium Publicum & famoſum, apud nos expoſuit, quod cum chariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra Catharina claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hiſpaniarum regis catholici Filia nulliter & de facto contraxiſſe & conſumaſſe affirmati leges tam dominas quam per humanas in ea parte notorie tranſgrediendo, prout revera ſic tranſgrediebat. Ad dilictos nobis in Chriſto Filios Thomam & Laurentium miſeratione divina ſancta Ceciliæ & ſanctæ Mariæ tranſtiberim reſpective titulorum noſtri & ſedis Aplicæ in Regno Angliæ predicto legatos de lacere commiſſionem ſub certa tunc expreſſa forma, quam pro hic inſerta & expreſſa haberi volumus & habemus; emiſerimus, ac eoſdem noſtros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimus, prout ſic etiam tenore preſentium effectualiter & pleniſſime conjunctim & diviſum committimus & deputamus, quo ammi noſtri eidem Henrico Regi in juſticia illa quam celerime adminiſtranda propenſionem certius & clarius atteſtemur ſecuriorem que reddamus de judiciorum labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in cauſis (ut nunc ſunt mores) juſtiſſimis non una forte ætate explicabili, denique ut proceſſus per eoſdem deputatos noſtros nuper & ſecundum tenorem dictæ commiſſionis habitus & factus fiendus ve aut habendus validus & firmus ac inconcuſſus maneat,

pro-

promittimus & in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemor, quod ad nullius preces requiſitionem inſtantiam mero ve motu aut aliter, ullas unquam literas, brevia, bullas; aut reſcripta aliave quecunque per modum vel juſtitiæ vel gratiæ aut aliter, quæ materiam emiſſarum ante hac in cauſa predicta commiſſionum commiſſionis ve predictæ proceſſus ve per hujuſmodum deputatos noſtros nuper & ſecundum tenorem dictarum commiſſionum commiſſionis ve predictæ habitus & factus habendi ve aut fiendi, inhibitoria, revocatoria, aut quoviſmodo prejudicialia quacunque racione contineant atque ut dictarum commiſſionum vel commiſſionis proceſſus vero hujuſmodi plenam perfectam finalem & effectualem executionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illa ve aut eorum aliqua revocentur, aut eiiſdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem prejudicent, concedemus: ſed datas a nobis eiiſdem deputatis noſtris commiſſiones & commiſſionum hujuſmodi proceſſum quæ per hujuſmodum deputatos noſtros juxta & ſecundum tenorem dictarum commiſſionum commiſſionis ve predictæ habitum & factum, habendum qua & fiendum ſua pleniſſima vi auctoritatum robore & efficacia realiter & cum effectu confirmabimus, ratihabemus, tenebimus & defendemus. Denique omnes tales literas brevia, bullas, aut reſcripta alia ve quæ dictarum commiſſionum commiſſionis ve hujuſmodi proceſſus ve antedicti executionem aut ejuſdem virtute decreta, deffinita, & pronunciatum per eoſdem deputatos noſtros, confirmare poſſint aut valent abſque mora recuſatione, difficultate, quacumque de tempore in tempus realiter & cum effectu valida & efficaria, dabimus & concedemus. Et inſuper promittimus & in verbo Romani pontificis pollicemur quod realiter & cum effectu valida & efficaria, dabimus & concedemus. Et inſuper promittimus & in verbo Romani pontificis pollicemur quod præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua nullacemus infringemus nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte tacite vel expreſſe, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis queſito colore vel ingenio, niſi vi vel metu coacti, vel dolo aut fraude ad hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus: ſed ea omnia & ſingula firma valida inconcuſſa & inviolabilia patiemur & permittemus. Ac infurum ſi (quod abſit) aliquid contra premiſſa vel eorum aliqua quoviſmodo faciemus aut attemptemus, illud pro caſſo irrito inani & vacuo omnino haberi volumus & habemus: ac nunc prout ex tunc, & extunc pro nunc, caſſamus, annullamus & reprobamus, nullius quæ roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel eſſe debere pronunciamus decrevimus & declaramus. Datum Viterbie Die xxiii July Milleſſimo Quingentiſſimo Vigeſſimo Octavo Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.

Ita eſt Clemens Papa Septimus Antedictus.

Number 16.

Some Account of the Proceedings of the Univerſity, in the Caſe of the Divorce, from Dr. Buckmaſter's *Book M. S. C. C. C.*

QUod hodie ſtudia veſtra interpellaverim, Doctiſſimi Senatores, ac Viri graviſſimi, Voluntas Regia in Cauſa eſt, cui pro inſigni bonitate ſua, ac ſummo quem erga nos & ſtudia noſtra gerit amore, tum etiam pro aliis forſitan negotiis, in quibus veſtras prudentias conſulere decrevit ſua Majeſtas, viſum eſt placuitque literis ſuis vos omnes ſalutare, quas ſi diligenter auſcultare velitis, à me ſtatim per legente audietis.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved the Vicechancellour, Doctors, and other Regents and Non-Regents of our Univerſitie of *Cambridge*.

By the Kyng.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, we grete you well. And wheras in the Matter of Matrimony between Us and the Quene, uppon Conſultation had with the greteſt Clerks of *Chriſtendom*, as well withoute this our Realme, as within the ſame, thei have in a grete Nombre affermed unto us in writing, and therunto ſubſcribed their Names, that, *Ducere uxorem Fratris mortui ſine liberis ſit prohibitum jure Divino & naturali*, which is the chefe and principall Point in our Cauſe. We therefore deſirouſe to knowe and underſtand your Myndes and Opynyons in that behalf, and nothinge dowtinge, but like as ye have always founde us to you and that our Univerſitie, favourable, benevolent, and glad to extend our auctoritie for your wealth and benefite, whan ye have required the ſame, ye will now likewiſe not omytt to doo any thyng wherby ye ſhulde myniſtre unto us gratuite and pleaſour, and ſpecially in declaration of the Truth, in a Cauſe ſo near touching us your Prince and Soveraine Lorde, our Soule, the Wealth alſo and Benefite of this our Realm, have ſent hither purely for that our Purpoſe, our Truſty and Right Well-beloved Clerks and Counſaillors, Mayſter Doctor *Gardyner* our Secretary, and Mayſter *Fox*, who ſhall on our behaulf further open and declare unto you the Circumſtances of the Premiſs: Wherfore we Will and Require you, not oonly to gyve ferme credence unto them, but alſo to advertiſe us by the ſame under the Comen Seale of that our Univerſitie of ſuch Oppynion in the Propoſition afore ſayd, as ſhall be ther concluded, and by the conſent of lerned Men ſhall be agreed upon. In doing wherof, ye ſhall deſerve our eſpeciall Thanks, and gyve us Cauſe to encreaſe our Favour towards you, as we ſhall not faile to do accordyngly. Yeven under our Signet at *York*'s *Place* the 16th Daye of *February*.

Accepiſtis modo quod poſtulat à vobis Regia Majeſtas, Intelligitis quæ ſit ejuſdem voluntas, nimirum nihil aliud, niſi ut veritas cujuſdam Concluſionis agnoſcatur atque inter nos determinetur, quam ut ſua refert plurimum ſcire, ita & nos pro ſtudio illo ac amore quem omnes gerere debemus in Principem noſtrum alioque Clementiſſimum, benigniſſimum & de nobis omnibus ac Achademia noſtra optime meritum, omne ſtudium ac diligentiam adhibere debemus, ut quod tam rationabiliter poſtulaverit, id impetreta nobis. Si de veritate quæſtio aliquando emergat, ubi potius aut melius inveſtigaretur, quam inter ipſos veritatis Profeſſores, ſi veritas perquiri debeat, ubi melius quam in ipſa Achademia, ubi & bona ſemper vigent ſtudia, ſolida judicia, ac mentes ab omni ambitione ſunt aliena. Verum ego prudentias veſtras prolixiori oratione non detinebo, vobis ac veſtro judicio iſta relinquam. Eſt cuique ſuus animus liber ac ingenuus. Dictet cuique in hac Cauſa Conſcientia ſua, Quod melius expedire viderit. Ego quod ad officium meum ſpectat, perficiam ſedulo, nempe ut primi conſulantur ſeniores, quid melius in hoc negotio putent faciendum, deinde & veſtras ſcrutabitur ſententias atque ſuffragia poſtulabimus.

Dixi.

The Forme of the Grace that was axed and graunted in the Accompliſment of the Kyng's Requeſte.

PLacet vobis ut Vicecancellarius, Doctores, Salcot, Watſon, Reps, Thomſon de Collegio Michaelis, Venetus, Edmonds, Downes, Wygan, Crome, Boſton, & Magiſtri, Mydelton, Heynes, Mylſente, Shaxton, Latymer, Symon, Mathew, Longforthe, Thyxtell, Nycols, Hutton, Skyp, Goodrick, Hethe, Hadway, Deye, & Bayne, una cum Procuratoribus, habeant plenam facultatem & authoritatem nomine totius Univerſitatis, reſpondendi literis Regiæ Majeſtatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Univerſitatis deffiniendi & determinandi quæſtionem in eiſdem literis propoſitam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum preſentium inter ſe decreverint reſpondendum dictis literis, & deffinierint ac determinaverint ſuper quæſtione propoſita in eiſdem, habeatur & reputetur pro reſponſione, deffinitione & determinatione totius Univerſitatis. Et quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus, Scrutatoribus, literis ſuper dictarum duarum partium reſponſione, deffinitione, & determinatione, concipiendis, ſigillum Commune Univerſitatis apponere: Sic quod publice diſputetur, & antea legantur coram Univerſitate abſque ulteriori gratia, deſuper obtinenda aut petenda.

9. *die Martii.*

Haudquaquam vos fugit (opinor) Clariſſ. Viri ac Senatores graviſſimi, ut nuper Excellentiſſimi Principis noſtri literas acceperitis, quibus cum ſuper quadam quæſtione inter illum ac Illuſtriſſimam Reginam Controverſâ, noſtram ſententiam deſideraret, flagitaret impenſe, nos (ut nos decuit) tanti Principis petitioni haudquaquam inique morem gerere volentes, tandem in illam omnium (preſertim Seniorum) ſuffragiis convenimus ſententiam, ut ſelectis quibuſdam Sacræ Theologiæ

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tum Profeſſoribus tum Bacchalauriis ac aliis Magiſtris, tantam quæſtionem examinandi, determinandi, ac deffiniendi, nomine totius Univerſitatis Provincia delegaretur. Illi (inter quos & ego minimus à vobis ſelectus) tantæ rei curam demandatam agentes, omni conſultatione, deliberatione, diligentiâ, ac ſacræ Scripturæ locorum conferentiâ, tum etiam Interpretum, denique publicâ diſputatione præmiſſis, tandem ad illius quæſtionis determinationem ac diffinitionem devenerunt. Super quâ ut nullus eſt veſtrum (quibus ea provincia commiſſa eſt) qui aut ambigere aut refragari poſſit: Ita & vobis omnibus (quod & Gratia à vobis conceſſa poſtulat) eandem compertam eſſe Volumus. Accipite igitur ac amplectimini, quod veſtra Cauſa, veſtriſque nominibus, à Fratribus veſtris, per ingentes labores, ac ſummam induſtriam exantlatum eſt. Determinatio in hiis ſcriptis comprehenſa ſic habet.

Nos Univerſitas ſtudentium Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, omnibus infra ſcripta lecturis audituris ve ſalutem. Cum occaſione cauſæ Matrimonialis, inter Invictiſſimum & Potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum noſtrum Henricum octavum Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæque Regem, Fidei Defenſorem, ac Dominum Hiberniæ, & Illuſtriſſimam Dominam Catharinam Reginam controverſæ, de illa quæſtione noſtra rogaretur ſententia: videlicet, An ſit jure Divino & naturali prohibitum, ne Frater ducat in uxorem Relictam fratris mortui ſine liberis? Nos de ea re deliberaturi more ſolito convenientes; atque communicatis conſiliis, Matura conſultatione tractantes quomodo, quo ordine ad inveſtigationem veritatis certius procederetur, ac omnium tandem ſuffragiis, ſelectis quibuſdam ex doctiſſimis Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſoribus, Bachalauriis, ac aliis Magiſtris ea cura demandata, ut ſcrutatis diligentiſſime Sacræ Scripturæ locis, illiſque collatis referrent ac renunciarent, quid ipſi dictæ quæſtioni reſpondendum putarent. Quoniam auditis, perpenſis, ac poſt publicam ſuper dicta quæſtione diſputationem matura deliberatione diſcuſſis hiis, quæ in quæſtione prædicta alterutram partem ſtatuere & convellere poſſint; illa nobis probabiliora, validiora, veriora, etiam & certiora, ac genuinum & ſyncerum Sacræ Scripturæ intellectum præ ſe ferentia, Interpretum etiam ſententiis magis conſona viſa ſunt, quæ confirmant & probant, jure divino & naturali prohibitum eſſe, ne Frater uxorem fratris mortui ſine liberis accipiat in conjugem: Illis igitur perſuaſi, & in unam opinionem convenientes, ad Quæſtionem prædictam ita reſpondendum decrevimus, & in hiis ſcriptis, nomine totius univerſitatis reſpondemus, ac pro Concluſione nobis ſolidiſſimis rationibus & validiſſimis argumentis comprobata affirmamus, quod ducere uxorem Fratris mortui ſine liberis, cognitam à priori viro per Carnalem copulam, nobis Chriſtianis hodie eſt prohibitum Jure Divino ac naturali. Atque in fidem & teſtimonium hujuſmodi noſtræ reſponſionis & affirmationis, hiis Literis ſigillum noſtrum commune curavimus apponi. Dat. Congregatione noſtra Cantebrigiæ, die nono Martii Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo nono. Dominica 2. Quadrageſimæ Anno Domini 1529. in Wyndeſor.

Delivered by me W.B. *Vicechancellour in the Chambre of Preſence,* poſt veſperas.

Your

Your Univerſitie of *Cambridge* have them moſt humbly commended unto your Grace, and here thei have ſent unto your Highneſs their Letters. Than kiſſe them and ſo deliver them.

Furthermore as touching your Requeſt expreſſed in your Letters dyrected unto them by Mr. Secretary and Mr. *Fox* your moſt wyſe Counſaillers in th' accompliſhing of the ſame, they have don their Devors, and here in Writing under their Comon Seale, thei have ſent unto your Grace ther Sentence, deſyring the ſame to accept, and to take it in parte and good worthe. And if thei had any thing ellys to gratify your Grace wythall, their Lettres and their Studies, your Highneſs ſhuld be ſuer therof to the uttermoſt of their Powers.

M. S. C. C. C. *Given to the College by Dr.* Jegon *Maſter.*

To the Right Worſhipfull Maſter Doctor Edmonds, *Vicar of* Alborne *in* Wiltſhire.

MY Duty remembred, I hartily commend me unto you, and I let you underſtand, that *Dominica Secunda* at Afternoon, I came to *Wyndſor*, and alſo to Part of Mr. *Latymer*'s Sermon, and after the end of the ſame, I ſpake with Mr. Secretary, and alſo with Mr. Provoſt, and ſo after Even-Song, I delivered our Letters in the Chamber of Preſence, all the Court beholding. The King with Mr. Secretary did there read them, but not the Letters of Determination, notwithſtanding that I did there alſo deliver them, with a Propoſition. His Highneſs gave me there great Thanks, and talked with me a good while. He much lauded our Wiſedomes and good Conveyance in the Matter, with the great Quietneſs in the ſame. He ſhewed me alſo what he had in his Hands for our Univerſity, according unto that, that Mr. Secretary did expreſs unto us, *&c.* So he departed. But by and by, he greatly praiſed Mr. *Latimer*'s Sermon, and in ſo praiſing ſayd on this wiſe, This diſpleaſeth greatly, Mr. Vicechancellour yonder. Yon ſame, ſayd he unto the Duke of *Norfolk*, is Mr. Vicechancellour of *Cambridge*, and ſo pointed unto me. Then he ſpake ſecretly unto the ſaid Duke, which after the King's Departure came unto me, and wellcomed me, ſaying amongſt other Things, that the King would ſpeak with me on the next day; and here is the firſt Act. On the next day, I waited untill it was Dinner time; and ſo at the laſt Dr. *Butt* came unto me, and brought a Reward, twenty Nobles for me, and five Marks for the younger Procter, which was with me; ſaying that I ſhould take that for a reſolute Anſwere, and that I might depart from the Court, when I would. Then came Mr. Provoſt, and when I had ſhewed him of the Anſwere, he ſayd, I ſhould ſpeak with the King at after Dinner for all that, and ſo brought me into a privy place, where as he would have me to wait at after Dinner. I came thither

and

and he both, and by One of the Clock, the King entred in. It was in a Gallery. There were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Provoſt, Mr. *Latimer*, Mr. Proctor, and I, and no more: The King there talked with us, untill Six of the Clock. I aſſure you, he was ſcarce contented with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provoſt, that this was not alſo determined, *An Papa poſſit diſpenſare*, &c. I made the beſt, and confirmed the ſame that they had ſhewed his Grace before, and how it would never have been ſo obtained. He opened his Minde, ſaying, that he would have it determined at after *Eſter*, and of the ſame was counſailed a while.

I pray you therefore ſtudy for us, for our Buſineſs is not yet at an end, *An Papa poteſt diſpenſare cum Jure Divino*, &c. Much other Communication we had, which were too long here to recite. Thus his Highneſs departed, caſting a little Holy Water of the Court: And I ſhortly after toke my Leave of Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provoſt, with whom I did not drink, ne yet was bidden, and on the Morrow departed from thence, thinking more than I did ſay, and being glad that I was out of the Court, where many Men, as I did both hear and perceive, did wonder at me. And here ſhall be an end for this time of this Fable.

All the World almoſt crieth out of *Cambridge* for this Act, and ſpecially on me, but I muſt bear it as well as I may. I have loſt a Benefice by it, which I ſhould have had within theſe ten Dayes. For there hath one falne in Mr. *Throckmorton*'s Gift, which he hath faithfully promiſed unto me many a time, but now his Mind is turned and alienate from me. If ye go to the Court at after *Eſter*, I pray you have me in remembrance there, as ye ſhall think beſt. But of this no more.———Mr. *Latymer* preacheth ſtill, *Quod æmuli ejus graviter ferunt*. I am informed, that *Oxford* hath now elected certain Perſons to determine the King's Queſtion. I hear ſay alſo, that Mr. Provoſt was there in great Jeopardy. Other Tidings I have none at this time, but that all the Company be in good Health, and heartily ſaluteth you. And thus fare you heartily well. At *Cambridge*, *in Craſtino Dominic. Palmarum.*

Your own to his Power,

William Buckmaſter.

The King willed me to ſend unto you, and to give you word of his Pleaſure in the ſaid Queſtion.

M. S. C. C. C. *Miſcellan. P.*

Number 17.

Three Letters written by K. Henry *to the Univerſity of* Oxford, *for their Opinion in the Cauſe of his Marriage.*

Letter I. *By the King.*

TRuſty and well beloved Subjects we greet you well. And whereas we have for an high and weighty Cauſe of ours, not only conſulted many and ſubſtantial well learn'd Men within our Realm and without, for certaine Conſiderations our Conſcience moving, we think it alſo very convenient to feel the Minds of you amongſt you in our Univerſity of *Oxenford*, which be erudite in the Faculty of Divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what Conformity ye be with the others, which marvelouſly both wiſely and ſubſtantially have declared to us their intent and mind: Not doubting but that ye for the Allegiance and Fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as ſincerely and truly without any Abuſe declare your Minds and Conſcience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to wilfull and ſiniſter Opinions of your own ſeveral Minds, not giving Credence to Miſreports and ſiniſter Opinions or Perſwaſions, conſidering we be your Soveraigne Leige Lord, totally giving your true Mind and Affection to the true Overture of Divine Learning in this behalf, do ſhew and declare your true and juſt Learning in the ſaid Cauſe, like as ye will abide by; wherin ye ſhall not only pleaſe Almighty God, but alſo us your Leige Lord. And we for your ſo doing ſhall be to you and our Univerſity there ſo Good and Gracious a Soveraigne Lord for the ſame, as ye ſhall perceive it well imploi'd to your well Fortune to come; In caſe you do not uprightly according to Divine Learning hand your ſelves herein, ye may be aſſured, that we not without great Cauſe, ſhall ſo quickly and ſharply look to your unnaturall Miſdemeanour herein, that it ſhall not be to your Quietneſs and Eaſe hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according both to Duty to God and your Prince, you ſett apart all untrue and ſiniſter Informations, and accommodate your ſelves to the meer Truth as it becommeth true Subjects to do; aſſuring you that thoſe that do, ſhall be eſteemed and ſet forth, and the contrary neglected and little ſet by: Truſting that now you know our Mind and Pleaſure, we ſhall ſee ſuch Conformitie among you, that we ſhall hereof take great Conſolation and Comfort, to the great Allegement of our Conſcience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect Credence to my Lord of *Lincolne* our Confeſſour in this behalfe and matter: and in all things which he ſhall declare unto you or cauſe to be declared in our behalfe, to make unto us either by him or the Authentick Letters full Anſwere and Reſolution, which your Duty's well remembred, We doubt not but that it ſhall be our high Contentation and Pleaſure. Given under, *&c.*

Ex MS. D. Kennet.

Letter II. *By the King.*

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. And of late being informed, to our no little Marvell and Diſcontentation, that a great Part of the Youth of that our Univerſity with contentious Factions and Manner, daily combineing together, neither regarding their Duty to Us their Soveraigne Lord, nor yet conforming themſelves to the Opinions and Orders of the vertuous, wiſe, ſage, and profound learned Men of that Univerſity, wilfully to ſtick upon the Opinion to have a great Number of Regents and Non-Regents to be aſſociate unto the Doctors, Proctors, and Batchelors of Divinity, for the Determination of our Queſtion; which we believe hath not been often ſeen, that ſuch a Number of right ſmall Learning in regard to the other, ſhould be join'd with ſo famous a Sort, or in a manner ſtay their Seniors in ſo weighty a Cauſe: which as we think ſhould be no ſmall Diſhonour to our Univerſity there, but moſt eſpecially to you the Seniors and Rulers of the ſame, aſſureing you that this their unnatural and unkind Demeanour is not only right much to our Diſpleaſure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what Ground and Occaſion they being our meere Subjects, ſhould ſhewe themſelves more unkind and wilfull in this Matter, than all other Univerſities, both in this and all other Regions do. Finally, We truſting in the Dexterity and Wiſdome of you and other the ſaid Diſcreet and Subſtantial Learned Men of that Univerſity, be in perfect Hope, that ye will conduce and frame the ſaid young Perſons unto good Order and Conformity, as it becommeth you to do. Wherefore we be deſirous to hear with incontinent Diligence, and doubt you not we ſhall regard the Demeanour of every one of the Univerſity, according to their Merits and Deſerts. And if the Youth of the Univerſity will play Maſteries, as they begin to do, We doubt not but that they ſhall well perceive, that *non eſt bonum irritare Crabrones.* Given under, *&c.*

Letter III.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved, the Commiſſary-Regents, and Non-Regents of our Univerſity of Oxon.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas by ſundry our Letters, ſent and delivered at ſundry times by the Hands of our Counſellors unto you, with Credence declared unto you by the ſame, we have only required and made inſtance unto you, for the obtaining of that, which at the leaſt Deſire of any Chriſtian Man ye be bound and oblig'd to do; that is to ſay, to declare and ſhew your Opinions and Sentence in ſuch a Doubt, as upon the Diſſolution and Determination whereof, dependeth the

Tranquility, Repoſe, and Quiet of our Conſcience, we cannot a litle marvell that you neither having reſpect to our Eſtate, being your Prince and Soveraigne Lord; nor yet remembring ſuch Gratuites and Benefits as we have always ſhew'd unto you, as well to the particular Wealth of Diverſe as to the Common Body of that our Univerſity, without any correſpondency ſhew'd on their Behalfe againe, have hitherto delay'd and deferr'd not only to ſend us your Determination and Reſolution to our Demand and Queſtion, but alſo refuſed to take Order, or enter into any Way or Meane, whereby you might declare or ſhew unto us, that ye be of Mind and Determination to endeavour your ſelfe for an Accompliſhment of our Deſire in that Behalfe. And ſo much the more marvell we at this your Manner of Delayes, that our Univerſity of *Cambridge* hath within far ſhorter Time not only agreed upon the Faſhion and Manner to make Anſwere unto us effectually, and with diligence following the ſame; but hath alſo 8 Days ſince ſent unto us their Anſwere under Common Seale, plainly determining, *Prohibitionem eſſe Divini & naturalis Juris, nè frater Uxorem fratris etiam mortui ſine liberis ducat Uxorem.* For the ſearching of the Truth in which Matter, if ye had before this Time condeſcended upon the Manner and Faſhion convenient in that Behalf, we could then have taken any Delay afterward, upon any other cold Pretence made, but in good Part: Whereas now the refuſeing to agree upon any ſuch Order, and denying to do that which ſhould be but the Entrie into the Matter for declaration of your Forwardneſs, Good Will, and Diligence: We can't otherwiſe think of you, but that you neither behave your ſelves towards Us, as our Merits towards you have deſerved, as good Subjects to a kind Prince and Sovereigne Lord; as by the Learning ye profeſſe, ye be obliged and bound. Wherefore revolving this in our Mind, and yet nevertheleſs conſidering you to be there by our Authority and Grant, as a Body Politique, in the ruleing whereof in Things to be done in the Name of the Whole, the Number of the Private Suffrages doth prevaile, and being loth to ſhewe our Diſpleaſure, whereof we have ſo great Cauſe miniſtred unto us, unto the Whole in general; whereas the Fault perchance conſiſteth and remaineth but in light and willfull Heads; for the tender Conſideration we bear to Learned Men, and the great Deſire we have to nouriſh, maintaine, and favour thoſe that are Good; have thought convenient to ſend unto you theſe Letters by our Truſty and Right Well-beloved Clarke and Counſeller, Mr. *Edwarde Fox*, truſting verily that ye which be Heads and Rulers there, well conſidering and weighing your Dutyes in the Accompliſhment of our Requeſt, for the ſearching the Truth in ſuch a Cauſe, as touching your Prince and Soveraigne Lord, our Soul, and the Wealth of this our Realme: and your great Lack and Blame with juſt Cauſe of High Diſpleaſure to be worthily conceiv'd by us in the denyall and ſlack doing thereof, will ſo order and accomodate the Faſhion, and paſſing ſuch Things as ſhould proceed from that Univerſity in this Caſe, as the Nunber of the private Suffrages given without reaſon, prevaile not againſt the Heads, Rulers, ſaid Sage Fathers, to the Detriment, Hindrance, and Inconvenience of the Whole. But ſo to examine, try, and weigh the Opinions and Minds of the Multitude, as the Importance of the Matter

doth require: Wherein we doubt not but your Body is eſtabliſhed in ſuch wiſe, that there be left waies and means to the Heads and Rulers how to eſchew and avoid ſuch Inconveniences, when they ſhall chance: As we truſt ye that be Heads and Rulers for the comprobation and declaration of particular good Minds, ye will not faile to do accordingly, and ſo by your Diligence to be ſhew'd hereafter, to redeem the Errors and Delaies paſt. The Favour we beare to the Maintenance of Learning, we would be very glad, as our ſaid well-beloved Councellour can ſhew unto you on our Behalfe; unto whom we will you give firme credence: Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor*.

Number 18.

Copie of the King's Letters to the Biſhop of Rome.

Ex MSS. Rymeri.

ETSI videamus vel temporum vel Hominum iniquitate fieri, ut poſtulata noſtra, quantumvis equa ac naturali ratione ſubnixa, parum expediantur, nihil etiam proficere, in cauſa noſtra juſtiſſima, Chariſſimi fratris & Conſanguinei ac perpetui Confederati noſtri, Chriſtianiſſimi Regis Amiciſſimas preces; Nobilium autem noſtrorum interceſſionem non modo contemni, ſed etiam derideri, quod eos equo animo non laturos exiſtimamus. Denique re ipſa nihil preſtari quod nos afflictos atque vexatos ſublevet; hæc omnia, licet apertius cernamus quam velimus, tum autem ex Oratoribus noſtris quos apud vos habemus, tum à veſtro iſthic Oratore cognoſcamus; eſt tamen ſpei opinioniſque noſtræ tam diverſus exitus ut ſubinde cogitantibus nobis ac memoria repetentibus omnes cauſæ noſtræ circumſtantias, porro autem ſingula Conferentibus que preceſſerunt queque ſecuta ſunt, fidem factorum, dictorum atque reſponſorum veſtræ Sanctit. in hac cauſa noſtra quam alioqui certam & firmam, fide dignorum Oratorum & veſtrorum & noſtrorum relatio conſtituit, ipſa ratio Communis labefactet atque convellat; atque in re certiſſima tam dubium reddit ut certo interdum non credamus Sanct. veſt. feciſſe que feciſſe cognoſcimus quum ea facere non debuiſſe intelligamus. Nam ut omittamus ea quæ longius preceſſerunt, quod nuperime efflagitavimus de dandis in Anglia Judicibus, quis Creddidiſſet Sanctitatem veſtram negare voluiſſe; longe aliter ſperabamus nos. Aliter certe credidit Chriſtianiſſimus Rex qui nobiſcum una id petiit: Aliter crediderunt ſui Conſiliarii, quorum ſuaſu id fecit: Secus crediderunt nobiles noſtri omnes, & omnes omnium ordinum primi viri. Qui ad noſtra poſtulata ſuas literas adjunxerunt, & quem non ad id adigerit ratio ut crederet Sanctitatem veſtram facturam Dei reſpecta quod debuiſſet, & in principum gratiam quod inculpate potuiſſet: debuiſſet certe permittere ſacroſanctis olim Conſiliis id definientibus, ut controverſia illic terminetur ubi primum nata eſt. Illic enim Judices & propius vident & cernunt certius: Ut Glorioſiſſimo Martyri Cypriano placuit. Et Divus Barnardus ad Eugenium

Eugenium ſcribit bene facis tu quod appellationum negato Suffragio remittis negotia ad cognoſcentes & qui noſcere citius poſſunt: ubi enim certior & facilior notio, ibi deciſio tutior & expeditior eſſe poteſt: potuiſſet autem Sanctitas veſtra nam olim ſe potuiſſe oſtendit cum Judices ad nos in Angliam mitteret quos poſtea revocavit. Quod ſi debuiſſet quidem quod negari non poterit, & potuiſſet etiam ut quidem factis antea ſuis de conſilio ſuorum declaravit, quis dubitaret de voluntate ſiquidem ut deberet ipſam liberam rectam & certam teneat Sanctitas veſtra, non ad aliena arbitria accomodatam ac humanis reſpectibus inſervientem quod res ita ſe habet ut habet fuerunt aliquando vices noſtri, nunc ut videmus aliorum ſunt: Non in Lege Domini, ſed in rerum viciſſitudine meditandem eſt, ut de veſtræ Sanctitatis Manu aliquod auxilii expectemus, ſed auxilium noſtrum à Domino certum eſt, & in Domino ſperantes non infirmabimur. Nam in conſpectu omnium, acta probant voluntatem Sanctitatis veſtræ totam Cæſari addictam eſſe: Illius nutu flecti, ad illius arbitrium attemperari. Si quid petimus, ſi quid rogamus, quod officii veſtri eſſet, prima ratio eſt, ut ne quid Cæſari diſpliceat. Quem etiamſi amicum habeamus, tamen dominantem in illo naturæ affectum ut improbare omnino non poſſumus, ita in hac cauſa noſtra iniquiorem nobis non ſine cauſa refugere debemus & recte graviſſimam nobis injuriam factam & veſtro officio indigniſſimum dedecus admiſſum videmus, ut cum Cæſar ſe in hac cauſa interpoſuerit, etiam cum ſe oppoſuerit definitioni appellatione interpoſita, cum ſe partem publice profeſſus ſit, veſtra Sanctitas tamen eundem ſemper conſultorem adhibeat: ad illius imperium figat, ac refigat, differat, proroget, mutet & ſtatuat quodcunque temporis rationi opportunum videatur. Et ſi quid ab adverſo dicatur ſtatim creditur: Si quid nos propoſuerimus omnino rejicitur, ſcilicet creditur nunc Reginæ Regnum noſtrum Angliæ non eſſe tutum locum in quo cauſa judicetur: Et creditur unicæ allegationi ſine teſtibus contra tam preclara & aperta documenta quæ nos in diverſum edidimus, non verbis & aſſertionibus que fingi poſſunt, ſed rebus ipſis & factis quæ non mentiuntur. Nos enim quanta cum libertate atque impunitate audivimus omnes in nos, liberius etiam quam oportuit, quod videbatur proferentes, nemini unquam aliam opinionem extorſimus, quam que animo videretur ſuo: diverſum à nobis ſentientes etiam in cæteris, favore & proſequimur & proſecuti ſumus. Et tamen, poſt tot argumenta ſecuritatis, & cum nullum ſignum adhuc apparuerit cur timere quiſquam à nobis merito deberet, credit veſtra Sanctitas nudam Reginæ allegationem in diverſum. Quo tempore dubitari potuit qualiter eſſemus laturi quod agereter & quanta cum equaminitate paſſuri quod fieret, ſi quid contra nos fieret. Miſſi ſunt ad nos Judices in Angliam, a Sanctitate veſtra, nunc vero cum id amplius factitari non poteſt, non modo dubitatur ſed creditur diverſum ejus, quod nos probavimus. Probavimus autem nos Regnum noſtrum locum eſſe tutum in quo cauſa noſtra judicetur viz. cum hactenus ſummam omnibus dicendi libertatem permiſerimus. Regina vero tantum allegat diverſum, & ſi quas probationes attulerit, vanæ ſint oportet & falſæ nec veriſimiles. Quæ quum ita ſint, aliud tamen cur Judices non dederit, non reſpondit Sanctitas veſtra, niſi quod Regina allegavit locum ſuſpectum. Et quis crederet Sanctitatem veſtram iſta nobis reſpondiſſe, nec aliud

dixeſſe ne Judices daret in partibus : certe referentium credulitatem exigit res vero ipſa negat. Si ſequamur quod antea diximus eam perſuaſionem ut credamus Sanctitatem veſtram voluntatem ſuam ita Cæſari addixiſſe, ut non ex animi veſtri ſumma prudentia præditi ſententia ſed ex Cæſaris affectu reſpondere contendat. Que res facet ut iterum atque iterum repetitis literis Sanctitatem veſtram adeamus, expreſſuri nimirum ſi quid aliud moverit Sanctitatem veſtram cur noſtris ultimis deſideriis non annuerit cupidi etiam literis veſtris intelligere cui cauſæ potiſſimum, denegando innixa ſit. Sic enim expreſſius & certius mentes invicem & animi noſtri ſententias communicabimus: Si in cauſis hiiſce gravioribus & poſtulata & reſponſa ſcriptis mandaverimus. Itaque petimus denuo hiis literis a Sanctitate veſtra ut cauſam noſtram in Anglia datis Judicibus, illis quos inter oratores tanquam indifferentes & equiſſimos nominabimus, decidi patiatur, atque permittat. De Judicibus autem nullam ut accipimus facit difficultatem Sanctitas veſtra, tantum de loco Queſtio fuit, quum ſacra Conſilia jam deffinierunt & Sanctus etiam Cyprianus & Divus Bernardus ut prædiximus, utique convenientiſſimum affirmant, ut in eo loco cauſa terminetur ubi primum nata eſt. Durum certe eſſet probare nudam Reginæ allegationem de loco ſuſpecto, contra ea Argumenta quæ nos oſtendimus. Et facile videt prudentia veſtra non levem nobis notam inuri, ut ea infamia aſpergamur, quaſi in cauſa tanti Sacramenti ſuſpecti haberemur, ne eam ex æquo & bono Divinarum legum præſcripto intra Regni noſtri limitem terminari pateremur : Suſpitio talis crimen eſſet etiam in infimo homuncione famoſum, in principe viro tanto magis angetur facinoris atrocitas, quanto ſublimius conſurgit faſtigium dignitatis : Nec poſſumus certe pati, nedum equanimiter ferre, ut de ſuſpitione tam gravi immerito accuſemur, ac ſine teſte etiam à veſtra Sanctitate inique condemnemur. Quæ ſi communis Patris & Boni paſtoris officio fungeretur, in eo potius laboraret ne quid temere cuiquam fiat, & ne ſine omni ſua culpa ledatur nec immerito notetur. Atque hoc nimirum eſt Chriſti vices in Terris gerere, conſervandæ Charitatis exempla prebere, ita ſuum vindicare ne quid alteri detrahatur, ex equo & bono omnia diſceptare, plane, ſimpliciter, & aperte agere, promiſſa preſtare non obliquo ductu, alio tendere quam quo curſum aperte inſtitueras. Hac omnia non aſcribimus Sanctitati veſtræ, nec de occultis Sacræ Literæ permittunt judicare, & nos ſemper temeraria judicia fugimus, nec in alium libenter admittimus, quod in nos ipſos fieri equanimiter nôn ferremus. Sed ſi veſtræ Sanctit. oratores, ſi veſtri nuncii, veſtri Magiſtratus, auctore Sanctitate veſtra faciunt quod faciunt, cujus Rei certum judicium Conſcientiæ veſtræ ſit, clara certe veriſimulitudo interim elucet: ſed ſi Auctor eſt veſtra Sanctitas, ſi Conſcia eſt, ſi facta probat, immo ſi non improbat aperte, non corrigit : Graviora ſunt his que ſupra memoravimus quæ in Sanctitatem veſtram dici poſſunt, nam quum Sanctitas veſtra omnibus modis primum conata eſt impedire ne quis in Cauſa noſtra ſuam ſententiam libere proferret, ac deinde poſt multas longas & varias preces, Juſtitiæ Adminiſtrandæ neceſſitate adacta, ut ſuum cuique liberum judicium permitteret, ſcribendi & dicendi quod ſuæ Conſcientiæ videretur, literis tandem in publicum miſſis permiſerit, omnibus liberam in Cauſa noſtra ſcribendi facultatem : Magiſtratus interea veſtri, veſtro etiam nomine, multis graviſſime minati ſunt, ſi quid

ſcripſerint

ſcripſerint in Poteſtatem veſtram. Hoc Bononiæ & aliis in locis permultis factum ſcimus. Cæſaris vero Oratores ubique in Italia, ac veſtris preſertim ditionibus, contempto veſtræ Sanctitatis edicto, indies non ceſſant Terrores, Minas, & cætera quæque Territamenta inculcare; ſciente & volente, vel ſaltem non impediente ſed connivente Sanctitate veſtra, his qui in Cauſa noſtra ſcripſerunt ac ſcriberent, ni revocent atque recantent. Et, qua Conſpiratione neſcimus, effectum eſt, ut Literarum noſtrarum nec liber ſit commeatus nec tutus. Chriſtianiſſimus verò Rex nobis ſignificavit, quomodo Orator veſter qui apud illum eſt, de Cauſa noſtra etiam nomine Sanctitatis veſtræ, ut quidem aſſeruit, in verba pronuntiavit; nec veritus eſt tanto Principi audacter & impudenter mentiri; ut diceret Cauſam noſtram contra omne jus & fas intendi, nullo jure aut ratione niti. Quæ verba, ſi ex animi veſtri ſententia protulit, non ſemper ex animi ſui ſententia, & ſcripſit & locuta eſt Sanctitas veſtra, quæ Cauſam noſtram aliquando juſtiſſimam appellavit. Quod ſi temeritas illius hominis à Sanctitatis veſtræ ſinceritate remota eſt, quod libentius vellemus, tamen quum eo munere fungatur, in quo ad mandatorum præſcripta agere videatur, ſaltem aliqua ratione diluenda ſuſpitio eſt: ſicque illis agendum, quos Splendor Dignitatis reddit conſpicuos; ne ullam ſcandali occaſionem præſtent, his quos in obſequio & amicitia continere cupiant. Nobiſcum autem ita agat Sanctitas veſtra, ut Naturæ Præcepta non tranſiliat; ſi ſuum ſibi integrum ſervari cupiat, ne noſtrum attingat, ne recipiat appellationes ad ſe in Cauſa noſtra: Et ſi quas receperit, ne contra juſtitiam eas tueri ſtudeat; ſed ſecundum juſtitiam, eas in Regnum remittat; ne exercere conetur inhibitiones ſuas, in hac Cauſa contra nos, aut ſubditos noſtros, quos illis modis non convenit deterreri. Sinat Leges & Prerogativas noſtras Regnique noſtri Angliæ, nec tempore nec auctoritate veſtris cedentes, ſua vi proceſſere: Inhibitiones iſtas, ſi quas fecerit, quod non credimus, maturiori Conſilio revocet quæ factæ ſunt, & cum alieni juris præjudicio, ne deinceps emittat. Summatim autem quod petitur; hoc eſt, ut ne ad ſe, neve ad Curiam Romanam, Cauſæ illius Cognitionem deferri patiatur, quæ intra Regni noſtri Limites debet terminari. Nec credat Sanctitas veſtra, ut cum Leges certas & fixas habeat hoc Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, ne Cauſæ quæcunq; Regiam Perſonam, aut Rempublicam quoquomodo tangentes, extra Regni Limites Judiciis tractentur; vel permiſſuros nos eas nobis regnantibus infringi & violari; vel paſſuros Regni noſtri Nobiles, tam grave præjudicium huic Regno inferri. Breviter ſite nil moveat Perſona rogantis, moveat ſaltem Cauſa rogandi. Rogamus enim nos, quia Naturæ & Rationi conſonum eſt, ut quod noſtrum eſt nobis illibatum conſervare ſtudeamus. Rogamus autem Auctoribus Sacroſanctis Conſiliis, hoc eſt, veſtris Legibus; viz. ut in ſua cujuſque Provincia Cauſa terminetur. Rogamus ex ſententia Divorum Cypriani & Bernardi, quibus hoc, ut ſupradiximus, equum viſum eſt. Denique rogamus, quod Leges noſtræ diverſum non patiantur, & nos à Contentionibus abhorremus. His certè non annuere non poteſt Sanctitas veſtra, ſi illum Charitatis fervorem habeat, quem & Titulus Dignitatis præ ſe fert, & nos etiam habemus. Veruntamen, ſi hæ Cauſæ Rogandi Sanctitatem veſtram moverint, ut concedat quod juſtum eſt, eatenus tamen

tamen apud nos valebunt, ne de Sanctitatis veſtræ manu patiamur quod injuſtum eſt: Nec quiſque facile patitur auferri, quod ſuum eſt. Et nos etiam in aliena illibenter irruimus, ſed à Contentione non abeſt detrimentum: Et nullius ferè compendio ſemel natæ Controverſiæ tranſiguntur: Quid animi habeat Sanctitas veſtra, quid autem nobis reſpondere decreverit, rogamus ut per Literas velit ſignificare.

Number 19.

A Letter of Gr. Caſſali *from* Compiegne.

An Original.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius* B. 13.

SEreniſſime & Invictiſſime Domine mi Supreme, Salutem. Compendium Regem Chriſtianiſſimum, quemadmodum ſibi placere ipſe mihi dixerat, ſum ſubſequutus. Cum ejus Majeſtati duo adhuc agenda ſupererant: Primum, quia meorum Literis certior factus ſum, brevi Pontificem cum Cæſare conventurum, Literæ ad duos Cardinales, qui Pariſiis ſunt, ab hoc Rege Chriſtianiſſimo conſcribendæ videbantur; quibus illis mandaret, quo celerius poterint magnis itineribus in Italiam feſtinent. Itaque veluti à Rege poſtulavi, ut hujuſmodi Literæ exarentur. Deinde valde exiſtimabam neceſſarium, cum hoc Principe agere, ut duobus Cardinalibus daret in mandatis, ut ante omnes Cardinalis de Monte meminiſſent. Eique Penſionem annuam, ſaltem trium millium aureorum, ex quadraginta millibus, quæ mihi dixerat velle in Cardinales diſtribuere aſſignarent. Et Rex quidem hoc etiam ſcribi ad duos Cardinales juſſit Secretario Vitandri: Quicum ego poſtmodo ſuper iis Penſionibus Sermonem habui, cognovique ſic in animo Regem habere, ut duo Cardinales quum Romæ fuerint, videant, qui potiſſimum digni hac Regia ſint Liberalitate, in eoſque, quum quid in Regno Galliæ Eccleſiaſticum vacare contigerit, ex meritis unius cujuſque Penſiones conferantur. Tunc autem nihil in promptu haberi, quod Cardinali de Monte dari poſſit: Verum Regis nomine illi de futuro eſſe promittendum, quod mihi certe ſummopere diſplicuit; & Secretario Vitandri non reticui, oſtendens Pollicitationes hujuſmodi centies, jam Cardinali de Monte factas fuiſſe; & modo ſi iterum fiant nihil aliud effecturas, niſi ut illius Viri quaſi ulcera pertractent id quod Vitandri verum eſſe fatebatur, pollicituſq; eſt ſe, quum Rex à Venatu rediiſſet, velle ei ſuadere, ut Cardinalem de Monte aliqua præſenti Penſione proſequatur; qua quidem te nihil conducibilius aut oportunius fieri poſſet.

Illud autem novi, quod meorum Literis ex urbe ſignificatur, ad Guronum perſcribi. Et D. Benettum ad Dominum Ducem Norfolciæ ſcribere arbitror his Literis, quæ hic mihi redditæ ſunt, & cum præſentibus mitto. Quod autem & Rege Chriſtianiſſimo cognovi illud eſt. Conſtituiſſe Cæſarem, ſuperioribus diebus, relinquere Ferdinan-

do

do Fratri viginti millia Peditum, Equitum decem millia ; ita ut ipſe ſolveret de ſuo Stipendia ſex millibus Boemorum, & duobus millibus Militum navalium : Quatuor vero millibus Germanorum darentur Stipendia à liberis Germaniæ Civitatibus. At reliquis qui Italorum erant octo millia, nihil certi Stipendij decernebat ; credens illos, quemadmodum in Italia plærumque evenire conſuevit, aut exigua re, aut ad ſummum dimidio Stipendio acquieturos. Ex decem Equitum millibus, duo millia ex Flammingis, Ordinibus relinquebant. In cæteros Stipendium à Pontifice, ut in illam diem factum fuerat, ſtatuebat. Sed enim Itali Milites, male ſe tractari exiſtimantes, tumultu facto Italiam verſus abierunt ; quod quum reliqui cognoviſſent, alij alio domos ſuas omnes diſceſſerunt. Hujus autem ſeditionis Crimen in Petrum Mariam Rubeum Comitem Sancti Secundi collatum fuit: Idque quoniam diſcedentes milites ipſius comitis nomen clamantes ingeminabant: Illum igitur Cæſar comprehendi juſſit: Et Cardinalem Medices quoque legatum ut ejuſdem affinem culpæ detineri, ac paulo poſt dimitti imperavit: qui primo quoque tempore per equos diſpoſitos abiens Venetias ſe contulit: Atque hanc quidem rem Pontifex, ut debuit, iniquo animo tuliſſe dicitur; & de adeo inſigni contumelia cum Cæſarianis omnibus eſt conqueſtus. Verum, illi quibus modis potuerunt, Cæſarem excuſarunt, rogaruntq; ut placato ſit animo donec Cæſarem ipſum audiat, qui oſtendet quicquid fecit in ipſius Pontificis, beneficium feciſſe. De conventu Pontificis Cæſariſq; pro certo ferme habetur Bononiæ futurum: Et ut ex litteris colligi poteſt, jam nunc Cæſar Italiam cum duodecim milibus peditum ingreſſus eſt : Et Pontifex ab urbe Bononiam verſus diſcedet, Romam enim venerat Petrus Cona Cæſaris legatus ad Pontificem deducendum: Qua de re quum hic certior factus eſſem, ad Franciſcum fratrem meum, qui Romæ eſt, ſcripſi, ut Cardinalem de Monte, & alterum amicum noſtrum adiret, rogaretque velint cum Pontifice agere, ut quoniam ita feſtinanter Bononiam contendit, neque ipſos ſecum ducere poteſt, promittat ſe nihil antequam Romam redierit in cauſa Majeſtatis veſtræ facturum, quum præſertim abſque ipſis nihil recte in tanto negotio confici poſſit. Præterea fratri meo ut idem nonnullis aliis Cardinalibus diceret mandavi: quod ſi viderit non poſſe id a Pontifice impetrari, ab ipſis contendet ut Pontificem omnino ſequuntur, neque ætas decrepita illos moretur, ſed quoquo modo ſeſe deferri faciant : Neque velit Cardinalis de Monte, quemadmodum alias fecit, abſente Pontifice legatus in urbe remanere, præſertim ſi, quod firme ab omnibus creditur, Pontifex Bononiæ uſque in menſem Martium aut Aprilem eſt commoraturus. Sed nunc quod ſcribam omittendum non eſt. Quum Caletio diſcedens equum conſediſſem, Secretarius qui illic erat Nuntii Pontificii, ſe litteras habere à Nuntio mihi dixit, quibus reſpondebat ad quandam partem ſuarum litterarum, quæ illi meis verbis ſignificarat, velle ſe omnino ad Pontificem ſcribere, ne quicquam in cauſa Majeſtatis veſtræ ante reditum meum ageret, ea enim me allaturum, quæ ſibi rationabiliter placere poſſent, dummodo nihil ſuper cauſa factum fuiſſet. Reſponſum autem Nuntii illud erat, ſe in eam ſententiam ad Pontificem ſcripſiſſe, & de ea ita ſcripſiſſe, ut mihi polliceretur, nihil ante quam ego redierim in Majeſtatis veſtræ cauſa innovatum fore: enimvero me rogavit

ut aliquid boni, & quod noſtris placere poſſet afferrem, ne ipſe mentitus eſſe videretur.

Sed de penſione in Cardinalem de Monte conferenda, quoniam poſtmodo Rex Chriſtianiſſimus quemadmodum mihi promiſerat ſcribere recuſavit, & me rogavit ut adventum magni magiſtri expectarem, quid ſequutum ſit Majeſtas veſtra ex Domino Wintonienſi cognoſcet, ad quem de hac re abunde ſcripſi. Felix ſit & optime valeat Majeſtas veſtra. Compendii Die xvj. Novemb. M. D. xxxij.

Regia Majeſtatis.

Number 20.

A Repreſentation made by the Convocation to the King before the Submiſſion.

Cotton Library, *Cleop. F.* 1.

FIrſt, as concerning ſuch Conſtitutions and Ordinances Provincial as be to be made hereafter by us your moſt humble Subjects, we having our eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your moſt Excellent Wiſdom, and your Princely Goodneſs and fervent Zeal to the Promotion of Gods Honour and Chriſten Religion, and ſpecially in your incomparable Learning farr exceeding in our Judgments the Learning of all other Kings and Princes that we have redde of, and doubting nothing but that the ſame ſhall ſtill continue and daily encreaſe in your Majeſtie, do offer and promiſe hereunto the ſame that from henceforth *during your Highneſs natural Life* which we moſt hertily beſeech Almighty God long to preſerve, we ſhall forbear to enact promulge or put in Execution, any ſuch Conſtitution or Ordinance ſo by us to be made in time coming, unleſs your Highneſs by your Royal Aſſent ſhall licenſe us to make promulge and execute ſuch Conſtitutions, and the ſame ſo made ſhall approve by your Higneſs Authorite.

Secounde, Whereas your Highneſs Honorable Commons do pretend that diverſe of the Conſtitutions Provincial, which have ben heretofore enacted be not only much prejudicial to your Highneſs Prerogative Royal, but alſo overmuch onerous to your ſaid Commons, we your moſt humble Subjects for the Conſiderations aforeſaid, be contented to referr and commit all and ſingular the ſaid Conſtitutions to the Examination and Judgment of your Grace only: And which ſoever of the ſame ſhall finally be found thought and judged by your Graces moſt high Wiſdom prejudiciall and overmuch onerous as is pretended, we offer and promiſe your Highneſs to moderate or utterly to abrogate and annull the ſame, according to the Judgment of your Grace. Saving to us allwaie all ſuch Immunities and Liberties of this Church of *England*, as hath been granted unto the ſame by the Goodneſs and Benignite of your Highneſs, and of others your moſt noble

noble Progenitors, with all ſuch Conſtitutions Provincial as do ſtand with the Laws of Almighty God *and Holy Church*, and of your Realm heretofore made, which we moſt humbly beſeech your Grace to ratifie and approve by your Royal Aſſent, for the better Execution of the ſame in Times to come, amongſt your Graces People. Providing alſo that until your Highneſs Pleaſure herein ſhall be further declared unto us, all manner of Ordinaries may execute their Juriſdictions in like manner and form as they have uſed the ſame in Times paſt.

Number 21.

A Letter by Magnus *to* Cromwell, *concerning the Convocation of* York.

Taken from the Original.

AFter full due Recommendation unto your good Maſterſhip, like it the ſame to wete, that yeſterdaie was here with me Mr. Doctor *Lee*, and ſhewed unto me the Kings moſt gracious Pleaſure and your Advertiſements for my going Northwards to the Convocation at *York*. So it is, as I doubt not the ſaid Mr. Doctor *Lee* knoweth and conceiveth, that I have not a little been ſik and diſeaſed, but greatly grieved with a Rewme in myn Hed, and a Catarr fallen into my Stomake, by reaſon whereof, I have had, and yet have a contynuall great Cough, I am in truſte that my Diſeas and Sicknes is in Declination, ſuppoſing thereby the ſooner to have Recovery, and this Daye have ſent for my Horſes into *Nottingham ſhir*, and truſte with the Helpe of God to be at *York* ſoone after the Begynning of the ſaid Convocation. Many Yeres afore-paſſed, I have ever been redy to go when I have been commanded, and yet I have as good a Will as ever I had, but myn olde Body is nowe ſoe ofte cloggod with Infirmitie and Unweildenes, that it woll not aunſwer to the Effect of my Deſire and good mynde, yet nevertheles with the good Helpe and Counſell alſo of Mr. *Bartlot*, I ſhall doe aſmuch as I may to make me ſoe ſtrong as it woll be, and have had Communycation at large with the ſaid Mr. Doctor *Lee*, touching our intended Buſineſs. I am very glad that he ſhall be at *York* at this Seaſon, for at the laſte Convocation where as was graunted unto the Kings Highneſs the great Some of Mony to be paide in Five Yeres, with the recogniſing his Grace to be *ſupremum Caput*, *&c.* I had very litle Helpe, but my ſelf, albeit the Kings Highneſs ſaid that he wolde have ſent other Bookes after me, which came not: ſoe that therefore the Kinges Cauſes were the longer in treating and reaſonyng or they came to good Effect and Concluſion; the Prelates and Clergie there woll not in any wiſe give firme Credence to reporte of any Acts that be paſte here, onles the ſame be ſhewed unto them authentically, either under Seale,

Cleop. E. 6. P. 252.

Seale, or otherwiſe, or the Kings moſt honourable Letters addreſſed accordingly, theſe two things in myn Oppynnyon, muſt both be done, for without the ſame, the Prelats and Clergie of the North Parties being farre from Knowledge of the Kings moſt high Pleaſure, woll not for any Credence, be haſtie to proceed to any ſtrainge Acts, but woll eſteem their Reaſons and Lernyng, to be as effectuall as others be. I write the more at large unto you herryne, bycauſe, as it ſhall pleaſe you, and as ye ſhall ſeem good, the Matters that now be intended, may be put in order. Glad I would have been to have commen nowe unto you my ſelf, but I aſſure you, I dare not as yet come into the open Ayer, ſoe ſoone as I may, it ſhall be my firſte Pilgrimage by the Grace of God, who ever preſerve you myn one good Maſter. At *Maribone* this *Monday* the xxth Daye of *Aprill*.

Your own Preiſte

and Bedeman

T. Magnus.

Number 22.

A Proteſtation made by Warham, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *againſt all the Acts paſs'd in the Parliament to the Prejudice of the Church.*

Proteſtatio Archiepiſcopi Cantuar.

1531. P. 120. IN Dei Nomine. Amen. Per præſens publicum inſtrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter & ſit notum, quòd Anno Domini ſecundum Curſum & Computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo xxxi°. Indictione Quintâ, Pontificatûs Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri, Domini Clementis Divinâ Providentiâ illius Nominis Papæ Septimi, Anno Nono, Menſis verò Februarii die vigeſimo quarto: In quodam ſuperiori Cubiculo ſive Camerâ infra Manerium Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini, Domini *Wilhelmi* Permiſſione Divinâ Cant' Archiepiſcopi, totius Angliæ Primatis, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis legati, de Lambithe Winton' Dioc. ſituatum in noſtrorum Notariorum Publicorum Subſcriptorum, ac Teſtium inferius Nominatorum, præſentiâ conſtitutus perſonaliter idem Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater, quandam Proteſtationem, in ſcriptis redactam, fecit, & interpoſuit, ac palàm & publicè Proteſtatus eſt, cæteràque fecit & exercuit prout, & quemadmodum quâdam Papiri Schedulâ, quam manibus ſuis tunc tenens publicè legebat, plenius continebatur; cujus quidem Schedulæ tenor ſequitur, & eſt talis.

In

In Dei Nomine. Amen. Nos *Wilhelmus* permiſſione divinâ Cant. Arch. totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatus, Proteſtamur publicè & expreſsè, pro nobis, & ſanctâ Eccleſiâ noſtrâ Metropoliticâ Cantuarienſi, quod nolumus, nec intendimus, ſicuti neque ſanâ Conſcientiâ poſſumus, *Alicui ſtatuto* in præſenti Parliamento apud Fratres Prædicatores London tertio die menſis Novembris Anno Dom' 1529. & Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xxi. inchoat', & abinde uſq; ad Weſtm' prorogat', & ibidem huc uſque continuat', *edito*, ſeu *deinceps edendo*, quatenus ſtatuta hujuſmodi, ſeu eorum aliquod, in derogationem *Romani Pontificis*, aut *Sedis Apoſtolicæ*; vel damnum Præjudicium, ſive Reſtrictionem *Eccleſiaſticæ Poteſtatis*; aut in Subverſionem, Enervationem, ſeu Derogationem, vel Diminutionem, *Jurium*, *Conſuetudinum*, *Privilegiorum*, *Prærogativarum*, *Præ-eminentiarum*, ſeu *Libertatis Eccleſiæ noſtræ Metropoliticæ Chriſti Cant'* prædict' tendere dignoſcuntur, *quomodolibet conſentire*; ſed ad omnem Juris effectum qui exinde ſequi poterit aut debebit, eiſdem *Diſſentire*, *Reclamare*, *Contradicere*; ac *Diſſentimus*, *Reclamamus*, & *Contradicimus* in his ſcriptis. Super quibus omnibus, & ſingulis præmiſſis, idem Reverendiſſimus Pater nos Notarios publicos ſubſcriptos ſibi unum, vel plura, publicum ſeu publica, Inſtrumentum ſive Inſtrumenta, exinde conficere debitè & inſtanter requiſivit & rogavit.

Acta ſunt hæc omnia & ſingula prout ſupra ſcribuntur & recitantur ſub Anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, Menſe, Die, & loco prædictis; Præſentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, & probis Viris, Magiſtris Johanne Cocks, legum Doctore: Rogero Harmam Theologiæ Baccalaureo: Ingelramno Bedill, Clerico: Et Wilhelmo Waren Literato, Teſtibus ad præmiſſa vocatis ſpecialiter & rogatis.

Iſtud Inſtrumentum ſimiliter erat ſubſcriptum manibus prædictorum trium Notariorum, *with the foregoing Inſtrument*; *which was that of the Submiſſion of the Clergy. They were* William Potkyn, John Hering, *and* Thomas Argal.

This was copied out of a MS. in my Lord Longvill's *Library.*

Number 23.

To the King. From *Edmund Bonner* at *Marſelles.*

A Letter of Bonner's *upon his reading the King's Appeal to the Pope.*

An Original.

PLeaſeth it your Highnes to be advertiſed, that ſythen my laſt Letters ſent unto the ſame of the ivth of this preſent by *Thadens* the Curror wherein I declared in what Termes were the Proceedings here *Cotton* Library, *Vitellius* B. 14. Fol. 75.

here, I was commaunded by my Lord of *Winchester* and other your Highnes Ambaſſadoures here, to intimate unto the Popes Perſon, if the ſame were poſſible to do, all ſuche Provocations and Appelles which your Highnes heretofore had made unto the Generall Councell, and ſent hither to be intimated accordinglie. Whereupon deſiring Mr. *Penyſton* to take the Pains with me unto the Popes Palace for the Expeditions of an Acte concernyng your Highnes, and he right glad and very well content to do the ſame: I repayred with hym thither the viith of this preſent, in the Mornyng, and albeit that at the Begynnyng ſome Reſiſtence and Contradiction was made that we ſhold not come unto the Pope, which as then was in manner full readye to come unto the Conſiſtorie; And therefore not accuſtomed with other Buſineſs to be interrupted, yet in Concluſion we came to that Chamber where the Pope ſtode bytwene two Cardinalles, *de Medices*, and *Lorayne*, redie apparelled with his Stole towards the Conſiſtorie. And incontinently upon my comyng thither, the Pope, whos Sight is incredulous quick, eyed me, and that divers tymes, making a good Pawſe in one place, in which tyme I deſired the Datary to advertiſe his Holines that I deſired to ſpeke with him. And albeit the Datarie made no litle Difficultie therein thinking the Tyme and Place not moſt convenient, yet perceyvyng that upon Refuſal I wool have goon furthwith to the Pope, he advertiſed the Pope of my ſaid Deſire. And his Holynes diſmyſſing as then the ſaid Cardinals, and letting his Veſture fall went to a Wyndowe in the ſaid Chamber calling me unto him, at what tyme (doyng Reverence accuſtomed) I ſhew'd unto his Holynes how that your Highneſs had given me expreſſe and ſtrayte Commandment to intimate unto hym, how that your Grace had firſt ſolomly provoked and allſo after that appealled unto the Generall Councell, ſubmitting your ſelf to the Tuition and Defence thereof, which Provocation and Appelles I ſaid I had under authentike Writinges then with me to ſhewe for that Purpoſe. Declaring that your Highnes was moved thus to doo upon reaſonable Cauſes and Grounds expreſſed in the ſaid Provocation and Appelles, and yet neverthelefs ſoo tempering your Doynges that beynge a good and Catholike Prince, and proceeding thereafter, your Grace mynded not any thing to ſay, doo, or goo about agaynſt the Holie Catholique and Apoſtolique Churche, or the Authority of the See, otherwiſe then was the Office of a good Catholike Prince, and chaunſing ſoo to doo indeed intended in Tyme and Place according, Catholiquely to reforme and await the ſame. And herewithall I drew out the ſaid Writing ſhewing his ſaid Holynes that I brought the ſame for Proof of the Premiſſes and that his Holynes might ſee and perceive all the ſame, adding hereunto that your Highnes uſed theſe Remedies not in any Contempt either of the Churche, the See, or of his Holynes, but only upon Cauſes expreſſed in the ſaid Writings. Deſiring alſo his Holynes that althoughe in tymes paſſed it liked hym to ſhewe unto me much Benevolence and Kyndnes wherbie I muſt and did accompte my ſelf greatly bounden unto the ſame, yet conſidering the Obligations a Subject muſt and doth of Right beare chiefly unto his Sovereyne Lord, he wood take al my Doyngs in good parte, and not to aſcribe any Unkyndnes unto me in this behalfe, but only to conſider

der that a Subject and Servant muſt do his Maſters Commandement. The Pope havyng this for a Brekefaſt, only pulled downe his Head to his Shoulders after the *Italion* Faſhion, and ſaid that becauſe he was as then fully ready to goe to the Conſiſtorie he would not tarye to hear or ſee the ſaid Writings; but willed me to come at after noone and he would gladly giffme Audience to all the ſame, and other things that I would propoſe or do, whereupon his Holynes departing ſtreyght to the Conſiſtorie, I returned to your ſaid Ambaſſadors, telling them what I had doon, and what Anſwer I had. That after noone I and Mr. *Penyſton*(whom I entended aſwel in the Popes Anſweres, as alſo in other my Doinge, to uſe as a Wittnes if the Cauſe ſhould ſoe require,)repayred to the Palace, and bycauſe that Audience was aſſigned unto many, and among others unto the Ambaſſador of *Millan*, I tarried there the Space of an Howre and Halfe, and finally was called into the Pope's Secret Chamber, where (taking with me Mr. *Penyſton*) I founde his Holines having only with hym *Godſadyn* of *Bononie*; The Pope perceyving that I had brought one with me, looked much upon hym, and a great deale the more, in my Opinion, bycauſe that in the Morning I did ſpeak with his Holines alone, Mr. *Penyſton* albeit beyng in the ſaid Chambre, and ſeying what I did, yet not reſorting nye unto his ſaid Holines. And to put the Pope out of this Fantaſie, and ſomewhat to colour my Entent, I tolde his Holynes that the ſaid Mr. *Penyſton* was the Gentilman that had brought unto me Commiſſion and Letters from your Highnes, to intimate unto his Holynes the Provocation and Appeal forſaid; the Pope percaſe not fully herewith ſatisfied, and ſuppoſing that I would (as I indede entended) have recorde upon my Doyngs, ſaid, that it were good for him to have his Datarie, and alſo other of his Counſell, to hear and ſee what were done in that Behalfe, and thereupon called for his Datarie, *Symonetta*, and *Capiſuchi*. In the mean whyle, they beyng abſent, and ſent for, his Holynes leaning in his Wyndow towardes the Weſt ſyde, after a little Pawſe turned unto me, and asked me of my Lord of *Wincheſter* how he did, and likewiſe afterward of Mr. *Brian*; but after that ſort that we thought he would make me believe that he knew not of his being here, ſaying thos Words; How doth Mr. *Brian*, is he here now: and after that I had anſwered hereunto, his Holynes not a little ſeeming to lament the Death of Mr. Doctor *Bennet*, whom he ſaid was a Faithfull and Good True Servant unto your Holynes, enquired of me whether I was preſent at the Time of his Death, and falling out of that, and marvelling, as he ſaid, that your Highneſs would uſe his Holyneſs after ſuch ſorte, as it appears ye did: I ſaid that your Highnes no leſs did marveyll that his Holynes havyng found ſo much Benevolence and Kyndnes at your Handes in all Tymes paſſed, would for acquitall ſhewe ſuch unkyndnes as of late he did, as well in not admitting your Excuſator with your lawfull Defences, as alſoe pronouncing againſt your Highnes: and here we entered in Comunication upon two Poyntes, oon was that his Holynes having comitted in Tymes paſſed, and in mooſt ample Forme, the Cauſe into the Realm, promiſing not to revoke the ſaid Commiſſion, and over that to confirm the Proceſſe and Sentence of the Commiſſaries, beyng Two Cardinalles and Legates of his See, ſhould not eſpecially

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at the Poynt of Sentence, have advoked the Cauſe from their Hands, reteyning it at *Rome*, but at the leſt, he ſhould have committed the ſame to ſome other indifferent Judges within your Realme, making herein that it could not be retayned at *Rome*: This Argument was Either his Holynes would have the Matter examyned and ended, or he would not: If he would, then either he would have it examined and ended in a Place whither your Highneſs might perſonally come, and ellſe bende to ſend your Proctor, or elſe in that Place whither your Highnes nother couud or ought perſonally to come unto; Ne yet bounde to ſende a Proctor; if he intended in a Place whither your Highnes might perſonally come, and elles bound to ſend a Proctor he intended well and ought to have provided accordingly. If he entended that the Matter ſhuld be examyned and ended in that Place wher your Highnes neither could nor ought perſonally to come, nor yet bounde to ſend a Proctor then his Holynes did not well and juſtly. Seying that ether your Highneſs ſhuld therbie be compelled to make a Proctor in Matter of ſuch Importance againſt your Will; or enforced to a Thing unto you impoſſible, or elles to be left without Defence, having juſt Cauſe of Abſence. And for as much as *Rome* was a Place whither your Highnes could not ne yet ought perſonally come unto, and alſoe was not bound to ſend thither your Proctor: I ſaid therefore that his Holynes juſtly ſhuld not have retayned the Matter at *Rome*. The Second Point was that your Highnes Cauſe beyng in the Opinion of the beſt Learned Men in *Chriſtendome* approved Good and Juſt, and ſo many wayes known unto his Holynes; the ſame ſhuld not ſoe long have retayned it in his Hands without Judgment: His Holynes anſwering to the ſame, as touching the Firſt Poynt, ſaid that if the Quene (meanyng the late Wife of Prince *Arthure*, calling her alway in his Converſation, the Queen) had not given an Oath *perhorreſcentiæ & quod non ſperabat conſequi Juſtitiæ complementum impartibus*, refuſing the Judges as ſuſpect, he would not have advoked the Matter at all, but been content it ſhuld have been examyned and ended in your Realm; but ſeyng ſhe gave that Othe and refuſed the Judges as ſuſpect, appealling alſo to his Courte, he ſaid he might and ought to hear her, his Promiſe made to your Highnes, which was qualified, notwithſtanding. And as touching the Seconde Poynt, his Holynes ſaid that your Highnes only was the Defaut thereof, bycauſe ye woulde not ſend a Proxie unto the Cauſe, without which he ſaid the ſame coude not be determyned, And albeit I replied aſwell againſt his Anſwere to the Firſt Poynt, ſaying that his Holynes cou'd ne yet thereupon retaine the Matter at *Rome*, and proceed againſt your Highnes there, and likewiſe againſt the Seconde Poynt, ſaying that your Highnes was not bounde to ſende any Proxie, yet his Holynes ſeeing that the Datarie was come in upon this laſt Concluſion, ſaid only that al theſe Matters had been oft, and many Tymes fully talked upon at *Rome*, and therefore willed me to omitte ferther communication thereupon, and to proceede to the Declaration, and doing of ſuch Things, that I was ſpecially ſent for: Whereupon making Proteſtation of your Highnes Mynde and Intent towardes the Church, and See Apoſtolique, not intending any Thing to doe in contempt of the ſame,

ſame I exhibited unto his Holynes the Commiſſion which your Highnes had ſent unto me under your private Seale (the other ſent by *Frances* the Curror not beyng then come) deſiring and asking according to the Tenour thereof, and his Holynes delivering it to the Datarie commanded hym to rede it, and hereing in the ſame thes Wordes, *Gravaminibus & injuriis nobis ab eodem ſanctiſſimo Patre illatis & comminatis*, began to loke up after a new ſorte and ſaid, *O queſto & multo vero*, this is much true., meanyng that it was not true indede. And verily ſure not only in this but alſo in many Partes of the ſaid Commiſſion as they were red he ſhewed hymſelf grevouſlie offended: inſomuch that when thoſe Wordes, *Ad ſacro-ſanctum concilium generale proxime jam futurum legittimum & in loco congruenti celebrandum*, were red, he fell in a marvelous great Cholere and Rage, not only declaring the ſame by his Geſture and Manner, but alſo by Wordes: ſpeaking with great Vehemence, and ſaying, Why did not the King (meanyng your Majeſtie) when I wrote to my Nuncio this you paſſed to ſpeke, unto hym for this Generall Councell, giff no Anſwer unto my ſaid Nuncio, but referred hym for Anſwere therein to the *French* King; at what Tyme he might perceive by my doyng (he ſaid) that I was very well diſpoſed and much ſpake for it: the thing ſo ſtanding, now to ſpeke of a General Councel, O good Lord. But well! his Commiſſion, and all other his Writings cannot be but welcome unto me, he ſaid, whiche laſt Wordes we thought he ſpake willing to hide his Choler, and make me byleve that he was nothing angrie with this Doyngs, where in very dede I perceived by many Arguments that it was otherwiſe: and one among another was taken here for Unfallible with them that knoweth the Popes Conditions, that he was contynually folding up and unwynding of his Handkerchefe, which he never doth but when he is tykled to the very Hert with great Choler. And albeit he was lothe to leave Converſation of this Generall Councel to eaſe his Stomack, yet at the laſt he commanded the Datarie to rede further: which he did. And by and by, upon the reding of thoos Clauſes, *ſi oportat Rever. Patribus*, *&c.* and *poſt* and his Holynes eftſones chafed greatly; finally ſaying, *Queſto e boon fiatto*, this is but well doon. And what tyme that Clauſe *Proteſtando*, *&c.* and alſo that oother, *Nos ad ea Juris & facti remedia*, was red by the Datarie, he cauſed hym to rede theym again; which doon, his Holynes not a litle chafyng with hymſelf asked what I had moore. And then I repeting my Proteſtation, did exhibit unto him your Highnes Provocation, which incontenently he delivered to the Datarie to rede, and in this alſo he founde hym ſelf much greived, notyng in the Begynnyng not oonly thoſe Wordes *Archiepiſcopo Eboracenſi*, but alſo thus, *Citra tum renocat. quorum cumque procuratorum*: at which he made good pawſe, conjectering therebie as I toke it, that ther were Proctors made which might excerciſe and appear in your Name if your Highnes had ther with be contented. The Datarie reding ferther and comyng to thoſe Woords *quod non eſt noſtræ intentionis*, *&c.* his Holynes with great Vehemence ſays, that thoughe your Highnes in your Proteſtation had reſpect to the Church and Authorite of the See Apoſtolique, yet you had noon to hym at al; whereunto I anſwered and ſaid it was not ſoe,

as his Holynes ſhould perceyve in the other Writings. But of truth ſay what I ſay wooled ther was in Manor never a Clauſe in the ſaid Provocation that ſoe pleaſed him, but he woold wrynge and whriſt it to the worſt Senſe; as in Annotations upon the Margynes aſwell of Provocation as alſoe Appellations, I ſhall fully declare unto your Highneſs; which yet nevertheles at this time bycauſe it cannot be perfect at the Departure of this Byrer I doo not ſend it to your Highnes. As the Detarie was reding this Provocation, came in *Symoneta*, and even at thoſe Woords, *Sed deinde publico eantur judicio.* Wherin the Pope ſnarling and ſayeing that *publicum*, *Symoneta* ſaid no ſuch was never had. *Symoneta* ſaid, now ſyne they ſpake of that Archbiſhop, I ſuppoſe, that made that good Proceſſe, the Cauſe depending afore your Holynes in the Conſiſtorie. A ſaid the Pope a worſhipful Proceſſe and Judgment. And as he was chafing hereupon, ther came oon of his Chamber to tell hym that the *French* King did comme to ſpeke with his Holynes: And incontenently hereapon the Pope made great haſt to mete hym; and even at the very Door they mette together, the *French* King makyng very lowe Curtiſie, putting of his Bonet, and keping it of, till he came to a Table in the Popes Chamber. And albeit I much dout not that the *French* King knew right well what Doyngs was in hand, advertiſed thereof by oon *Nicolas* his Secretarie and alſo of the Popes Pryvey Chamber, yet his Grace asked of the Pope what his Holynes did. And the ſame gave Anſwer and ſaid, *Queſti ſignori Ingleſi ſono ſtati qua per intimare certi provocationi & appellationi e di fare altre coſe*, Theis Gentlemen of *England* be here to intimate certeyn Provocations and Appelles and to do other things. Whereupon they two ſecretly did fall in Converſation; but what it was I cannot tell: the *French* Kinge his Back was againſt me, and I underſtood not what he ſaid. Trouth it is, when the *French* King had ſpoke a longe tyme and made ende of his Tale, the Pope ſaid thoſe Wordes, *Queſta e per la bonta voſtræ*, This is of your Goodnes. Proceding ferther in Converſation and laughing meryly together they ſo talked the Space of three Quarters of an Hower, it beyng then after Six of the Clock in the Nyght, and in Concluſion the *French* Kinge making great Reverance toke his leave, but the Pope went with him to the Chamber Dorre, and albeit the *French* King woold not have ſuffered hym further to have goon, yet his Holynes following hym out of the Doore toke hym by the Hande and brought him to the Doore of the Seconde Chamber, where making great Ceremonies the oon to the other, they departed, the Pope returnyng to his Chamber, and ſeyng me ſtande at Doore, willed me to enter with hym. And ſo I did havyng with me Mr. *Penyſton*. And then and ther the Datarie red out the reſt of the Provocation: interrupted yet many tymes by the Pope, which ofte for the Eaſement of his Mynde made his Interpretations and Notes, eſpecially if it touched the Mariage which of late your Highnes made with the Quene that now is, or the Proceſſe made by the Archbiſhoppe of *Canturburie*.

The Provocations red, with muche a doo, I under Proteſtations forſaid did intimate unto him the two Appelles, made alſo by your Highnes to the Generall Councell afor my Lord of *Wincheſter*, which his

his Holynes delyvered to his Datarie commanding hym to rede theym Notyng and marking well all Manner and Contentes thereof: and noo leſſe offended therbie then he was with the oother. In the reding whereof came in the Cardinal *de Medices*, whiche ſtoode bare headed contynually during the reding thereof, caſting down his Hede to the Grounde, and not a litle marvelling, as it appered unto me, that the Pope was ſo troubled and mourned. When this was doon, his Holynes ſaid that foraſmuch as this was a Matter of great Weyght, and Importance, towching alſoe the Cardinalls, he woold conſulte and deliberate with them hereupon in the Conſiſtorie, and afterwardes gif me Anſwer therein. I contented therewith, deſired ferther his Holynes that foraſmuch as he had hard all the Provocations and Apelles, ſeying alſo the Original Writings thereupon, that I might have thym again; bycauſe I ſaid I muſt aſwell to the Cardinales as alſoe to other Judges and Perſons havyng Intereſt, make Intimation accordingly. His Holynes in the Begynnyng was preciſe that I ſhould in noe wiſe have thym; but they to remain with hym. Nevertheles afterward perceyvyng that I much ſtode upon it, he anſwered and ſaid that like wiſe as concernyng the Provocations and Appelles with my Petition concernyng the ſame, he entended to giff me Anſwer after that he had conſulted with the Cardinalles in the Conſiſtorie, ſo alſoe he entended to doo accordyng redelyvering of the ſaid Writings. And hereupon departed from him about Eight of the Clocke in the Nyght, havyng remayned afar mor then three Howers, I repayred to my Lord of *Wincheſter* and other your Highnes Ambaſſadors here, telling them what I had doon, and what Anſwer alſoe was giffen unto me.

On the Morowe following which was *Saatterday*, albeit ther was Conſiſtorie yet the ſame was extraordinarie, chiefly for the Declaration of the newe Cardinalles, the Biſhop of *Beziers*, the Biſhop of *Langres*, the great Mayſters Nevew, and the Duke of *Albanie* his Brother. And in the ſaid Conſiſtorie as far as I could learn ther was nothing ſpecially ſpoken or determyned concernyng the ſaid Provocations and Appelles, or Anſwer to be given unto the ſame. Upon *Sonday* the ixth of this preſent at after noone havyng the ſaid Mr. *Penyſton* with me I repayred to the Palace, and ſpake ther with the Datarie to knowe when I ſhould have Anſwer of the Pope, and he told me that the Day following ſhuld be the Conſiſtorie, and that the Pope after the ſame would giff me Anſwer, and albeit that the ſaid Datarie thus ſaid unto me, yet willing to be ſure, I induced on *Carol de Blanchis* my great Acquaintance and one of the chieff Cameraries with the Pope, to enquire of his Holynes when I ſhould receive and have Anſwer to the Provocations and Appelles, with other things purpoſed afor by me unto his Holynes. And his Holynes gave unto hym to be declared unto me the ſelf ſame Anſwer that the Datarie afor had gyven unto me, whereupon I departed for that Day.

Apon *Monday* the xth of this was ordinary Conſiſtorie, and thider I, having with me the ſaid Mr. *Penyſton*, repayred. Tarieng ther alſoo unto the Tyme that all were commaunded furth, ſavyng the Cardinals: And underſtanding then eftſones by the Datarie that I muſt come agayne at Afternoone for Anſwer, I did for that

Tyme departe, reſorting at Afternoon unto the Palace, and after that I had taried ther ij Howers, in the Chamber next unto the Pope, which all that Tyme continually was occupied in Bleſſing of Bedes, Giving his Bleſſing, and ſuffering the Ladies and Nobles of the Court to kiſs his Foot: I was called in unto hym, ther beyng ther only in the Chamber Cardinal *Salviati* and the Datarie. At my comyng he ſaid unto me, *Domine Doctor quid vultis?* And I told his Holynes that I loked for Anſwer acording as his Holynes had promiſed me afor. And then he ſaid that his Mynde towards your Highnes alwayes hath been to myniſter Juſtice, and do Pleaſure unto you, albeit it hath not been ſo taken. And he never injuſtely griefed your Grace that he knoweth, nor entendeth hereafter to doo. And as concernyng the Appellations made by your Highnes unto the General Counſel, he ſaid that foraſmuche as ther was a Conſtitution of Pope *Pius* his Predeceſſor, that did condemne and reprove all ſuch Appelles, he therfor did reject your Grace Appeales as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful. And as touching the Generall Councel, he woold doo his beſt Deligence therin that it ſhould take Effect; repeting agayn how in Tymes paſſed he had uſed alwayes Diligence for that Purpoſe, writing therein to all Chriſten Princes, your Highnes yet not anſwering thereunto, but remitting his Nuncio to the *French* King. Which notwithſtanding he ſaith he wool yet do his Duty, and procure the beſt he can that it ſhall ſucceede, nevertheles adding that he thought when it were well conſidered, that the King of *England* ought not, nor had Autoritie to call any General Councel, but that the Convoking thereof apperteyned unto his Holynes. Finally concluding, that for his Part he woold alwayes do his Dutie as apperteyned. And as concernynge the Reſtitution of the Publique Writings made upon the Provocation and Appelles forſaid, he ſaid he woold not reſtore theym, but woold kepe theym, and that ſafely. Saying therwithal, that I might have when I woold, *ab Epiſcopo Vintonienſi*, and other afor whom they were made, as many as I woold. And albeit that I ſhewed hym his own Lawe to be, that he coued not detayne them, yet he ſaying that it was but *de Lana Caprina*, and refuſing to make Redeliverie therof, commanded the Datarie only to gife me the Anſwere in Writinge, and ſoo bade me fare well.

Goyng with the Datarie to his Chamber for that Purpoſe, I perceyved ther that the Anſwer was alredy writ, howbeit that it was not touching ſo many Thinges as the Pope had by Mouth afor declared unto me, ne yet ſubſcribed with the Dataries Hande, acording to the accuſtomed maner. And requyring the Datarie to make it perfect, and delyver it unto me ſubſcribed with his Hande; He willed me to come the Day folowyng early in the Mornyng, and I ſhuld have it. Whereapon I deperted, and came in the Mornyng to the Dataries Chamber in the Palace, but he was goon afor to the Pope. Wherefor repayring to the Popes Chamber and fynding him ther, I requyerd the ſaid Anſwer in Writing. And he goyng with me to his Chamber, delyvered me for Anſwer the ſelf-ſame that was written the Day befor, adding only in the Ende theſe Words, *Et*

hæc

hæc ad præſens, ſalvo Jure, latius & particularius ſi videbimus re-ſpondendi; Subſcribing the ſame with his own Hande, keping one other Copie with hymſelf. Which had, without hope of any other as then, I repaired to my Lord of *Winchester*, and other your Highe Ambaſſadours, to ſhew theym al the ſame.

And by this your Highnes may now perceyve, whether that the Pope will ſtaye Proceſs apon any your Provocations or Appelles, howſomever they be made, or after what Sorte they be intymated unto hym, and allſo whether that unto ſuch Tyme he receive Inhibition from the General Councel, his Proceſs ſhall be taken in Lawe as nought. I feare that at his Returne to *Rome*, he will doo much Diſpleaſure, if by ſome good Policy he be not ſtay'd. The Original Anſwer delivered unto me by the Datary, forſaid I doe at this Tyme ſend unto your Highnes, only retayn*y*ng with me the Copie thereof.

And ſyne albeit your Graces Commandement, declared by your Letters dated at *Chatham* the xth of *Auguſt* laſt paſſed, ſent unto me ſeemed to be, that Devyſing ſome Buſyneſs of my own, I ſhuld folowe alwayes and be preſent where the Pope reſorteth, ſtill reſiding and demouring, noting, marking and enſerching what is doon, and gyving your Highnes diligent Advertiſement thereof, as the Caſe and Importance of the Mater ſhuld require; yet for as much as in this late Congreſs, ther was nothing in maner doon by the Pope at the Contemplation of any in your Highnes Favour, and that the Appellations and Provocations of your Highnes being intimated, it is not like any thing of great Moment to be loked for, eſpecially all Things ſtanding as they do; I not knowyng your Highnes ferther determinat Pleaſure, and thinking that by reaſon of the Premiſſes, your Highnes woold not that I ſhuld ferther interpriſe in that behalf, have therfor (the Pope beyng goon towardes *Rome* from hence the twelfth of this preſent) taken my Jorney towards *Lyons* the thirteenth of the ſame, your Highnes Ambaſſadors by reaſon of the Departure of the *French* Kinges ſoe alſoe doyng: And from thence I intend towards your Graces Realme, unleſs I receive your Commands to the contrarie.

To declare unto your Highnes, in what Perplexitie and Anxietie of Mynde I was in until that this Intimation was made, what Zele and Affection I have borne therein, how glad I woold have been ſuch Things might have commen to paſs, which your Highnes ſo much hath deſired, and generally of all my Doyngs here, without Fear or Diſpleaſure of any Man, it ſhall not be needful. Partely bycauſe I truſt your Highnes dowteth not thereof, and partely bycauſe the Bearer hereof, untill Mr. *Brian*, to whom I mooſt accompte my ſelf much bounden unto, will I ſuppoſe at large declare all the ſame, with other things here doing; of whom your Highnes I doute not ſhall perceyve that although the *Frenchmen* were made pryvey of our Doyngs concernyng the Intimation, and in Maner willing the ſame, two or three Dayes afor the Popes Departure, yet now for Excuſe they ſaye that all their Matters and yours alſo be deſtroyed therby. And thus mooſt humblie I recommend me unto your Highnes

nes, beſeeching Almighty God to conſerve the ſame in Felicity many Yeares.

From *Marſelles*, the xiiith of *Novembre*, 1533.

Your Highnes mooſt bounde Subject and poore Servant,

Edmond Boner.

Number 24.

Cranmer's *Letter*, *for an Appeal to be made in his Name.*

An Original.

Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 6. P. 234.

IN my right harty maner I commend me to you. So it is (as ye know right well) I ſtande in drede, leſt our Holy Father the Pope, do entende to make ſome maner of prejudicial proceſſe againſt me and my Church, and therfore having probable Conjectures therof, I have provoked from his Holyneſs to the General Counſell, accordingly as the King's Highneſs and his Counſell have adviſed me to do; which my Provocation and a Procuracie under my Seale, I do ſend unto you herwith, deſiering you right hartely to have me commended to my Lord of *Wincheſter*, and with his Adviſe and Counſell to intimate the ſaid Provocation, after the beſt maner that his Lordſhip and you ſhall think moſt expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, becauſe the King's Highnes commanded me thus to do, as ye ſhall (I truſt) further perceve by his Graces Letters, nothing doubting in your Goodneſs, but at this myne owne deſier ye woll be contented to take this Peynes, tho' his Highneſs ſhall percaſe forget to write unto you therin: which your Peynes and Kindneſs (if it ſhall lye in me in tyme to come to recompenſe), I woll not forget it with God's Grace, who preſearve you as my ſelf. From *Lambeth*, the xxijd Day of *November*.

Thomas Cantuar.

Number

Number 25.

A Minute of a Letter ſent by the King to his Ambaſſador at Rome.

TRuſty and Right-welbiloved, we grete youe wel. And for aſmuch as not only by the Relacion and Reaporte of our Truſty Chaplain Maiſter Doctor *Boner*, but alſo by certayne Letters writtyn by Sir *Gregory*, afore the Diſpeche of Doctor *Boner*, uppon the lyvely Communications had by the Pope to the Emperor, in Juſtification and Favour of our Cauſe; by wych it appereth unto us, that his Holyneſs favering the Juſtice of our Great Cauſe, maketh Countnance and Demonſtracion now to ſhew himſelf more propenſe and redy to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice to our Contentation therin, thenne he hathe been accuſtumed in tymes paſt: Diſcending for Demonſtration herof as you take it to thoſe Particularities folowyng, whyche Sir *Gregory* hath alſo ſent by way of Inſtructions to *Bonner*; that is to ſay, that in cace we woll be content to ſende a Mandate requiring the Remiſſion of our Cauſe into an indifferent Place, He wold be content to appoint *Locum indifferentem*, and a Legate and Two Auditors from thenſe, *ad formand' Proceſſum*, reſerving always the Jugement therof to himſelf; or elſe if we woll conſent and be agreable, inducing alſo our good Brother and perpetual Allye the *French* King, to be alſo content to conclude and eſtabliſh for iij or iiij Yeres, a General Truix; that then the Popes Holineſs is pleaſed, if we and our ſaid good Brother wol agree therunto, to indicte with al celeritie a General Counſail, wherunto his Holynes would remyt our Cauſe to be finiſhed and determyned. Which Overtures being alſo proponed and declared unto us by the Popes Nuncio here, be ſet forth by him, and alſo in a Letter to hym, as thoughe they had been by the ſaid Sir *Gregory* in our Name deſired of the Popes Holyneſs, and by him aſſented to, for our Contentacion and Satisfaction, in that Behaulf: wherof we doo not a litle mervayl, conſidering that we of late never gave unto the ſaid Sir *Gregory* or any other, any ſuche Commiſſion or Inſtructions for that purpoſe, but fully to the contrary. Nevertheleſs foraſmoch as bothe by the Relation of our ſaid Chaplain and by the Purporte and Effecte of the fore ſaid Letters, Inſtructions, and alſo by the Behaviour of the Popes Ambaſſadour here, and by ſuch Overtures as he on the Popes behalfe hathe made unto us, We nowe conſidering the Benevolent and towarde Mynde of his ſaid Holines expreſſed and declared in the ſame, have moche Cauſe to conceyve in our Mynd, as we doo indede, good Hope, that he depely pondering the Juſtnes of our ſaid Cauſe, wil now take more reſpecte to put us in more Quietnes therein, thenne we had any Expectation heretofore: And therfor our Pleaſure is that you diſcretly relating to his Holynes in what good parte we doo accepte and take his Overtures and Perſuaſions, doo gyve unto him our right harty Thanks for the ſame, adding

ding thereunto that we veraylie truſt and be now of that Opinion that his Holynes calling to his Remembrance the manifold Commodities, Profitts, and Gratuities heretofor ſhewed by us, to him, and the See Apoſtolique, demanding nothing for Reciprocation of Frendſhip and mutual Amytie to be ſhewed at his Hand, but only Juſtice in our great Matior, according to the Lawes of God, and the Ordenances of the Holy Counſailes, for the Encreaſe of Vertue, Extirpation of Vice, and Quiet of al *Chriſtendom*, eſtabliſhed by our Forfathers, wil now in Diſcharge of his Duetie towards God, ſhewing unto us Correſpondence of Frendſhip according to our Deſerts, putting aparte all Shadowes of Delayes, more benivolently extende his good Wil and Gratuitie towards us in the Acceleration and ſpeedye finiſhing of our ſaid Cauſe, thenne thoſe Overtures doo purporte, whyche if it come ſo to paſs, hys Holines maye be wel aſſured to have us and our Realme as benevolent and loving towards him and the See Apoſtolique as hath at any Tyme hertofor been accuſtumed. And as concernyng the General Truix for three or four Yeres, albeit we do inwardly conſidre the greate good therof, and be of our oune Nature aſmoche inclyned therunto as any Prince Chriſtened, and on thother Side aſmoche deſirous to avoyde Contencion, wherupon many Tymes enſueth Extremytie, to the Hurte of many; yet nevertheleſs two things at this Tyme enforceth us to abſteyne and forbere ſodenly to conſent to the ſame: One is, that we being afflicted, troubeled, and encombered in our oune Conſcience, and our Realme therby greatly perplexed, cannot ſodenly reſolve our ſelf to innovate or renewe any perfite Eſtabliſhment of Peax with other, tyl we may be ſatisfied and have pure and ſyncere Peax in our owne Harte: and cauſe ſeying that it is wonly wyll and unkynd Stubbernes with Oblivion of former Kyndnes, whyche occaſions the Lette of the Spede finiſhyng of our Cauſe, whyche ye may ſay that hys Holynes yf it pleaſe hym may ſoon redres, havyng ſo good Gronds for our part as he haveth, yf he wyl hartely therto applye hym, and then ſumme good Effecte myght happen to come therof. An other Cauſe there is alſo that we being mooſt perfitely by an indiſſoluble Amyte and Leage unite and knyt unto our good Brother and perpetual Allye the *French* King, maye not in any wiſe, nor wil put our Conſent to any ſuch Requeſt without the Knowledge and Aſſent of our ſaid good Brother, and other our and hys Confederates: and notwithſtandyng yf hys Holynes thynketh that myne Endeavour and Labour herin may do hym any Gratuyte and Pleaſure, or confer to hys Purpoſe in any thyng, he adverteſyng us therof, ſhall well perſayve that there ſhall lack no goode Diligens in us, to ſet forthe ſuche thyngs as may ſtonde with our Honour, and be alſo pleaſant to hym, he ſhewyng to us ſume Coreſpondnes of Kyndnes in thys our Juſt and Wayghte Cauſe. And as touching our Conſent to the Indiction of a General Counſail, thoughe ſundry Reſpects and Conſiderations at the Tyme nowe preſent, move us to thinke it not neceſſary, and that we nothing doubte but our Cauſe being remytted to the ſame, we ſhuld withal convenient celeritie, that begonne have our deſired End therein; yet we being nowe in veray good Hope that the Popes Holynes at the laſt digeſting thoroughly the Juſtneſs of our Cauſe, wil ſo uſe us in the ſame that according to

Trouth and Equitie good and ſpeedye Succeſſe therof ſhd folowe in other admyttyng the Excuſatory, or elſe in remyttyng bothe the Knowlege of the Fact and finall Diſcition of the Cauſe into thys Realme where it was begon, accordyng to the olde Sanctions of Generall Concilles and divers of his Predeceſſours Aſſent, and as he hymſelfe confeſſeth in hys Commyſſion giffyn unto the Cardinall for thys Pourpoſe; We have now alſo ſuſpended therfor our Aſſent and Conſent therunto uppon two Reſpects, wherof the firſt requireth a neceſſary Suſpencion of our ſaid Conſent, foraſmoch as the ſame dependeth uppon the Aſſent of our ſaid good Brother and other our Confederates, and that the oon of us without the other canne ne will in any wiſe conſent to any Acte of ſuch highe Importance as this is, which toucheth the hole Bodye of *Chriſtendome*. The Seconde is, that in our Opinion which our Pleaſure is ye with good Dexteritie declare unto hys Holynes the good Reſpecte had of the State of the Worlde, and of the Time preſent; It were not expedient for the Pope himſelf to conſent therunto, conſidering that Themperour is in maner compelled by the Importunytie of the *Germaynes* and the *Lutheran* Secte to cauſe the Pope to indicte the ſaid Council. And howe the ſaid *Germaynes* be mynded towards him and the See Apoſtolique, we doubte not but his Holynes dothe depely pondre and conſidre. But ye ſhal ſaye unto the Popes Holynes on our behaulf, that finding him towards us good and kinde, brefely expedyteyng our Cauſe as affore is reherſy'd, wherof we now perceyve ſome lightlywood, and perceyving him to contynue and perſever erneſtly mynding the ſpedy Ende and Determynation therof, for our Satisfaction, we canne do no leſſe for Reacquital therof, thenne to procure and practiſe by al Wayes and Meanes, aſwell with our ſaid good Brother as with al other our Allyes, Confederates and Friends, to do all things that maye be mooſt for the Surety of his Holynes and the Commodities of the See Apoſtolique, whyche we ſhall not faylle to do, yf he wyll dyſcloſe to us the Menys how far. As touching the ſending of a Mandate to require that the Cauſe might be harde in an indifferent Place, with Reſervation of the Sentence to himſelf, ye ſhall ſignifie unto hys Holynes that albeit we well conſidering hys towarde Mynde for the ſpedy finiſhing of our ſaid Cauſe, if we were a private Perſon wold nothing miſtruſt to conſent to his ſaid Overtures, ne the good Effects that might enſue of the ſame; yet nevertheles this Perſuaſion ſoo toucheth contraryele to Generall Concilles, to the Libertie, Regalitie, and Juriſdiction of all Prynces, and moſt eſpecially to our Prerogatyffe Royall, Privileages of our Realme, wherof we be Hed and Soveraign; within the whiche, by the Ancient Lawes of the ſame, al Cauſes of Matrymonye ther bygon and ſolemnized, cummyng after in Queſtion, ought to have their Original Commencement, and fynall Diſcuſſe and Diſcition by the *Engliſh* Churche. Whyche Thyngs well conſideryd, he havyng alſo Regarde to hys Othe, in the Reſayte of hys Dyngnitie, whych he ther actually gyffeth for Obſervence both of the Generall Conſelles, and the Antique Lauys of the Faders of the Chyrch; Conſideryng alſo with himſelf, how we at the Tyme of our Coronation, be likewyſe obligyd by Othe, to Support and Maintayne, the Immunities and Pryncely Liberties of our Realme

and Croone, whych to contrary, I make my ſelf ſure hys Holynes well informyd, will never requyre, ſyns it is prohybite bothe by Gods Precept, and Lawe of Nature, by theſe Words, *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.* Wherfore we fermely truſt, that hys Holynes, ponderyng and wayng in the Balance of hys Juſt Hart and Equal Jugement, theſe moſt urgent both Reſons and Cauſes, with the Reſpect of hys Duty to God, in Minyſtryng Juſtice and Equitie; And conſideryng alſo the Obligation, whych we as King thowght not wordy, but by his Election, be bonde to our Realme; *Scilicet defendere Privilegias Coronæ & Regni*, wyll not at thys Tyme thynk any Unkindnes in us, thowght that thys hys Requeſt, *ſcilicet*, to ſend a Mandate, or to have it in any other Place than in thys Realme determynyd by us, at thys Tyme be not acceptyd. For ſurly it ſo hyghtly touchyt the Prerogatyffe Riall of thys Realme, that thowght I wer myndyd to do it, yett muſt abſtayne wythout the Aſſent of our Court of Parliament, whyche I thynke verely wyll never condeſcent to it. Nevertheleſs, ye may ſhew unto hys Holines, that for thys Offerre, we aſcribe non Unkyndnes to hym, but rather take it in good Part; conſideryng that by hys Ambaſſadour wee doo parſayve, that hys Mynde was to gratify and do Pleaſure herin to us; thys Overture procedyng oppon *Gregory*'s Motion, werin to ſpeke of that Sort, I enſure you of us he had non Commiſſion, but rather to the contrary. And ſo we wyll ye ſhew the Pope; aſſuryng forther hys Holynes, that we be ryght ſory that thys Overture was no more reſonable, or conſonant to our Honour. For ſurly in all reſonable Thyngs, we wold gladly ſhew our ſelfe benivolent to hym, as long as we perſayve any maner of Gratuitie in hym. More ye may ſay, that we thynke that we nor our Realme have hytherto gyven any Occaſion to his Holynes, wherby he ſhuld be moved at the Contemplacion of any privie Perſon, to attempte the Violation of the Immunities and Liberties of thys our Realme, or to bring the ſame in any publique Contention, wherby he may compell us in the Mayntenance of them, to ſhew and declare meny Thyngs peraventure it unknowne prejudiciall and hurtfull to the Papall Dyngnitie, *as it is now uſyd*, whych not compellyd we intende not to do. Yet an other gret Reſon as we thynk you may ſhew hys Holines, gederyd owght of his own Law, whych is thys: I beyng a Commune Parſon, am not bondyn *in re arduâ*, as thys is to appere in hys Court, and I beyng not bonden to appere, am not bonde to ſende a Proxtour. Wherfore his owne Law ſhewyth evydently, that this Mater owght not to be determynyd by hys Court, but *per Anglicanam Eccleſiam*: For yf hys Court were Juge, I ſhuld be obligyd to appere there. And ye ſhal further underſtand, that we have conceyved by certain Lettres lately ſent unto us by the ſaid Sir *Gregory de Caſſalis*, that the Popes Holynes, amongs other Perſuaſions, in the Furtheraunce of our Cauſe ſhewed unto hym, that the Laweis being of the contrary Parte of our Cauſe, doo agree, that the Pope in our Cauſe may not Diſpence, without an Urgent Cauſe. Which Opinion hys Holynes thinketh moche more dothe

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avaunce the Goodnes of our Matier, thenne the General Opinion of the Devynes and Lawyers on our Parte, which doo affirm, that the Pope in noo wiſe maye Diſpenſe. Whiche Matier being alſo perſuaded by his Holynes to Themperour, who declared, that at the Tyme of the Diſpenſation, there was extreme Warres betwene our Dereſt Father of Noble Memory, whoſe Soule God pardon, and King *Ferdinando*, Father to the Quene. And for Pacifieng therof the ſaid Diſpenſation was obteyned; wherupon the Mariage enſued: Which bereth a Viſage of an urgent Cauſe, if it were true, as it is not. And therfore, as wel for the Satisfaction of the Pope's Holynes in that Behaulf, as for a clere Reſolution of the Doubte by his Holynes proponed; whether the Quene were *Cognita* by our Brother Prince *Arthure*, or noo; Our Pleaſure is, that ye ſhal ſignifie to his Holynes, that in the League betwene our ſaid Dereſt Father, and the ſaid *Ferdinando*, Renoveled and Concluded, Sealed and Signed with the ſaid King *Ferdinando*, and the Quene his Wief Hands, wherupon the Diſpenſation for the Mariage betwene us and the Quene was obteyned, appereth no maner of Cauſe. But playnly declaring the ſaid twoo Princes to be thenne and afor more perfitely Eſtabliſhed, Unyted, and Confederate in Frendſhip and Amytie, thenne eny other Prince of *Chriſtendom*, ſetteth forthe the Cauſe of the Diſpenſation and Agrement for the ſaid Mariage, to be only for Contynuaunce and Augmentation of their ſaid Amytie, and for the Vertuouſe Modeſtie and other Qualities of the Quene. In which League is alſo playnly mencyoned and expreſſed in two Places therof, that the Mariage betwene our ſaid Brother and Her, was ſolemnized and perfitely conſummate; wherby, and by the Depoſitions of a great Nomber of Noble and Honorable Perſonages, which hertofor by their Othes have been examyned uppon the ſame, manifeſtly and playnly appereth to al indifferent Herers, without Doubt therof, that the Quene was Carnally Knowen by our ſaid Brother Prince *Arthur*; and the ſame Diſpenſation ſoo proceeding, without urgent Cauſe to be reputed *invalida*. The Tranſumpte of which League autentiquely tranſumed, we ſende unto youe herwith, to thintent ye may the better perceyve theffecte of the ſame. And finally, ye ſhall firther ſignifie to his Holynes, that of the Good Succeſſe of this our Cauſe, dependeth the Suretie of our Succeſſion, and therupon enſueth the Reſt, Peax, and Tranquillitie of al our Realme, and by the protracting thereof many perilous Daungers maye and is like to enſue to the ſame, which above all Things, we and our Realme ought to have Reſpect unto. Wherfor it is more convenient, and conſonant to Reaſon and Equitie, that this our ſaid Cauſe ſhuld be determyned by them, to whoſe Dammage or Commoditie the Succeſſe of the Cauſe may enſue, and not by his Holynes, which canne have no certain Knowleage of the State of the ſame. And yet nevertheles, if his Holynes remytting the final Diſcuſſe of the principal Cauſe to our *Engliſh* Churche, as apperteineth, will after that, of his Gratuitie ratifie and confirme ſuche Sentence as they ſhal determyn in the ſame, ſhal therby not only adquire Chriſten Obedience of us and our People, moche to his Commoditie and Contentacion, and alſo profi-

table to the See Apoſtolique, but alſo paçifie the Contradiction, to the Reſt and Quietnes of al *Chriſtendom.* Willing you by thiſe and other diſcrete Perſuaſions, as ye can with al Diligence and Dexteritie to allure his Holynes, being now ſumwhat attempered and diſpoſed to do us good, to condiſcend to more benivolent Gratuities, than as yet is ſet forth by the ſaid Overtures; and to aſcertain us with all Diligence and Celeritie, what Towardnes ye ſhal perceyve in him in this Behaulf, not mynding that ye ſhall declare this as our reſolute Anſwer. But uppon other and further Overtures, and after more Deliberation and Conſultation uppon theſe weighty Cauſes, we wil ſtudy and enſerche, by al Honourable Wayes and Meanes that we canne, to concurre with the towardly Minde of his Holynes, if he erneſtly wil applie himſelf, and perſever in ſuche Opinion, as may be for the Acceleration of thende of our ſaid Cauſe: Willing you, with all Diligence and Dexteritie, to put your good Endevour to the ſame; and likewiſe to procure the ſaid Sir *Gregory*, according to our Expectation in that Behaulfe.

Number 26.

The Judgment of the Convocation of the Province of York, *rejecting the Pope's Authority.*

ILluſtriſſimo & Excellentiſſimo Principi & Domino Domino Henrico VIII. Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, & Domino Hiberniæ. Edwardus, Permiſſione Divinâ, Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopus, Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, Salutem in eo, per quem Reges regnant, & Principes dominantur. Veſtræ Regiæ Celſitudini, Tenore Præſentium, innoteſcimus & ſignificamus, Quòd, cum juxta veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtatis Mandatum, coram Prælatis & Clero Eboracenſi, Provinciæ in Sacra Synodo Provinciali, ſive Convocatione Prælatorum & Cleri ejuſdem Provinciæ Eboracenſis, in Domo Capitulari Eccleſiæ Metropoliticæ Eborum, quinto Die Menſis Maij, Anno Domini M. D. XXXIV. jam inſtanti, celebrata, & de Diebus indies continuata congregatis propoſita fuit ſequens Concluſio, Quod Epiſcopus Romanus, in Sacris Scripturis, non habet aliquam majorem Juriſdictionem in Regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius extraneus Epiſcopus. Ac inſuper, ex Parte Præſidentium in eadem Synodo, per Nos deputatorum memorati Prælati & Clerus, rogati & requiſiti ut illam Concluſionem ſuo Conſenſu confirmarent & corroborarent, ſi illam Veritati conſonam, & Sacris Scripturis non repugnantem, exiſtimarent aut judicarent. Tandem dicti Prælati, & Clerus Eboracenſis Provinciæ antedictæ, poſt diligentem Tractatum in ea Parte habitum, ac maturam Deliberationem, unanimiter & concorditer, nemine eorum diſcrepante, prædictam Concluſionem fuiſſe & eſſe veram affirmarunt, & eidem concorditer conſenſerunt.

Quæ omnia & ſingula veſtræ Regiæ Celſitudini, Tenore Præſentium, intimamus & ſignificamus.

In quorum omnium & ſingulorum Fidem & Teſtimonium, Sigillum noſtrum apponi fecimus. Dat. in Manerio noſtro de Cawodd, Primo Die Menſis Junij, Anno Domini, M. D. XXXIV. & noſtræ Conſecrationis Anno Tertio.

Number 27.

The Judgment of the Univerſity of Oxford, *rejecting the Pope's Authority.*

In a Book, ſtiled, Regiſtrum, ſive Epiſtolæ Regum & Magnatum ad Academiam Oxon. Unà cum Reſponſis. *MS. Archiv. A.* 117. *ad An.* 1534. P. 127.

Part of the King's Letter to the Univerſity.

OUR Pleaſure and Commandement is, that ye, as ſhall beſeem Men of Vertue and profound Literature, diligently Intreating, Examining, and Diſcuſſing a certaine Queſtion ſent from Us to you, concerning the Power and Primacie of the Biſhop of *Rome*; ſend again to Us in Writing under your Common Seale, with convenient Speed and Celeritie, your Mind, Sentence, and Aſſertion of the Queſtion, according to the meere and ſincere Truth of the ſame: Willing you to give Credence to our truſty and well-beloved, this Bringer, your Commiſſarie, as well touching our further Pleaſure in the Premiſſes, as for other Matters, *&c.* Yeven under our Signett, at our Mannor of *Greenewich*, the Eighteenth Day of *May*.

The Univerſity's Anſwer to the King.

UNiverſis Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ Filiis, ad quos præſentes Literæ pervenerint, Johannes, Permiſſione Divina, Lincolnienſis Epiſcopus, Almæ Univerſitatis Oxon. Cancellarius: Nec non univerſus Doctorum ac Magiſtrorum, Regentium & non Regentium in eadem Cœtus, Salutem in Auctore Salutis. Quum Illuſtriſſimus ſimul ac Potentiſſimus Princeps & Dominus noſter Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, aſſiduis Petitionibus & Querelis Subditorum ſuorum in ſummo ſuo Parliamento, ſuper intolerabilibus Exterarum Poteſtatum, Exactionibus

nibus nuper Propoſitis, Controverſiiſque quibuſdam habitis, ſuper Poteſtate ac Juriſdictione Romani Epiſcopi, variiſque & urgentibus Cauſis, contra eundem Epiſcopum tunc ibidem expoſitis & declaratis, aditus atque rogatus fuerit, ut commodis ſuorum Subditorum in hac parte conſuleret, & Querelis ſatisfaceret : Ipſe tanquam prudentiſſimus Solomon, ſollicitè curans quæ ſuorum ſunt Subditorum, quibus in hoc Regno, divina diſponente Clementia, præeſt, altiuſque ſecum conſiderans, quo Pacto commodiſſimas Regno ſuo ſanciret Leges ; denique ante omnia præcavens, ne contra Sacram Scripturam aliquid ſtatuat, (quam vel ad Sanguinem uſq; defendere ſemper fuit, eritque paratiſſimus) ſolerti ſuo Ingenio, ſagaciq; Induſtria, quandam Quæſtionem ad hanc ejus Academiam Oxon. publicè & ſolenniter, per Doctores & Magiſtros ejuſdem diſputandam tranſmiſit : Viz. *An Romanus Epiſcopus habeat majorem aliquàm Juriſdictionem, ſibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alius quivis externus Epiſcopus ?* Mandavitque, ut habita ſuper hac Queſtione matura Deliberatione, & Examinatione diligenti, quid Sacræ Literæ in hac Parte noſtro Judicio ſtatuunt, eundem certiorem facere ſuo Inſtrumento, Sigillo communi Univerſitatis, communito & firmato curaremus. Nos igitur Cancellarius, Doctores ac Magiſtri prædicti, ſæpe reminiſcentes, ac penitius apud nos penſitantes, quanta ſit Virtus, Sanctitas, ac noſtræ Profeſſioni quam conſona res, & debita Submiſſioni, Obedientiæ, Reverentiæ, ac Charitati congrua, præmonſtrare viam Juſtitiæ ac Veritatis cupientibus, Sacrarum Literarum Veſtigiis * inſerrere, ſecuriorique & tranquilliori Conſcientia, in Lege Dei ſacram, ut aiunt, ſuam Anchoram reponere ; non potuimus non invigilare, ſedulo quin in Petitione tam juſta ac honeſta, tanto Principi (cui velut auſpicatiſſimo noſtro Supremo Moderatori obtemperare tenemur) modis omnibus ſatisfaceremus. Poſt ſuſceptam itaque per nos Queſtionem antedictam, cum omni Humilitate, Devotione, ac debita Reverentia, convocatis undique dictæ noſtræ Academiæ Theologis, habitoque complurium dierum ſpatio, ac deliberandi tempore ſatis amplo, quo interim cum omni qua potuimus Diligentia, Juſtitiæ Zelo, Religione & Conſcientia incorrupta, perſcrutaremur tam Sacræ Scripturæ Libros, quam ſuper eiſdem approbatiſſimos Interpretes, & eos quidem ſæpe ac ſæpius à nobis evolutos, & exactiſſimè collatos, repetitos & examinatos ; deinde & Diſputationibus ſolennibus, palam & publicè habitis & celebratis, tandem in hanc Sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus, ac concordes fuimus ; Viz. Romanum Epiſcopum majorem aliquam Juriſdictionem non habere, ſibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alium quemvis externum Epiſcopum. Quam noſtram Aſſertionem, Sententiam, ſive Determinationem, ſic ex Deliberatione diſcuſſam, ac juxta Exigentiam Statutorum & Ordinationum, hujus noſtræ Univerſitatis per nos concluſam, publicè totius Academiæ Nomine, tanquam veram, certam, Sacræq; Scripturæ conſonam, affirmamus (&) teſtificamur per Præſentes. In quorum omnium & * Fidem & Teſtimonium has Literas fieri, & Sigillo noſtræ Univerſitatis communi, roborari fecimus. Dat. in Domo Congregationis noſtræ, 27. Die Menſis Junij, Anno à Chriſto nato M. D. XXXIV.

* Leg. inſiſtere.

* *Not very Legible ; but it ſeems, it was* ſingulorum.

Number

Number 28.

The Judgment of the Prior *and* Chapter *of* Worceſter, *concerning the* Pope's *Authority.*

Ordo quidam obſervandus erga Dominum Regem Henricum Octavum, &c. Et in quali æſtimatione habebimus Epiſcopum Romanum.

Copied out of the Regiſter *of* Worceſter.

QUum ea ſit non ſolum Chriſtianæ Religionis & Pietatis Ratio, ſed noſtræ etiam Obedientiæ Regula, Domino Regi noſtro Henrico Octavo, (cui uni & ſoli, poſt Chriſtum Jeſum Servatorem noſtrum, debemus Univerſa,) non modo omnimodam in Chriſto, & eandem ſinceram, integram, perpetuamque Animi Devotionem, Fidem & Obſervantiam, Honorem, Cultum, Reverentiam, præſtemus; ſed etiam de eadem Fide & Obſervantia noſtra Rationem quotieſcunque poſtulabitur, reddamus, & palam omnibus, ſi res poſcat libentiſſimè teſtemur. Noverint univerſi ad quos Scriptum præſens pervenerit, Quod nos Willielmus, Prior Eccleſiæ Cathedralis, ſive Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ Wigorn' Ordinis Sancti Benedicti & ejuſdem Loci Conventus ſive Capitulum Wigorn' Dioc' uno Ore & Voce, atque unanimi omnium Conſenſu & Aſſenſu, hoc Scripto noſtro ſub Sigillo noſtro communi, in Domo noſtra Capitulari dato, pro Nobis & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, omnibus & ſingulis in perpetuum profitemur, teſtamur, ac fidelitur promittimus & ſpondemus, nos dictos Priorem & Conventum, ſive Capitulum, & Succeſſores noſtros omnes & ſingulos, integram, inviolatam, ſinceram, perpetuamque Fidem, Obſervantiam & Obedientiam, ſemper præſtaturos, erga Dominum Regem noſtrum Henricum Octavum, & erga Annam Reginam, Uxorem ejuſdem, & erga Sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitimè tam progenitam, quam progenerandam. Et quod hæc eadem Populo notificabimus, prædicabimus, & ſuadebimus, ubicunque dabitur Locus & Occaſio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, ſemperque & perpetuo habituri ſumus, quod prædictus Rex noſter Henricus, eſt Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Epiſcopus Romanus, qui in ſuis Bullis Papæ nomen, uſurpat, & ſummi Pontificis Principatum ſibi arrogat, non habet Majorem aliqua Juriſdictionem à Deo ſibi collatam, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius externus Epiſcopus. Item, quod nullus noſtrum, in ulla Sacra Concione, privatim vel publicè habenda, eundem Epiſcopum Romanum appellabit Nomine Papæ, aut ſummi Pontificis, ſed Nomine Epiſcopi Romani, vel Eccleſiæ Romanæ: Et quod nullus noſtrum orabit pro eo tanquam Papa, ſed tanquam Epiſcopo Romano. Item, quod ſoli dicto Domino Regi

&

& Succeſſoribus ſuis adhærebimus & ejus Leges ac Decreta manutenebimus. Epiſcopi Romani Legibus, Decretis & Canonibus, qui contra Legem Divinam, & Sacram Scripturam, aut contra Jura hujus Regni eſſe invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus noſtrum omnium, in ulla, vel privata vel publica Concione, quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis deſumptum ad alienum Senſum detorquere præſumat: Sed quiſque Chriſtum, ejuſque Verba & Facta, ſimpliciter, apertè, ſincerè, & ad Normam ſeu Regulam Sacrarum Scripturarum, & verè Catholicorum & Orthodoxorum Doctorum, prædicabit catholicè & orthodoxè. Item, quod unuſquiſque noſtrum, in ſuis Orationibus & Comprecationibus, de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, Deo & Populi Precibus commendabit; deindè Reginam Annam, cum ſua Sobole; tum demum Archiepiſcopos Cantuarienſem & Eboracenſem, cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus pro ut videbitur. Item, quod omnes & ſinguli prædicti Prior & Conventus, ſive Capitulum, & Succeſſores noſtri, Conſcientia & Jurisjurandi Sacramento, noſmet firmiter obligamus, quod omnia & Singula Prædicta, fideliter, in perpetuum obſervabimus. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium, huic Scripto noſtro, commune Sigillum noſtrum appendimus, & noſtra Nomina Propria quiſque Manu Scripſimus. Dat. in Domo noſtra Capitulari, xvii Die Menſis Auguſt, Anno Regni Regis noſtri Henrici Octavi, Viceſſimo Sexto.

Then follows an Oath made to King Henry *the* VIIIth, *agreeing exactly with that* Pag. 146. *of the* Firſt Vol. *of* The Hiſtory of the Reformation; *except, that the Words* alonely *in the Firſt Line, and* damage *in the laſt Line but Two of that Oath, are wanting.*

ILLuſtriſſimo & Potentiſſimo in Chriſto Principi & Domino noſtro, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia Anglicæ & Franciæ Regi, Defenſori Fidei, Domino Hiberniæ, in Terris Supremo Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ſub Chriſto, Capiti; Veſtri humiles Subditi, & devotiſſimi Oratores, Henricus Holbecke, Prior Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Wigorn' & ejuſdem Loci Conventus, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Wigornienſis Dioceſeos, Reverentiam & Obedientiam, tam Excellenti & Præpotenti Principi debitas & condignas, cum omni Subjectionis Honore. Noverit Majeſtas Veſtra Regia, Quod nos Prior & Conventus memorati, non Vi aut Metu coacti, Dolore, aut aliqua alia ſiniſtra Machinatione ad hoc inducti, ſive ſeducti, ſed ex noſtris certis Scientiis, Animis deliberatis, meriſque & ſpontaneis Voluntatibus, pure, ſponte & abſolute, profitemur, ſpondemus, ac ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per nos corporaliter tacta, juramus, illuſtriſſimæ veræ Regiæ Majeſtati, Singulari & Summo Domino noſtro & Patrono, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, Domino Hiberniæ, ac in Terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediate ſub Chriſto Capiti; quod poſthac nullo externo Imperatori Regi Principi aut Prælato nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) Fidelitatem aut Obedientiam, Verbo vel Scripto ſimpliciter, vel ſub juramento, promittemus aut dabimus, vel dari curabimus, ſed omni tempore Caſu & Conditione

Partes veſtræ regiæ Majeſtatis ac Succeſſorum veſtrorum ſequemur & Obſervabimus, & pro viribus Defendemus, contra omnem Hominem quem veſtræ Majeſtati aut Succeſſoribus veſtris adverſarium cognoſcemus vel ſuſpicabimur. Solique veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtati velut Supremo noſtro Principi quem etiam Supremum in Terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput agnoſcimus & acceptamus, & Succeſſoribus veſtris Fidelitatem & Obedientiam ſincere & ex animo præſtabimus. Papatum Romanum non eſſe a Deo in Sacris Literis Ordinatum profitemur. Sed Humanitus traditum conſtanter affirmamus, & palam declaramus & declarabimus, & ut alii ſic publicent diligenter curabimus. Nec tractatum cum quocunque mortalium privatim aut publicè inibimus, quod Epiſcopus Romanus aliquam Auctoritatem vel Juriſdictionem amplius hic habeat aut exerceat, vel ad ullam poſthac reſtituatur, ipſumque Romanum Epiſcopum modernum aut ejus in illo Epiſcopatu Succeſſorum quemcunque non Papam, non ſummum Pontificem, non Univerſalem Epiſcopum, nec Sanctiſſimum Dominum, ſed ſolum Romanum Epiſcopum vel Pontificem (ut priſcis mos erat) ſcienter publicè afferemus. Juraque & Statuta hujus Regni pro extirpatione & ſublatione Papatus ac Auctoritatis & Juriſdictionis ejuſdem Romani Epiſcopi quandocunque edita ſive ſancita pro viribus ſcientia & ingeniolis noſtris ipſi firmiter Obſervabimus ac pro ab aliis quantum in nobis fuerit ſic obſervari curabimus atque efficiemus: nec poſthac ad dictum Romanum Epiſcopum appellabimus aut appellarit conſentiemus: nec in ejus curia pro Jure aut Juſtitia agemus aut agenti Reſpondebimus, nec ibidem Accuſatoris aut Rei Perſonam Suſtinebimus. Et ſi quid dictus Epiſcopus per Nuncium vel per Literas ſignificaverit, qualecunque id fuerit, illud quam citiſſime commode poterimus, aut veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtati & veſtris à Secreti, Conſiliariis, veſtriſve Succeſſoribus aut eorum à Secretis Conſiliariis ſignificabimus aut ſignificari faciemus. Noſque Literas aut Nuncium ad eundum Romanum Epiſcopum, vel ejus curiam nec mittemus, nec mitti faciemus, niſi veſtra Majeſtate conſcia & conſentiente aut veſtro Succeſſore quod dictæ Literæ vel Nuncius ad illum deferentur; Bullas, Brevia, aut reſcripta quæcunque pro nobis vel aliis, ab Epiſcopo Romano vel ejus curia non impetrabimus, vel ut talia à quovis impetrentur non conſulemus. Et ſi talia pro nobis inſciis aut Ignorantibus generaliter, vel ſpecialiter impetrabuntur vel alio quomodolibet concedentur, eis Renunciabimus & non Conſentiemus: nec utemur iiſdem ullo pacto ſeu modo. At eas veſtræ Majeſtati & Succeſſoribus veſtris tradi curabimus, omnibuſque dicti Romani Epiſcopi Conceſſionibus, Privilegiis, largitionibus & indultis cujuſcunque Naturæ ſeu qualitatis exiſtant, ac ſub quocunque Verborum tenore conceſſæ fuerint, à dicta ſede Romana directe vel indirecte, mediate vel immediate aut alias qualitercunque dicti Romani Epiſcopi Auctoritate largitis ſive conſenſis quibuſcunque publicè & expreſſe in his Scriptis renunciavimus, eaſque irritas & inanes eſſe Volumus. Et ſoli veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtati velut Supremo noſtro Principi & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Capiti & Succeſſoribus veſtris nos ſubditos & ſubjectos fore profitemur & nos ac Succeſſores noſtros ſubjicimus: Et ſolummodo ſubditos fore ſpondemus. Nos eidem Romano Epiſcopo vel ejus Nunciis Oratoribus, Collectoribus, aut Legatis ullam procurationem, penſionem, portionem cenſum aut

quamcunque aliam Pecuniarum Summam quocunque nomine appelletur, per nos aut interpoſitam Perſonam vel Perſonas ſolvêmus nec ſolvi faciemus. Statutumque de Succeſſione veſtra Regia in Parlimento veſtro tento apud Weſtmon' Anno Regni veſtri 28 ac omnia & ſingula in eodem contenta juxta vim formam & effectum ejuſdem fideliter Obſervabimus. Præterea in Viin Facti profitemur & ſpondemus ac ſub Fidelitate veſtræ Majeſtati debita, & noſtra coram Deo Conſcientia, promittemus quod contra hanc noſtram profeſſionem & ſponſionem, nulla diſpenſatione, nulla exceptione, nulla appellatione aut provocatione; nulloque juris aut facti remedio, nos tuebimur: & ſi quam proteſtationem in præjudicium hujus noſtræ Profeſſionis faciemus, eam in præſens & in omne tempus futurum revocamus & eidem renunciamus per præſentes Literas; quibus propriis manibus nomina noſtra ſubſcripſimus, ac eas ſigilli noſtri communis appenſione & Notarii Publici Subſcripti ſigno & Subſcriptione communiri fecimus & curavimus. Dat. & act. in Domo noſtra Capitulari XXVI Die Menſis Auguſti, Anno Domini Milleſſimo Quingentiſſimo Triceſſimo Sexto, Anno Regni veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtatis Viceſſimo Octavo. Præſentibus tunc ibidem diſcretis Viris Johanne Tyſon, Olivero Lloyde, & Rogero Hughes, in legibus & decretis reſpective Baccalaureis, & Ricardo Bedle Notario Publico teſtibus ad præmiſſa ſpecialiter vocatis & requiſitis.

Number 29.

An Order for Preaching, and bidding of the Beades in all Sermons to be made within this Realm. 1535.

Cotton Library, *Cleop. E.* 5. *P.* 286.

FIRST, whoſoever ſhall preache in the Preſence of the King's Highnes, and the Queen's Grace, ſhall in the bidding of the Beades, pray for the Hole Catholike Church of Criſt, aſwell Quick as Ded, and ſpecyallie for the Catholique Church of this Realme; And Firſt as we be moſt bounden for our Soveringe Lord King *Henry* the VIIIth, being ymediately next unto God, the onelie and Supreme Hed of this Catholike Churche of *England*, and for the moſt Gracious Lady Queen *Anne* his Wife; and for the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heire to them both, our Prynceſſe, and no ferther.

Item, The Preacher in all other Placs of this Realme then in the Preſence of the King's ſaide Highnes, and the Queen's Grace, ſhall in the bidding of the Beads, pray Firſt in Manner and Form, and Worde for Worde as is above ordeyned and lymyted; adding thereunto in the Seconde Parte, for all Archebiſhopes and Biſhopes, and for all the hole Clergie of this Realme; and ſpeciallie for ſuche as ſhall pleaſe the Preacher to name of his Devotion; and Thirdly for all Dukes, Earls, Marques, and for all the hole Temporaltee of this Realme;

Realme; and ſpeciallie for ſuche as the Preacher ſhall Name of Devocyon: And ſygnallie for the Soules of all them that be Ded, and ſpeciallie of ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe the Preacher to Name.

Item, It is Ordeyned that every Preacher ſhall Preach ones in the Preſence of the greatiſt Audience againſt the uſurped Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſo after at his Lybertee: And that no Man ſhal be ſuffered to defend, or mayntene the foreſaid uſurped Power; Ferthermore to keep Unyte and Quyetnes in this Realme, it is ordeyned that no Preachers ſhall contende openly in Pulpet one againſt another, nor uncharytablie deprave one another in open Audience; but if any of them be greved one with another, let them Complayne to the King's Highnes; or to the Archbiſhope, or Biſhope of the Diocs where ſuch Chaunce ſhall happen, and there to be remedied if there be Cauſe why; and if the Complaynt be not trew, the Complayner to be puniſhed.

Item, Alſo to forfende that no Preachers for a Year, ſhall Preach neyther with, nor againſt Purgatory, honouring of Saynts, that Prieſts may have Wives; that Faith onelie juſtefieth; to go on Pilgrimages; to forge Miracles; conſidering theſe Things have cauſed Diſcenſion amongſt the Subjects of this Realme alredy, which thanked be God is now well pacyfied.

Item, That from hensfourth all Preachers ſhall purelie, ſyncerelie, and juſtlie preache the Scripture, and Worde of Chriſte, and not myxe them with Man's Inſtitutions, nor make Men believe that the Force of Goddes Law, and Man's Law is like; nor that any Man is able, or hathe Power to diſpence with Godes Law.

Item, It is alſo ordened that the Colects for the Preſervation of the King and Queen by Name, be from henceforth comunely and uſuallie uſed and ſayed in every Cathedrall Churche, Religious Houſe, and Peroche Church, in all their High Maſſes thorough out all the Realme and Domynyons of our King and Sovereigne.

Item, It is ferther ordeyned that whereſoever the King's juſt Cauſe of Matrimony hath eyther ben detracted, and the inceſtious and injuſte ſet fourth, or in Placs where as it hathe not been dilated, that in all thoſe Plats till the People be fully ſatisfied and juſtlie inſtructe, all manner of Preachers whatſoever they be, happenning to come into any ſuch Parte of the Realme, ſhall from henceforth open and declare the mere veryte and juſtnes of this later Matrymony, as nigh as their Learning can ſerve them, and according to the trew Determynacions of a greate Number of the moſt Famous and Eſteemed Univerſities of *Chriſtendom*; according alſo to the juſt Reſolution and Diffinicyon of both the Convocationes of this Realme, concurring

alſo in the ſame Opynyon, by the Hole Aſſent of Parliament, our Prynce, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commones of this Realme; wherefore now they muſt declare this Matier, neyther doubtful nor diſputable, but to be a Thing of mere Veryte, and ſo to be allowed in all Men's Opynyons.

Item, It is ferther ordeyned that the foreſaid Preachers ſhall alſo declare the falſe and injuſte Handelinge of the Biſhop of *Rome*, pretending to have Juriſdiction to Judge this Cauſe at *Rome*; which in the Firſt Hering thereof did both declare and confeſſe in Word and Writing the Juſtnes thereof to be uppon our Soveraignes ſide, inſomuch as by a Decretall delyvered to the Legate here then ſitting for the ſame Cauſe, he did clearly determyn that if Prince *Arthur* was our Princes Brother, and then of competent Age allowed in the Law when he Maried the Lady *Katharine*, ſhe being ſo likewiſe, and that as far as Preſumptions can prove Carnall-Copulation enſued between them; that theſe proved, before the ſaid Cardinales and Legates (which in dede were accordingly to the Lawes juſtlie proved) that then the unjuſt Copulacion between our Sovereigne and the ſaid Lady *Katheryn*, was neyther Lawfull, nor ought to be ſuffered, and ſo, *eo facto*, pronounced in the foreſaide Decretall, the nullite, invaldite, and unlawfulnes of their pretenſed Matrimony, which was by his Law ſufficient Judgement of the Cauſe; which Decretall by his Commandment, after and becauſe he would not have the Effect thereof to enſue, was, after the Sight thereof, imbeſiled by the foreſaid Cardinalls; and one which then was here his Cubicular, contrary to all Juſtnes and Equytee, wherein he hath done our Sovereigne moſt extreme Wrong.

Secondly, Contrary to all Equite and Determination of Generall Counſailes, he hath called the Cauſe (which ought to be determyned here) to *Rome*, where our Sovereigne is neyther bounde to appere, nor ſend Proctor: And yet hath he deteyned wrongfully the Cauſe there theſe Three or Four Years at the Inſtance of the other Partie, which ſued to have it there, becauſe they knowe he durſt not diſpleaſe the Emperor, who maketh himſelf a Partie in it, as by the Sequele it doth evydentlie appere, and ſo could our Prince gett no Juſtice at his Hande, but was wrongfully delayed to no ſmall hinderance, both to his Succeſſion, and this his Realme, emynente Daunger.

Thirdlie, Where it is a naturall Defence that the Subject ought, and may Defende his naturall Sovereigne, or Maſter, both in Word and Deed, and ought thereto to be admytted, this forſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to this Equite in Nature, hath rejected our Sovereigns Excuſator, contrary both to his own Lawes (which he moſt ſetteth by) and alſo Gods Law, which he ought to prefer. Upon which Cauſe, and other great Injuries, our Sovereigne did Appeale to the General Counſaile; notwithſtanding the which, he hath contrary to all Juſtice procededed, *ad ulteriora*, wherein by a General Counſaile he is dampned as an Heretick; yet thus injurioufflie from the begynnyng hitherto, he hathe handled our Princes Cauſe and Matier there.

Fourthely,

Fourthely, The ſaid Biſhope of *Rome* ſyns our Princes Appeal, hering of the Laws, and Acts of Parliament which we then went about, and that our King having juſt ground (the Premiſſes conſidered) would provide according to his bounden Duetie, both for the Suretie of his Succeſſion and Realme, gave out a Sentence in Maner of Excommunycation and Interdiction of him and his Realme, in which when he was ſpoken to for the Iniquitie and Unjuſtnes thereof by our Princes Agents, he and his Counſaile could nor did otherwiſe excuſe them (the Facte being ſo contrary to all Lawes and Right) but that the Faulte was in a New Officer late come to the Court, which for his lew'd doing ſhould grevovſlie be punyſhed, and the Proceſſe to ceſſe. This they promiſed our Princes Agente, which notwithſtanding, was ſet up in *Flanders* to the great Injurie of our Prynce, and for parcyalite to the other Parte, as it may well appear by the forſaide Sentence.

Fyvethlie, The ſaid Biſhope of *Rome* ſought all the Ways poſſible with fair Words and Promiſes both by his Ambaſſadors and our Sovereigns owne, which by any Meanes could be invented, to have abuſed our Prynce and Sovereigne; which when he ſaw that by none of his Crafts our Prince would be no longer abuſed with them, then ſewed he to the *French* King, to be a Mediator between our Sovereigne and him: Declaring to him and his Counſaile that he would gladly do for our Sovereigne, allowing the Juſtnes of his Cauſe; ſo that they would fynd the Means that our Sovereigne would not proceed in his Acts and Lawes till that were proved. And that he would meet with him at *Mercelles* for the fyniſhing thereof, for at *Rome* he durſt not do it for fear of the Emperor. The good *French* King admonyſhed our Prince hereof, offering to him to do all Pleaſure and Kyndnes that lay in him in this Cauſe, truſting that if the Biſhop of *Rome* came ones to *Marcelles*, he ſhould give Sentence for our Sovereigne in his juſt Cauſe, and therefore prayed our Prince to be content with that Meting, in which he would labor for it effectuouſlie, and ſo he did: To the which our Prince anſwered, that touching the Meting he was content, but touching the forbering of making Lawes, he prayed his good Brother to hold him excuſed, for he knew well ynough both the Crafte and Delayes of the Biſhop of *Rome*; by which from thencforth he would never be abuſed: And that likewiſe he fered that he would abuſe his good Brother, which ſo indede after followed; for after he had gotten the Maryage of the Duke of *Orleance*, he then promiſed the *French* King to give Judgment for our Maiſter, ſo he would ſend a Proxie, which the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* knew well before, that he neyther would, nor was bound to do; yet notwithſtanding his ſubtill ymagynacions, his Promiſe was to the *French* King, that our Prynce ſending a Proctor, ſhould there before his Departure have Judgment for him in the Principall Cauſe; for he openly confeſſed ferther, that our Maiſter had the Right: But becauſe our Prince and Maiſter would not prejudicate for his Juriſdictione, and uphold his uſurped Power by ſending a Proctor, ye may evydentlie here ſee that this was onelie the Cauſe why the Judgment of the Biſhop of *Rome* was not given in his Favour; whereby it may appere that there lacked

not

not any Juſtnes in our Princes Cauſe, but that Ambition, Vaine-Glory, and to much mundanytee, weare the Letts thereof: Wherefore, Good People, I exhorte you to ſticke to the Trueth, and our Prince accórding to our bounden Dueties, and Diſpiſe thes noughtie Doings of this Biſhop of *Rome*; and charytably pray that he and all others, abuſers of Chriſts Worde and Workes, may have Grace to amend.

Number 30.

Inſtructions given by the Kinges Highnes, to his Truſty and Well-beloved Servant William Pagett, *one of the Clearkes of his Signet, whom his Highnes ſendeth at this Tyme unto the Kinge of* Pole, *the Dukes of* Pomeray *and of* Pruce; *and to the Cities of* Dantiske, Stetin, *and* Connynburgh, *for the Purpoſes enſueinge.*

An Original.

Henry R.

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14. Fol. 66.

FIrſt the ſaid *Pagett* takeinge with him the Kinges Highnes Letters of Credence to the Princes aforeſaide, with the Coppies of certeine other Bookes and Writeings prepared for his Diſpatch, ſhall with all Diligence, takeing his Jorney from hence, repaire unto the ſaid Princes, as to his Wiſdome ſhall be thought beſt for the Expedicion of his Jorney moſt convenient. After his Arrival there, takeing the beſt Opportunity he can for his Audience, and deliverie of the Kings Highnes ſaid Letters, with his Highnes moſt harty Recommendacions: The ſaid *Pagett* ſhall ſay that the Kinges Highnes conſideringe not only the Olde Love, and Perfect Friendſhip, which hath now of long Tyme been contracted, and by mutual Offices of Amity, eſtabliſhed between his Highnes and the ſaid Princes; But alſo the ſingular Affection, and entire Zeal, which his Highnes by ſondry and manifold Arguments, hath and doth daily perceive to be in them, to the ſearchinge, furtheringe, defence, and mainteininge of the Sincere Truth, and Right Underſtanding of Gods Word, and the Juſtice of his Lawes, and the Extirpacion of ſuch inveterate, old, and corrupt Errors, Cuſtomes, and Abuſiones, whereby Chriſtes People have bin nowe of longe Tyme ſeduced, and kept more bound thrall'd, and captive under the Yoke of the Biſhops of *Rome*, then ever the *Jewiſh* People were under the Ceremonies of *Moyſes* Lawe; his Highnes hath ſent nowe preſently the ſaid *Pagett* unto the ſaid Princes, and to every one of them ſeverally, as aforeſaid, to open and declare on his Highnes Behalf the great Deſire which his Highnes hath

hath, to do all Things for his Part; whereby not only the Friendſhip may be nouriſhed and encreaſed, but alſoe the Common Cauſe of all Chriſtend Men may be reduced to ſuch Ende as ſhall be agreeable to the due Order of Chriſts Faith and his Precepts, and Lawes given unto us by his Worde and Spirit, and expreſſed in his Goſpell. And for as much as the Chiefe Pointe, and the greateſt Demonſtracion of true Friendſhip, is Freindes to communicate and breake Friendly each to other, *Et deponere in ſinum Amici*, the whoal Eſtate of their Cauſes, and what Things be pleaſaunt and acceptable unto them, or contrary, wherein they find themſelves grieved, wronged, or injuried; the ſaid *Pagett* ſhall further ſay that the Kings Highnes hath given him in Commaundment to oppen and declare unto the ſame ſeverally the whoall Progreſſe of his great and weighty Cauſe of Matrimony, with the intollerable Wronges and Injuries donn unto his Highnes in the ſame by the Biſhop of *Rome*, called the Pope: And in what Termes the ſame nowe conſiſteth. And finally by what Waies and Means his Highnes purpoſeth and intendeth nowe to defende his ſaid moſt juſt and right wiſe Cauſe and to reſiſt the Malicious Attemptats of the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*.

And for his Entry into the Matter, the ſaid *Pagett* ſhall note and regarde Two principall and ſpeciall Pointes; that is to ſay, the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, and the Order and Proceſſe which hath binn uſed therein. And as concerninge the firſt Pointe, the ſaid *Pagett* ſhall ſhewe howe the King's Highnes hath ſo uſed himſelf, as no Man may lawefully complaine of the ſame. For as touchinge the Juſtice of his Highnes Cauſe, that is to ſay, the Declaration of his Marriadge with the Princeſſe Dowager to be nought, of noe Moment nor Effecte; but againſt the Lawe of God's Nature and Man, and therefore indiſpenſable by the Pope, and in no wiſe availeable; The ſaid *Paget* ſhall ſhewe, howe the King's Highnes hath don therein as much as becommeth a Criſtian Prince to doe for Diſcharge of his Conſcience: and hath founde ſoe certaine, ſoe evident, ſoe manifeſt, ſoe oppen and ſoe approved Trueth therein, as whereunto he ought of Neceſſity to give place, and to allowe and receive the ſame; not as a Matter doubtfull and diſputable, but as a plaine and diſcuſſed Verity, of the true Underſtandinge of God's Worde and Lawe, which all Criſtian Men muſt follow and obey, and to all worldly Reſpecte preferre and execute. In attaininge the Knowledge whereof, if his Highnes had uſed his owne particular Judgment and Sentence, or the Mind only and Opinion of his own Naturall Subjecte, altho' the ſame might in his owne Conſcience have ſufficed; yet his Highnes would not have much repugned, if ſome other had made Difficulty to aſſent in the ſame, untill further Diſcuſſion had bin made thereuppon. But now, for as much as beſide the King's owne certeine Underſtandinge, and the Agreement of the wholl Clergie of both Provinces of his Realme, unto the ſame; His Highnes hath alſoe for him the Determinations of the moſt Famous Univerſities of *Chriſtendom*, which be indifferent to pronounce and give Sentence in this his Cauſe, and therewithe alſoe the evident Wordes of God's Lawe; his Highnes hath thought himſelf, in Honour and Duty to the Obligation of God's Commandements,

obliged neceſſarily to imbrace and receive the ſame; and there, by the Conſent of his Nobles Spirituall and Temporall, and with the ſinguler Contentation, Rejoice and Comforte, of all his Commons and Subjecte. And finally, by the Judgement and Decree of the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, moſt ſolemply and autentiquely paſſed in that Behalf, hath now, for the Diſcharge of his owne Conſcience, which was before merveileouſly greived and offended with the Opinion of Inceſt Matrimony, and for the avoideinge of extreame Dangers of his Succeſſion, and the Ruyne of his Realms, which was by reaſon thereof imynent and manifeſtly apparant to inſue, divorced and ſeperated himſelf from the Yoake and Bande of that unlawfull Marriadge, which was of longe time uſurped and continued betweene his Highnes and the ſaid Princeſſe Dowager, and hath eſpouſed and maried to his lawfull Wife, the Noble Lady; Daine *Ann* Marques of *Pembroke*, whoſe approved and excellent Vertues, that is to ſay, the Purity of her Life, her conſtant Verginity, her maidenly and womanly Pudicity, her Sobernes, her Chaſtenes, her Meekenes, her Wiſdome, her Diſcent of Ancient Right Noble and Highe Parentage, her Education in all good and lawefull Shewes and Manners, her Aptnes to Procreation of Children, with her other infinite good Qualityes, more to be regarded and eſteemed then the only Progeny, be of ſuch approved Excellency, as cannot be but moſt acceptable unto Almighty God, and deſerve his highe Grace and Favour to the ſingular Weale and Benefitte of the King's Realme and Subjects. Albeit in caiſe any Objection ſhal be made hereunto by the ſaid Princes, or any of their Concill, *de Ratione Scandali*, by reaſon that the King's Highnes hath not obſerv'd in all Pointes the common Order and Manner of the Pope's Lawes, the ſaid *Paget* ſhall, thereunto replying and anſwering, founde themſelves firſt uppon the moſt ſtedfaſt Grounds of Scripture, viz. *Quia juſto Lex non eſt poſita; ſed ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Libertas eſt: Et ſi Spiritu Dei ducimini, non eſtis ſub Lege. Hoc eſt, Spiritûs Sancti & Conſcientiæ motum ſequentes, ſub Lege primaque privatæ cedere debet, nequaquam ſumus conſtituti. In prohibitis autem Lege Divinâ, parendum eſt Conſcientiæ, in aliis vero Eccleſiæ: Et qui Lege privatâ ducitur, nulla ratio exigit ut Lege publica conſtringatur.* And thereuppon the ſaid *Paget* ſhall inferre, that althoughe in the Lawe, every Man's private Conſcience be but a private Court, yet it is the Higheſt and Supreame Courte for Judgement or Juſtice, condempninge or approvinge of Mens Actes and Deedes in the Sight of God; accordinge to the Saying of St. *Paule* to the *Romanes*, *Gentes quæ Legem non habent, ſibi ipſis ſunt Lex; qui oſtendunt Opus Legis ſcriptum in Cordibus ſuis; ſimul atteſtante ipſorum Conſcientia, ex Cogitationibus eorum, inter ſe aut accuſantibus aut excuſantibus, in eo die quo judicabit Deus occulta hominum.* And therefore the ſaid *Paget* ſhall ſay, that beinge the King's Highnes ſaid Cauſe fully examined, diſcuſſed, and reſolved in his owne Conſcience; and being alſo the ſame Court of his Conſcience inlightened and inſtructed, firſt by the Spirite of God, who poſſeſſeth and directeth the Hartes of Princes, and afterward eſtabliſhed and confirmed by ſuch wayes as is before expreſſed; pronounced and declared,

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to be diſcharged before God from the Contracte of his ſaid firſt Matrimony, and be at Liberty to exercize and injoy the Benefitte of God, for Procreation of Children, and the lawefull Uſe of Matrimony, neceſſary for the Releif of Man's Infirmity. No Man ought to inveigh at this his Doinge, but rather to interpretate the ſame into the beſt Parte, in that that the King's Highnes had more Regarde unto the Weale of his Soul, than to any Ceremonies of Mens Laws, which themſelves decree and ordeine: That noe Man is bounde to obey them, or any other Man's Precept, of what Dignity or Preheminence ſoever he be, if the ſame do *militare, contra Deum & Conſcientiam offendat: Primum etenim quærendum eſt regnum Dei, &c. Et quid prodeſt hujuſmodi, ſi univerſum mundum lucretur, animæ vero ſuæ detrimentum patiatur, &c.?* He may alſo further ſay, that the King's Highnes knoweth well, that Reſpect is to be had unto the World, and doubteth not but that it is alſoe ſufficiently declared and ſhowed by his Actes and Proceedinges, howe much he hath laboured and travailed therein; but ſithence that theſe Thinges, althoughe in their outward Viſage be worldly, yet inwardly they touch and concerne the Perill of Soule, noe Man beinge *ſinceri & candidi Pectoris*, cann arreſte any Blame unto the King's Highnes, in that he hath after ſoe long Travaile, Labour and Studye, with intollerable Coſte and Charges, without any Fruite ſuſteined in that Behalf, be inforced and conſtreyned rather to followe and accompliſhe the Determination of his own Conſcience, and the Law of the ſame, conſonant and agreeable in this Caſe to the Law of God, and therefore ſuperior and excellinge all Lawes of Man, then to indure in perpetuall Sute, and continuall Trouble of Body and Mynde, doeing Injurie to Nature, and incomparable Dammage to his Realme; not doeing ſoe much as in him is, to provide for the ſame. And to the intente the ſaid *Paget* may with the more Efficacy declare unto the ſaid Princes, the ungodly and unlawful Demeanours of the Pope, in the whoall Progreſſe of the King's Highnes ſaid Cauſe, handleing his Highnes by the Space of vij Years, and more, in Delayes and Dalliance; and how for Friendſhip and Juſtice, he hath alwayes miniſtred unto him Unkindneſs and notable Injurie: By reaſon whereof, the King's Highnes hath binn thus conſtreined to doe as he hath don: The ſaid *Paget* ſhall underſtande, how that firſt in the Beginninge of his Highnes greate Cauſe, his Grace beinge daily inquieted and moleſted with the Scruple of Inceſt and unlawefull Matrimony, did ſend unto the ſaid Biſhop, as unto him which preſumed uppon him the Title and Name of Chriſt's Vicar in Earth; and which had the Keyes of Knowledge and Power, to diſcerne the very Worde of God from the Worde of Man; to the intent that he, according to his Office and Duty, ſhould have ymediatly diſſolved that Doubt and Scruple, which his Highnes in Conſcience had before conceived, and ſhould have reſtored him incontinently to the Quietnes and Reſt of the ſame. Upon which Inſynuation, the ſaide Biſhop of *Rome* refuſeing to take any Knowledge of the Kings ſaid Cauſe of Matrimony, but would the King ſhould take a Commiſſion, and Commiſſioners to be ſent into this his Grace Realme, to whom the ſaid Biſhop would give ſufficient Authority, to decerne,

knowe, judge and determyne the ſaid Cauſe; then pretendinge, that it might in noe wiſe by the Order of the Lawes be intreated at *Rome*, but only within the King's owne Realme. And ſo he delegated his wholl Power to the Cardinal *Campegius*, and the Cardinall of *York*. Giveinge alſoe unto them, one other Speciall Commiſſion, in Forme of a Decretall: Wherein the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* pronounced and gave Sentence, that the King's Highnes Matrimony was utterly nought and unlawfull; and that therefore his Highnes might *convolare ad ſecundas Nuptias*; and the Children procreated in the Seconde Marriadge were lawfull. And in this oppen Commiſſion, he gave alſoe unto the ſaid Legate full Authority to determyne this Matter, and to give Sentence for the King's Highnes; and yet ſecretly he gave them Inſtructions, to bring the ſaid Commiſſion Decretall, and not to proceede by Vertue thereof, or of any other Commiſſion, unto any finall End or Sentence, but to ſuſpend and put over the ſame. And at the Time of Sendinge of the ſaid Commiſſion, he ſent alſoe down unto the King's Highnes, a Briefe written with his owne Hande; wherein he did alſoe approve the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, in like maner as he did in his Commiſſion Decretall; and promiſed unto the King's Highnes, *quam ſanctiſſimè ſub verbo Pontificis*, that he would never afterwarde advocate the ſaide Cauſe out of the Realme of *Englande*, but would ſuffer it to have the due Courſe and Order of Intreateinge of the ſame, within the King's Highnes Realme; which his Sentence and Promiſe notwithſtanding, yet the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to his own Conſcience and Knowledge, what was the very Trueth and Juſtice in the King's Highnes Cauſe; and to the intente he might moleſt and trouble the ſame, decreed out ſundry Citations, whereby he would needes inforce the King's Highnes to appeare at *Rome* in his own Perſon, to the Subverſion of him, his Dignity, and the Privileges of his Realme; or elſe to conſtreine him in the Exhibition of a Proxie there: The Iniquity of both which Things, is ſo evident and notable, *ut nulla rerum facie defendi queat*. For it is a common Principle of the Lawe, *Quoties autem citatus ex Privilegio, vel aliqua alia Materia, in voce expreſſa, venire non teneatur, in eo caſu nec tenetur aliquam ſui copiam facere, neque Se, neque Procuratorem ſiſtere*. It is alſo notorius, that the Liberties and Prerogatives of the King's Realme, to the Obſervation whereof he is bounde by his Oath at his Coronation; and that alſoe the Priviledges of Princes, beinge publique Perſons, beſides other great and urgent Cauſes, doe neceſſarily let the King's Perſon to appeare at *Rome*, and lawefully defendeth and excuſeth his Abſence from thence: And beſides all this, that his Highnes ought not to be cited to *Rome*; it is enacted by the Holy Councilles of *Nice*, of *Affinique*, and of *Melevitan*; and it is agreeable alſoe to all Lawes, Reaſon and Equity, that Kings ſhould not be compelled to repair to *Rome* at the Pope's Callinge, ne be bounden in a Matter of ſo highe Weight and Conſequence as this is, to ſende out of their Realmes and Dominions, their Writeinges, Inſtrumentes, and Munimentes, conteyneinge the Secretyes of their Affaires, or to make and truſt a Proctor in ſoe farr diſtant Parts, and in a Matter of

ſuch

ſuch Gravity and Importance, to abide and fullfill that which the ſaid Proctor ſhall agree unto there. And hereunto the ſaid *Paget* may adde, howe this Matter toucheth the Dignity of all Chriſtian Princes very highly, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo yoaked with the ſaid Biſhop's Authority. And that it is Tyme for Princes, nowe that the ſame Biſhop maketh this Enterpriſe uppon them, to inſerche and knowe the Grounde and Bottome of his and their Authorities. For what and the Pope would cite and call all Chriſtian Princes to appeare before him at *Rome*; that is to ſay, to cauſe them to abandon and forſake their owne Realmes, and neglect the Cure and Office committed unto them by God, and to anſwere there upon ſuch Matters, as the Pope ſhould for his Pleaſure object againſt them? *Eſſet quidem illud durum; ſed tamen ſi vellet Pontifex, hæc poſſet facere, qua etenim ratione unum conſtringere; omnes etiam Reges cogere poſſet:* And ſo it ſhould be always in the Pope's Authority and Libertie, to remove and depoſe what Kings it pleaſed him from his Crowne, and to rule and govern all Kingdomes after his own Arbitre and Pleaſure: One other notable Iniquity, is alſo in that the Pope by his Citation would needs enforce the Kinges Highnes to appear at *Rome*; foraſmuch as *Rome* is by all Laws a Place Unlawful, yea, and thereto moſt ſuſpect and unſure, not only for the Kings Highnes owne Perſon, being the Principale Parte, but alſoe for the Perſon of his Proctor, if he ſhould ſend any ſuch thither; and eſpecially for the ſelf Cauſe to be intreated there: Now it is a Principle in the Lawe, *quod citando ad locum non tutum & precedendo Index facit inique quia legibus id prohibentibus necnon antiquiſſimis conſiliis & Pont' Romanorum definitionibus repugnantibus id facit non ſolum inique ſed etiam nullıter facit:* And yet further, the Pope not ſatisfied with theſe Injuries and Wronges don unto his Highnes, yea, and to Juſtice it ſelf, in Manner as is above rehearſed; but being then, and at ſuch Tyme as the ſaid Citations were publiſhed, Reſident at *Rome*, One Doctor *Kerne*, the Kinges Subject underſtandinge how his Highnes was called there to appeare to one *Cappiſucchi* Deane of the *Rota*, to make Anſwer unto the Princes Dowagers Complainte, and exhibiting Reaſonable Cauſes, and Lawful Matters Excuſatory why his Grace ſhould not be bound either to appeare at *Rome*, or to ſende a Proctor thither; which Things he did as the Kinges Subject, and as one who by Law of Nature is bounden to Defende his Kinge and Sovereigne Lord; and by all Laws admitted to alledge that in Defence of him that is Abſent, which in Equity ought to preſerve him from Condemnacion; yet this notwithſtandinge, the ſaid *Cappiſucchi, idque approbante Pontifice*, not regardinge nor conſideringe the Matters ſoe by the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* alleadged, but demaunding whether he had any Proxie from the Kinges Highnes for ſuch Purpoſe or noe; the ſaid *Cappiſucchi*, for Default of ſuch Proxie, (which was not neceſſary in this Caſe) rejected the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* from the Office of an Excuſator there, and proceeded in the Principall Cauſe: by Reaſon whereof the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* appelled to the Pope alleadginge Injurie to be don not only to the Kings Highnes, but alſoe unto himſelf, for that ſuch Matter as he (havinge Intereſte in) did alleadge was not conſidered nor regarded, but Proceſſe

made notwithſtanding, to which Appellation the ſaid *Cappiſucchi* gave an ambiguous and doubtful Anſwer; promiſeinge afterward to open his ſaid Anſwere and Sentence more plainely, and to give determinate Reſolucions therein, which nevertheleſs he would not doe, albeit he was diverſe Tymes required and preſſed thereunto, but ſoe paſſed he the Tyme and ſuddenly returned to Proceſſe; whereupon the ſaid Doctor oftentimes appealed and put upp again a Supplicacion to the Pope for the Admiſſion of the ſaid Appeal, by reaſon whereof the ſaid Matter was reaſoned in the Signature; where althoughe by noe lawe it woud be ſhewed why the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* ought not to be admitted to alleage the ſaid Matters Excuſatory in the Defence of the Kinges Highnes; yet they gave their Voices there as the Pope ſaide, that Doctor *Kerne* ſhould not be heard without the Kinges Proxie; whereunto when Dr. *Kerne* replied, ſayinge that whatſoever they decreed or ſaide, yet there was no Lawe to maintayne and bear it: It was anſwered again by the ſaid Biſhope, called Pope, that he might Judge all Things after his own Conſcience. And upon this Reſolucion, without any other Decree given, or at leaſt notified and declared, they proceeded in the Principal Cauſe, intendinge by this Injurie and Wronge, to enforce the Kinges Highnes to the Exhibition of a Proxie there, to his high Prejudice, and the derogation of the Libertyes, and Prerogatives of his Realme, and to the pernicious Example of the like to be done unto other Princes in Tyme comeing. And althoughe at the ſame Time, the Kinges Ambaſſadors there Reſident, did ſhewe unto the Pope the Determinacion of the Univerſities of *Paris* and *Orleance*, with the Opinions and Sentences of the beſt and moſt Famous Learned Men of *Italy* and *Fraunce*, determyning all with one Conſent, that theſe the Popes doeinges were meere Injuries and Wronges, and contrary to his own Lawes, wherein it is conteined, *Quod Pontifex Romanus non poteſt cogere aliquem Principem Chriſtianum ut Romam veniat, ut in Cauſa Matrimonii ibidem reſpondeat. Aut in eorum gratiam procuratorem conſtituat & quod ſubditus cujuſcunque Principis poterit ſine mandato & ſine Satisdatione ejuſdem abſenciæ ſine non comparentiæ allagere & quod debeat ad id admitti: quodque propoſitis per eundem juſtes Cauſis abſenciæ non poterit contra abſentem Principem ulterius procedi. Sed quod omnis talis proceſſus ſi quis contra eundem factus fuerat, ſit jure ipſo facto nullus.* Yet he continuynge ſtill in the Diſcuſſinge and Diſputacion of the ſame Pointes: And perceiveinge well the Kinges Highnes Adverſaries to be in the wronge Parte, did ſtill nevertheleſs rejecte the ſaid Mr. *Kerne* from the Lawfull Defence of the Kings Highnes, and ceaſed not to make Proceſſe againſt his Grace in the Principall Cauſe to the expreſſe Wronge and Injurie of his Highnes, and ſoe continuynge ſtill in accumulateinge from Tyme to Time, new Griefes and Injuries againſt the Juſtice of the Kinges Cauſe; and ſending out very ſlaunderous Griefes againſt the Kings Highnes, with diverſe other unſeemeinge and ungodly Demeanors uſed by him and his Miniſters in the Diſcouſſe and Doinge of the ſaid Injuries. Finally to accompliſhe his longe and indurate Malice, he decreed and determined to publiſhe out againſt the Kings Highnes, the Sentence of Excommunication, and ſoe the Kings Highines, being advertiſed of the ſaid Determinacion and Purpoſe, and mynding to uſe his

lawefull and naturall Defence of Provocation and Appellation againſt the ſame. After that his Highnes had ſoe made Authentiquely his ſaid Provocacion and Appellation from the Pope to the Generall Councell, which ſhall be nowe next indicted, and lawefully congregated; and alſoe cauſed the ſame to be intimated unto the Pope by one of his Subjects, the ſaid Pope would in no wiſe admitte the ſame, *& deferre hujuſmodum Appellacioni*, but pretendinge for his Defence a certeine Bull made by Pope *Pius*, and that he was Superior to all Generall Counſailes, did moſt Arrogantly and contemptouſly reject the Kinges Highnes ſaid Appellacions, alleadging the ſame to be nought; and they were Heretiques and Traytors to his Perſon, which would Appeal from him to any General Counſell, or would attempt to doe any Thinge whereby his Authority ſhould be ſeene to be Inferior unto the Authority of Generall Counſells.

The Iniquity of all which Thinges beinge thus opened unto the ſaid Princes, and ſett forth by the ſaid *Pagett*, with the beſt Perſwaſions he can deviſe for that Purpoſe, he ſhall further ſhewe unto the ſame, that thence it is now evidently ſeene that the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* for the Defence of his own corrupt Affections of Glorie and Ambition, regardeth not what Injurie he doth to Chriſtian Princes, yea, and to abuſe and ſubject ſo much as in him is, not only contrary to the Trueth, but alſoe to the due Order both of God and Mans Lawes, ſheweinge himſelf therein rather to be the Child of Wrath and Diſcorde, then the Imitator and Follower of Chriſt; It ſhall nowe apperteine unto the Office of every good Chriſtian Prince on tother ſide, to have more Spirituall Regarde to the Preſervation of their one Eſtate and Dignity, and the Maintenance of Gods Lawes, then they have had in Times paſt. And to ſtudy nowe by all Means rather to confounde and deſtroy theſe Preſumptions of Men, which forge themſelves ſuch a Throne and Power as ſoundeth greatly to the Blaſphemy of Chriſt and his very Spouſe the Church, then to ſuffer the ſame any further to encreaſe.

And foraſmuch as the Kinges Highnes not only for want of Juſtice in his ſaid Cauſe at the Popes Hande, but alſo for the Defence of thoſe extreme Injuries, which the ſaid Pope hath enforced unto him and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and for the Maintenance of his Eſtate Royal, with the Lawes and Privileges of his Realme, conforme and agreeable to the Lawe of God, is nowe utterly determined, havinge God and his Word upon his Party, to reſiſt and withſtand the ſaid Biſhops malicious Attempts and reduce the ſaid Popes Power, *Ad juſtos & legitimos mediocritatis ſuæ modos*, ſo as within this his Highnes Realme, he ſhall not be ſuffered to exerciſe any other Power and Juriſdiction, then is granted unto him by expreſſe Scripture. The ſaid *Paget* ſhall ſhewe unto the ſaid Princes; that the Kinges Highnes truſtinge not a little to their greate Vertue, Wiſdome, and Ould Amity hath commaunded him not only to open and declare unto the ſaid Princes the wholl Circumſtances of all the Premiſſes, and of what Mynd and Diſpoſicion the Kings Highnes is nowe towarde the ſaid Pope, and the Court of *Rome*: But alſoe to exhorte and inſtantly to require the ſame on the Kings Highnes Behalf, that it ſhall pleaſe them to adhere and ſticke with the Kings

Highnes

Highnes in his ſaid righteous Cauſe to the repaire of the ſaid Injuries at ſuch Tyme as the ſame ſhall be intreated in the General Counſell. And in the mean Seaſon to give unto his Highnes their Aſſiſtance and beſt Advice how he ſhall proceede to the Accompliſhment of his deſired Purpoſes, according to ſuch Articles, as be written in a certaine Scedule and be delivered unto the ſaid *Paget*, and ſigned with the Kings Highnes Hand, which he ſhall alſo exhibite and ſhewe unto the ſaid Princes; and to every of them, as by his Wiſdome he ſhall perceive may be moſt Beneficiall unto the Kinges Highnes Affaires: and to require alſo the ſaid Princes and Potentates, that in Caſe there be any Articles, Cauſes, or Matters in thoſe Parties touchinge any Abuſes, Evil Cuſtomes, or Opinions, which for the Common-Wealth of *Chriſtendom*, and the Maintenance of Gods Worde the ſaid Prince and Potentate, or any of them, ſhall think neceſſary and requiſite to be reformed and redreſſed, the ſaid *Paget* ſhall ſay that the Kinges Mynde and full Determinacion is, his Highnes beinge advertiſed of the Specialties of the ſame, either by the Letters of the ſaid *Paget*, or otherwiſe by Letters of the ſame Princes; or by the Meſſengers, Servants, or Orators of them, or any of them, will not faile, but like as the ſame his Highnes at this Time declareth his Griefes, and deſireth their Aſſiſtance in this his Suit and righteous Cauſes and Quarrels, even ſo likewiſe his Highnes will not only right thankfully and kindly admitte the ſame Cauſes, to his moſt favourable Audience; but alſoe will with all Effecte and Sincerity to him poſſible, indeavour himſelf both to the Exturpacion and Puttinge away of the ſaid Abuſes and Evil Cuſtomes ſoundinge againſt Gods Worde and Lawes, and alſo further doe that Thing that may lye in him for Reformacion thereof, and Eſtabliſhinge the good Intentes and Purpoſes of the ſaid Princes, as moſt ſpecially may be for the Maintenance of Gods Word, the Faith of Chriſt, and Wealth of *Chriſtendome*, like as unto the Office of a very Chriſtian Prince, and the Perfectnes of Amity and Friendſhip contracted betweene his Highnes and the ſaid Princes ſhall apperteine. Finallie, for as much as it is doubtfull of what Minde, Intention, and Purpoſe, the ſaid Princes be or at leaſt ſome of them, that is to witte, whither they be ſoe dedicated to the Popes Devocion, that there is no likelihood of any good Succeſs touchinge the Kings Purpoſes to be don or gotten at their Hande, the ſaid *Paget* ſhall Firſt and before the deliveringe of the Kings ſaid Letters to any of the ſaid Princes, and Declaracion of this his Charge by all Dexterity, Wayes and Meanes to him poſſible inſearch, inquire, and knowe the Diſpoſicion and Inclinacion of the ſaid Prince, and of every of them ſeverally, and ſoe thereafter accordinge to their Wiſdomes and Diſcretions to deliver or retaine the Kings ſaid Letters, with Declaracions or without Declaracions of their ſaid Charge, as to their Wiſdomes ſhall be thought moſt neceſſary and requiſite for atchieveinge of the Kings Highnes Purpoſes in this Behalf.

2 *Henry R.*

Number

Number 31.

Propoſitions to the King's Counſell; marked in ſome Places on the Margin in King Henry's *own Hand.* 1533.

An Original.

FYrſte to ſende for all the Biſhops of this Realme, and ſpecyallie for ſuche as be nereſt unto the Courte; and to examyne them aparte, whether they, by the Law of God, can prove and juſtefie, that he that now is called the Pope of *Rome* is above the Generall Counſell, or the Generall Counſell above him? Or whether he hathe gyven unto him by the Law of God, any more Auctoryte within the Realme, than any other Foreign Biſhop? *Cotton* Library, *Cleop. E. 6.* P. 319.

2. *Item*, To deſire, with all the Biſhops of this Realm, to ſet forth, preach, and cauſe to be preached to the King's People, that the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, called the Pope, is not in Auctoryte above the Generall Counſelle, but the Generall Counſell is above him, and all Biſhops. And that he hath not, by God's Lawe, any more Juriſdiction within this Realme, than any other Foreign Biſhop (being of any other Realm) hathe. And that ſuch Auctoryte as he before this hathe uſurped within this Realme, is both againſt Godes Law, and alſo againſt the Generall Counſells. Which Uſurpations of Auctorite, onelie hath grown to him, by the Sufferance of Princes of this Realme, and by none Auctoryte from God.

3. *Item*, Therefore that Order be taken, for ſuche as ſhall preach at *Paul*'s Croſs from henceforthe, ſhall contynually from *Sunday* to *Sunday* preach there, and alſo teache and declare to the People, that he that now calleth himſelf Pope, nor any of his Predeceſſours, is, and were but only the Biſhops of *Rome*; and hath no more Auctorite and Juriſdiction, by Godes Lawe, within this Realme, than any other Foreign Biſhop hath; which is nothing at all. And that ſuch Auctoryte as he hathe claymed heretofore, hath been onlie by Uſurpation and Sufferaunce of Prynces of this Realme. And that the Biſhop of *London* may be bounde to ſuffer none other to preach at *Paul*'s Croſs, as he will anſwer; but ſuch as will preach, and ſet forth the ſame.

4. *Item*, That all the Biſhops within this Realme, be bound and ordered in the ſame wiſe, and to cauſe the ſame to be preached thorough out all their Dioces.

5. *Item*, That a ſpecyall Practiſe be made, and a ſtreight Commandement gyven to all Provyncyalls, Miniſters, and Rulers of all the Foure Orders of Friers within this Realme; commanding them to cauſe the ſame to be preched by all the Preachers of their Religions, in and thorough the hole Realme.

6. *Item*, To practiſe with all the Friers obſervants of this Realme, and to commande them to preach in lyke wiſe; or elles that they may

may be ſtayed, and not ſuffered to preach in no Place of the Realme.

7. *Item*, That every Abbote, Pryor, and other Heddes of Religious Houſes within this Realme, ſhall in like manner teche theire Convents and Brethren, to teach and declare the ſame.

8. *Item*, That every Biſhop ſhall make ſpecyall Commandements to every Perſon, Vicare and Curate, within his Dyoces, to preach and declare to theyr Parochians in lyke wiſe.

9. *Item*, Proclamations to be made thorough out the Realme, conteyning the hole Acte of Appeles: And that the ſame Acte may be impreſſed, tranſumed, and ſet up on every Church Dore in *England*; to the Intent, that no Parſon, Vycar, Curate, nor any other of the King's Subjects, ſhall make themſelfs ignorant thereof.

10. *Item*, The King's Provocation and Appellations, made from the Biſhop of *Rome* unto the Generall Counſell, may alſo be tranſumed, impreſſed, publiſhed and ſet up on every Church Dore in *England*; to the Intent, that if any Cenſures ſhould be fulmynate againſt the King or his Realm, that then it may appear to all the World, that the Cenſures be of none Effecte; conſidering that the King hathe already, and alſo before any Cenſures promulged, bothe provoked and Appeled.

11. *Item*, Like Tranſumpts to be made, and ſent into all other Realmes and Domynyons, and ſpecyally into *Flanders*, concerning the King's ſaide Provocations and Appellations; to the intente the Falſhode, Iniquite, Malice and Injuſtice of the Biſhop of *Rome*, may thereby appere to all the World: And alſo to the intent that all the World may know, that the King's Highnes ſtanding under thoſe Appeles, no Cenſures can prevayle, nor take any Effecte againſt him and his Realme.

Not yet done, ne can well be done before theParliament.

12. *Item*, A Letter to be conceyved from all the Nobles, as well Spirituall as Temporall, of this Realme, unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, declaring the Wrongs, Injuries and Uſurpations, uſed againſt the King's Highnes and this Realme.

For to ſend Letters to my Lord *Dacres*, my Lord of *Norfolk*, and Sir *T. Clifford*.

13. *Item*, To ſende Exploratours and Eſpies into *Scotland*; and to ſee and perceyve their Practiſes, and what they intend there; and whether they will confeder themſelfs with any other outwarde Prynce.

14. *Item*, Certen diſcrete and grave Perſons, to be appointed to repair into the Partes of *Germany*, to practiſe and conclude ſome Lege or Amyte with the Prince and Potentats of *Germany*; that is to ſay, the King of *Pole*, King *John* of *Hungary*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Bavyere*, Duke *Frederyke*, the Landegrave *Van Heſſe*, the Biſhop of *Magons*, the Biſhop of *Treuers*, the Biſhop of *Coleyn*, and other the Potentats of *Germany*; and alſo to enſerch, of what Inclination the ſaid Prynces and Potentats be of, towards the King and his Realme.

In the King's Arbitrement.

To know this of the King.

15. *Item*, Like Practiſe to be made and practiſed with the Cyties of *Lubeke*, *Danſke*, *Hamburgh*, *Brunſwyke*, and all other the Stedes of the *Hannſe Tutonick*; and to enſerche of what Inclination they be towards the King, and this Realme.

16. *Item*,

16. *Item*, Lyke Practiſe to be made and practiſed, with the Cities of *Norimbergh* and *Aughsbrough*.

17. *Item*, To remember the Marchiants Adventurers haunting the Domynyons of *Braband*, and to ſpeke with them. This is already done.

18. *Item*, To ſet Order and Eſtabliſhment of the Princes Dowager's Houſe with all Celerity, and alſo of my Lady *Mary*'s Houſe. The Order is taken.

19. *Item*, A full Concluſion and Determination, to be taken for my Lady Princes Houſe. The Orders taken.

Number 32.

By the King.

A Letter againſt the Pope's Authority, and his Followers, ſetting forth their Treaſons.

An Original.

HENRY R.

TRuſty and right Welbeloved, We grete you well. And wher as heretofore, as ye know, both upon moſt juſt and vertuouſe Fundations, grownded upon the Lawes of Almighty God and Holly Scripture, and alſo by the deliberate Advice, Conſultation, Conſent and Agreement, as well of the Biſhops and Clergie, as by the Nobles and Comons Temporall of this our Realme, aſſembled in our High Court of Parliament, and by Auctoritie of the ſame, the Abuſes of the Biſhop of *Rome* his Auctoritie and Juriſdiction, of longe time uſurped againſt us, have been not only utterly extirped, aboliſhed and ſecluded; but alſo the ſame our Nobles and Comons, both of the Clergie and Temporaltie, by another ſeverall Acte and upon like Fundation for the publique Weale of this our Realme, have united, knyt and annexed to us and the Corone Imperiall of this our Realme, the Title, Dignitie and Stile of Supreme Hed in Earthe, immediatly under God, of the Church of *England*, as undoubtedly evermore we have been. Which Things alſo the ſaid Biſhops and Clergie, particularly in their Convocations, have holly and entierly conſented, recogniſed, ratified, confermed and approved autentiquely in Writing, both by their Speciall Othes, Profeſſion and Wryting, under their Signes and Seales. So utterly renouncyng all other Othes, Obedience and Juriſdiction, either of the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, or of any other Potentate, we late you witt, that perpendyng and conſideryng the Charge and Commiſſion in this Behalf geven unto us by Almighty God, together with the great Quietnes, *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 214.

etnes, Reſt and Tranquillite, that hereby may enſue to our faithful Subjects, both in their Conſciences, and other wiſe to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, in caſe the ſaid Biſhops and Clergie of this our Realme, ſhould ſincerely, truly and faithfully ſett forth, declare and preach unto our ſaid Subjects, the very true Word of God, and without all maner or culor of Diſſimulation, Hipocriſie, manifeſt, publiſhe and declare, the great and innumerable Enormities and Abuſes, which the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, as well in Title and Stile, as alſo in Auctoritie and Juriſdiction, of long Tyme unlawfully and injuſtly hath uſurped upon Us, our Progenitors, and all other Chriſten Princes; have not only addreſſed our Letters Generall to all and every the ſame Biſhops, ſtraitly chargyng and commanding them, not only in their proper Perſons, to declare, teach and preach unto the People, the true, mere and ſincere Word of God: And how the ſaid Title, Stile, and Juriſdiction of Supreme Hed, apperteyneth unto Us, our Corone and Dignitie Royall. And to gyve like Warnyng, Monition and Charge, to all Abbots, Priors, Deanes, Arche Deacons, Provoſts, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, Scole Maſters, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons within their Dioces, to do the Semblable, in their Churches, every *Sunday* and Solem Feaſt, and alſo in their Scoles; and to cauſe all maner of Prayers, Oriſons, Rubrics and Canons in Maſſe Books, and all other Books uſed in Churches, wherin the ſaid Biſhop is named, utterly to be aboliſhed, eradicat, and raſed out in ſuch wiſe, as the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, his Name and Memorie for evermore, (except to his Contumelly and Reproche) may be extinct, ſuppreſſed and obſcured: But alſo to the Juſtices of our Peas, that they, in every Place within the Precint of their Commiſſions, do make and cauſe to be made diligent Serche wayſe and eſpecially, whether the ſaid Biſhops and Clergie do truly and ſincerly, without any Maner Cloke or Diſſimulation, execute and accompliſh their ſaid Charge to them commytted in this Behalf; and to ſatisfie Us and our Councill, of ſuch of them that ſhould omytt or leave undone any Parte of the Premiſſes, or elles in the Execution therof, ſhould coldely, fainedly uſe any maner of ſyniſter Addition, Interpretation or Cloke, as more plainly is expreſſed in our ſaid Letters. We conſidering the great Good and Furderaunce, that ye may do in theſe Matters in the Parts about you, and ſpecially at your being at Siſes and Seſſions; in the Declaration of the Premiſſes, have thought it good, neceſſary and expedient, to write theſe our Letters unto you; whom we eſteem to be of ſuch ſinguler Zeale and Affection towards the Glory of Almighty God, and of ſo faithfull and loving Harte towards us, as ye woll not only, with all your Wiſdome, Diligences and Labours, accompliſh all ſuch Things, as might be to the Preferment and ſetting forward of Godes Worde, and the Amplification, Defence and Maintenance of our ſaid Intereſts, Right, Title, Stile, Juriſdiction and Auctoritie, apperteyning unto Us, our Dignitie, Prerogative, and Corone Imperiall of this our Realme, woll and deſire you, and nevertheles ſtraitely charge and command you, that laying aparte all vain Affections, Reſpects, and Carnal Conſiderations; and ſetting before your Eyes the Mirror of Truth, the Glorie of God, the Right and Dignitie of your Soveraigne

raigne Lord ; thus tending to the ineſtimable Unitie and Commoditee both of your ſelf, and all other our Loving and Faithfull Subiects, ye do not only make diligent ſearch within the Precinct of your Commiſſion and Auctoritie, whether the ſaid Biſhops and Clergie doe truly, ſincerely as before, Preach and Teach, and declare to the People the Premiſſes, according to their Duties, but alſo at your ſaid ſetting in Siſes and Seſſions ye do perſuade, ſhewe, and declare unto the ſame People the Tenor, Effect, and Purpoſe of the Premiſſes in ſuch wiſe, as the ſaid Biſhops, and Clergie, may the better, not only do therby, and execute their ſaid Dueties, but that alſo the Parents, and Rulers of Families, may declare, teach, and informe their Children and Servants in the Specialties of the ſame, to the utter extirpacion of the ſaid Biſhops uſurped Authority, Name, and Juriſdiction ; for ever ſhewyng and declarying alſo to the People at your ſaid Seſſions the Treaſons trayterouſly commytted againſt us and our Lawes, by the late Biſhop of *Rocheſtre*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, Knight, who thereby, and by diverſe Secrete Practiſes of their malicioufe Mynds againſt us intended, to ſemynate, engender, and brede amongs our People and Subiects, moſt miſchievous and ſedicioufe Opynyon, not only to their own Confuſion, but alſo of divers others who lately have condignely ſuffered Execucion according to their Demerites, and in ſuch wiſe dilating the ſame with Perſuacions to the ſame our People, as they may be the better fixed, eſtabliſhed, and ſatisffied in the Truth, and conſequently, that all our Faythfull and true Subiects may therby deteſt and abhore in their Harts and Deeds, the moſt recreant and traiterouſe Abuſes, and Behaveours of the ſaid Malicioufe Malefactors as they be moſt Worthy, and fynding any Defaulte, Negligence, or Diſſimulacion in any manner of Perſon, or Perſons, not doyng his Duetie in this Partie, ye immediately doe advertiſe us and our Counſel of the Defaulte, Manner, and Facion of the ſame, lating you witt, that conſidering the greate Moment, Weight, and Importance of this Matter, as wherupon dependeth the Unity, Reſt, and Quietnes of this our Realme, yf ye ſhould contrary to your Dueties, and our Expectations, and Truſt, neglect, be ſlake, or omytte to doe diligently your Dueties in the true Performance and Execucion of our Mynde, Pleaſure, and Commandment as before, or wold halte or ſtumble at any Perſon, or Specialtie of the ſame, be ye aſſured that we, like a Prince of Juſtice, well ſo puniſh and correct your Defaulte and Negligence thereyn, as it ſhall be an Example to all others, how contrary to their Allegeance, Othes and Dueties, they do fruſtrate and deceive, and diſobey the juſt and lawfull Commandment of their Soveraign Lord, in ſuch Things as by the true Hartie and Faithfull Execucion whereof, they ſhall not only prefer the Honour and Glory of God, and ſett forth the Majeſty and Imperial Dignitie of their Soveraign Lord, but allſo importe and bring an ineſtimable Unitie, Concorde, and Tranquillitie of the Publique, and Common State of this Realme : whereunto both by the Lawes of God and Nature and Man, they be utterly obliged and bounden, and therefore fail ye not moſt effectually, erneſtly, and entierly to ſee the Premiſſes done and executed upon Paine of your Allegeance ; and as

ye woll advoyde our High Indignacion and Diſpleaſure, at your uttermoſt Perills: Given under our Signet at our Manor beſids *Weſtminſter*, the xxvth Day of *June*.

Number 33.

By the King,

A Proclamation againſt Seditious Preachers.

HENRY VIIIth.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6.

RIght Truſty and Well-beloved Couſyn, we grete you well, and where it is commen to our Knowledge that ſundry Perſons aswell Religious, as Secular Prieſts and Curats in their Pariſhes, and divers Places within this our Realme, do dailly aſmuch as in them is, ſett forthe and extolle the Juriſdiction and Auctoritie of the Biſhop of *Rome*, otherwiſe called Pope, ſowyng their Sedicioufe, Peſtylent, and Falſe Doctryne, praying for him in the Pulpyt, and makyng him a God, to the great Deceyte, illudyng and ſeducyng of our Subjects, bryngyng them into Errors, Sedicion, and Evil Opynyons, more preferryng the Powers, Lawes, and Juriſdiction of the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, then the moſt Holly Lawes and Precepts of Almighty God. We therefore myndyng not only to provide for an Unitie and Quietnes, to be had and contynued amongs our ſaid Subjects, but alſo covetyng and deſyryng them to be brought to a Profeſſion and Knowledge of the mere Verity and Truth, and no longer to be ſeduced, nor blynded with any ſuch Superſticiouſe and Falſe Doctryne of any Earthly Uſurper of Gods Lawes, Woll therefore and Command you, that wher and whenſoever ye ſhall fynde, perceive, know, or here tell of any ſuch Sedicious Perſonnes, that in ſuch wiſe do ſpreade, teach, or preach, or otherwiſe ſett forth any ſuch Opynions and Perniciouſe Doctryne, to the Exaltacion of the Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*; brynging therby our Subjects into Error, Grudge, and Murmurracion, indelaydly do apprehend and take them, or cauſe them to be apprehended and taken, and ſo committed to Warde, there to remayne without Bayl or Maynprize, untyll upon your Advertiſement thereof unto us, or our Council, ye ſhall know our further Pleaſure in that Behalfe: Given under our Signet, at our Manor of *Grenewich* the XII Day of *April*.

Number

Number 34.

A Letter of the Archbiſhop of York's, *ſetting forth his Zeal in the King's Service, and againſt the Pope's Authority.*

PLeaſe it youre Highnes to underſtande, that the VIIIth Daye of *June*, I received by the Hands of Sir *Franciſe Bygott*, your moſte Honorable Letters; by tenor whereof I perceive, that your Highnes is enformed, and ſo doth take it, that wher as the ſame your Highnes, as well by Convocations of your Clergies of both Provinces, as by your Highe Courte of Parliament is declared the *Suppreme Hed* in Yerthe of the Church of *England*, and alſo by the Clergie of the ſaid Convocations, it is avowed, that the Biſhop of *Rome* by Gods Lawe hathe no more Juriſdiction within this Realme than any other Foreign Biſhope; and therefore ordre taken by your Highe Courte of Parliament, by the Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commens in the ſame aſſembled, as well for the Unitynge and Knittenge of your ſayde Style and Title of *Suppreme Hed* to your Imperiall Crowne, as for the Aboliſhement of the ſaide Biſhope of *Rome*'s Autoritie and Juriſdiction, yet I nevertheleſs, nodre remembring my Conſent given to the ſame, by my Subſcription and Profeſſion, ſigned with my Hande, and ſealed with my Seal, have not done my dewe Endevorment to teache the ſame, nor cauſe to be taught within my Dioceſe and Province; ſo that the foreſaid Truths myght be imprinted and rooted in the Harts of the Ignorant People your Highnes Subjects, wherefore your Highnes commandeth me, not onlie to Preache the forſaide Things in my Perſon, and alſo to commande others to Preache the ſame, but alſo to give Commandment in your Highnes Name, to all maner of Prelates and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons within my Dioceſe and Province, to declare and cauſe to be declared everie *Sunday*; and therwith to open to the People your Highnes juſt and rayſonable Cauſe, moveing the ſame to refuſe and to exclude out of your Realm all the Juriſdiction and Autoritie of the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*; and ferthermore your Highnes commandeth me to cauſe all Collects and Places of the Maſſe-Booke, wher anie mention is made of the ſaide Biſhope of *Rome* to be raſed out, and nodre the ſayd Collects, nor any other Thing, wherbie the ſaid Biſhops Autoritie is magnified, to be had anie more in Uſe, but to be utterlie ſuppreſſed with Silence; and beſides this, your Highnes in the ſame your moſt honorable Letters, giveth order for Scole-Maſters, how they ſhall inſtill and inculke the forſaid Trueths into the Harts of theyre Diſciples, to the intent, that ſo beeing enplanted and rooted in tender Aige, they may ſo allwaies continue. In moſte humble Maner proſtrate, I beſeech your Highnes to take in good Parte my Anſwer. I truſt your Highnes is not unremembred, that about this Tyme the laſt Yeare, anoune after my Return from your Highnes, my

Cotton Library, *Cleop. E. 6.* P. 236.

my Lord of *Canterburie* by your Commandment ſent to me a Booke, wherein was an Order for Preachinge, and in the ſame Forme deviſed, as well for Preachers as Curats, for the Beads; in which Forme, your Highnes Style and Title of *Suppreme Hedde* is mentioned, and ferther in the ſame Booke, your Highnes hath given Commandment, that every Preacher ſholde afore *Eaſter* laſt paſt ones in ſolempne Andience declare the uſurped Juriſdiction within this Realme of the Biſhope of *Rome*, and your Highnes juſt Cauſes to decline from the ſame; and alſo to open and declare ſuch Things, as myght avowe and juſtifie your Highnes refuſall of Mariage with the Princes Doager, and Lawfull Contract of now with your moſt dear Wife Queen *Ann*, and in the ſame an Order alſo given for the Suppreſſion of the Generall Sentence; After the Recepte of which Booke, the *Sunday* next following, which was then the Second *Sunday* after *Trinitie Sunday*, I went from *Cawood* to *York*, and ther in my own Perſon, declared as well your Highnes Cauſe touchinge the Matrimonie, as alſo your Refuſall of the Popes Juriſdiction, furniſhinge both ſo at leangth, that I truſt that nothing that needed to be opened and ſpoken, was left unſpoken: And to the Intent, that I wolde have the Thing the more ſpred abrode, I forthwith upon the Recepte of the forſaide Booke, ſent to *York* to publiſhe ther, that I wolde be ther *Sundaye* followinge, and cawſed the Churches to make an Order of theyre Service, in ſuche Tyme, as everie Man myght have oportunities to be at the Sermon, and ſpeciallie required the Mayer and his Bretherne, and your Faithfull Chaplaine and Servants, Mr. *Magnus*, and Sir *George Lawſon* to be ther, and ther and than afore a great Multitude, and as it is to be ſuppoſed in that Multitude werr a great number of ſundry Parts of the Contree, which never lack in that Citie, it may be thought ther was the greater number, becauſe it was noyſed that I ſholde Preache, takenge occaſion of thees Words in the Goſpell of that Daye, *Uxorem duxi ideo non poſſum venire*, ſo I uttered, explained, declared, and opened both the forſaide Matters, and the Injuries doon to your Highnes by the Biſhope of *Rome Clement*, that your ſaide Chapleyne and Servants, Mr. *Magnus* and Sir *George Lawſon*, thought that the Audience was ſatisfied. Theſe ij bee my Witneſſe hearin, with a very great Multitude beſides them, that I nothinge fayne heerin. As for your Highnes Title of *Supreme Hed*, I touched not than, for ſomutche, as no order was given than, but onlie to meke mention therof in the Prayors; and it is well known to all that have herde me Preache ever ſins my firſt commynge into my Dioceſe, that for more ſpeed of Tyme, and more utteraince of Mater, I never have made Prayours in any Sermond, but proceded forward without ſtope, nor have anie Thinge, or not muche, reherſed in *Latin*, but *Engliſh* it in courſe, for the ſame Purpoſe. Alſo opon the Recept of the ſame Booke, furthwith I commanded my Officers and others that coulde Write, to make out a great Number of the ſaide Books, and cauſe to be delivered to everie Preacher within my Dyoceſe a hole Booke, chargenge them, to doe according to the Inſtruction therof, and generallie everie Curate a Booke compriſenge as muche as touched theyre Charge, and if he were a Preacher, he had the hole. And I aſſured your Highnes, I have not yet

herde, but that every one of the ſaid Curats foloweth theyre Books in everie Poynte; and ſpeciallie praye for your Highnes as Chief Hedde of the Church, and all other Things obſerve in the ſame; and yet I have done my Diligence to herken and know if it were otherwiſe. And I doe not know but all the Preachers have done theyre Duetie; and to the great Number of them I ſpake my ſelfe, and delivered them Books, and charged them. And ferther, I charged all Curatts and others, that they ſholde ſuffer no Man to preache in theyr Churches; to the intent, that all that would preache, ſhould be conſtrained to come to me, that I might deliver them the forſaid Inſtructions. And never yet anie had Licence of me to preache, but he had ſuche a Book delivered hym. To every Houſe of Fryars, and other Religiouſe Houſes, wher anie Preachers werr, I gave Books; and likewies to all that I knewe, or coulde learne to be within my Dyoceſe, with Charge that they ſholde folow the Booke. Whan anie Religiouſe Men came to me for Counſell, I told them what I had done, and gave them Counſell to doe the ſame. Of divers Sorts have come to me, both Obſervants and *Cartuſians*, and others. Opon *Good Frydaye* laſt paſt, I charged the Treaſurer of *Yorke*, that he ſholde leave out the Collect *pro Papa*. Lykewies I charged the Deacon that ſonge the Hyme *Exultet Angelica*, in the Halowinge of the Paſchall, that he ſholde leave out mention therin made *de Papa*. The Trueth of all theſe Things may be examined and known, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe your Highnes: By wiche it ſhall appear, I truſt, that I ame not in ſuche Blaſme as your Highnes imputethe to me; enformed by them, peradventure, that be not my Friends. Your Highnes ſomewhat knoweth me. I have been allwayes open and plain, and hidreto I dare avowe I never deceived you, nor herafter ſhall in any Thing that I take upon me, as my Lernynge and Conſcience woll ſerve. And now, after the Receipte of your moſt Honorable Letters by Sir *Francis Bygott*, I forthwith cauſed Letters to be made to my Lord of *Dureſme* and *Carliſle*, and to all Archedeacons, gevinge to them (on your Highnes behalf) ſtreight Commandement, to follow truelie and ſyncerlie theffecte of ſuche Commandements, as your Highnes hath given me in your moſt Honourable Letters; and have charged all Archedeacons to ſee, that all Things, according to the Tenor of your ſaide moſt Honorable Commandment, bee done without Delaye; and have charged them to deliver Books to all Curats and others, of the olde Inſtructions, putting to them all that is nowe encreaſed in theſe your Highnes laſt moſt Honorable Letters: So that I truſt, all Things ſhall bee done according to your Highnes Commandment, with all Speed, Efficacie and Diligence, wherunto I ſhall hearken. And for my Parte, I have (on *Sunday* laſt paſt, which next followed the Receipte of your Highnes moſt Honourable Letters) declared all Things compriſed in the ſame; ſo that, I truſt, the Audience was ſatisfied. I cauſed the Citie to be warned afore, and diverſe of the Contree were preſent. And your faythfull Chapleigne and Servants, *Magnus* and Sir *George Lawſon*, I ſpecially required to be ther; as in deed they werr, and can reaport what they think therof.

Ther

Ther werr alſo preſent the Abbot of Saincte *Maries* of *Yorke*, the Treaſorer of *Yorke*, Sir *Francis Bygott*; theſe werr there, your Servants and Chapleignes, and many others. I truſt your Highnes ſhall never fynde in me, but that I promiſe, I ſhall fullfill, and all Things doe with good Haſte, that I may doe, at your Highnes Commandement, God not offended. And moſt humblie proſtrate, I beſeche your Highnes to be ſo graciouſe, good Lord, not to beleive any Complaynts of me, afore you have herde my Anſwer. The Tyme is now ſuche, that ſome Men think they doo highe Sacrifice, whan they may bring into your Highnes Diſpleaſure, ſuch a poor Prieſt as I am: But I truſt in our Lorde, that your Highnes dothe not ſoe take it, and that our Lorde woll continewe your Highnes graciouſe Mynde towards your poore Preeſts and Chapleignes; and that he ſhall ſende to them, that cawſleſſlie provoke the grevouſe Diſpleaſure of your Highnes againſt our ſaide Preeſts, better Grace hereafter. For which, and for the continuall Keeping of your Highnes in his Governaunce, I ſhall, as I am moſt bounde, continuallie praye. From *Biſhops-Thorpe*, the xivth of *June* 1535.

Your Highnes moſt humble

Preeſt and Beadman,

Edwarde Ebor'

Number 35.

A Letter of Cromwell's *to the King's Ambaſſador in* France, *full of Expoſtulations.*

SIR,

Auguſt *the* 23*d.*

AFter my moſt Hertie Recommendations, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, That the 17th Day of this Moneth I receyved from you a Packet of Letters, which indelayedlie I delyvred unto the King's Highnes, and conferred with his Grace. Theffecte both of your Letters, and all others within the ſaide Packet, being directed aſwell to his Highnes as to me. And after his Highnes had with me peruſed the hole Contents thoroughlie of your ſaide Letters, perceyving not onelie the lykelyhood of the not Repairee into *Fraunce* of *Philip Melanchthon*, but alſo your Communications had with the *Frenſh* King, upon your Demaunde made of the King's Highnes *Pencions*, with alſo your diſcrete Anſwers and Replications made in that behalf; for the which his Majeſtee gyveth unto you his

his Hertie and Condigne Thanks. Ye ſhall underſtande, that his Highnes comaunded me to make you Anſwer in this wiſe folowing. Firſt, as touching the King's Money, his Highnes doubtith not, but ſeeing both the *French* King, and alſo the Grete Mayſter, have promiſed you it ſhall be depeched; ye will, as the Caſe ſhall requyre, not ceaſe to call uppon them till it be depeched. And ferther conſidering, that the ſaid *French* King, upon youre ſaide Demaunde of the ſaide Penſions, ſo ſodaynelye fell into Communication with you, aſwell of his Frendeſhip and Humanyte ſhewed to the King's Highnes; alledging, that He at all tymes hathe anſwered for the King's Highnes, ſpecially being laſt at *Marcells* with Pope *Clement*, with other Thyngs, as in your ſaide Letters appereth. As alſo concernyng the Executions lately done here within this Realme, the King's Highnes not a little mervaileth thereat, and thinketh it good, that as of your ſelf ye take ſome Occaſion at convenyent Tyme and Opertunyte to Renovate the ſaide Communication, both with the *French* King, or at the leeſt with the Grete Maiſter; ſaying unto them, that where the ſaide *French* King alledgeth, that he hathe at all tymes anſwered for the Kyng's Highnes in his Cauſe; and ſpecially to the ſaide *Pope* Clement *at* Marcells; affirmyng his Procedyngs to be Juſt and Upright concernyng the *Matrymony*, as ye do wryte in that. Albeit the King's Highnes Proceedings, in all his Affaires within this Realme, being of ſuch Equyte and Juſtnes of themſelf as they be, nedeth not any Defence or Aſſiſtence ayenſt *Pope Clement*, or any other Foreyn Power, having *Goddes Worde* and Lawes only ſufficient to defende him; Yet in that that the ſaide *French* Kyng hathe, as he ſayeth, anſwered at all Tymes on the King's Parte, he hathe don nothing but the Parte of a Brother, in Juſtefieng and Verefyeng the Trueth; and ſo continuyng, ſhall do as apperteyneth to a Prynce of Honour, which the King's Highnes doubtith not he hath, and will doe only in Reſpecte to the Veryte and Trewth, befid the Amyte betwixt them both juſtlye requyryng the ſame. And concerning thexecutions don within this Realme, ye ſhall ſey to the ſaide *French* Kyng, that the ſame were not ſo marvelous extreme, as he alledgeth. For, touching Mr. *More*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, with ſuche others as were executed here, their Treaſons, Conſpiracies and Practiſes ſecretely practiſyd, aſwell within the Realme as without, to move and ſtyrre Diſcenſion, and to ſowe ſedicyon within the Realme, intending thereby not onelye the Diſtruction of the Kyng, but alſo the whole Subverſion of his Highnes Realme, being explained and declared, and ſo manifeſtly proved afore them, that they could not avoyde nor denye it: And they thereof openly detected, and lawfully convicted, adjudged and condempned of High Treaſon, by the due Order of the Lawes of this Realme, it ſhall and may well appere to all the Worlde, that they having ſuch Malice roted in their Herts agenſt their Prynce and Sovereigne, and the totall Diſtruction of the Comen Weale of this Realme, were well woerthie, if they had had a Thouſand Lyves, to have ſuffered ten tymes a more terrible Deth and Execution then any of them did ſuffer. And touching ſuche Wordes as the ſaide

French King ſpake unto you, concerning how Mr. *More* dyed, and what he ſaide to his Daughter going to his Judgement, and alſo what Exhortations he ſhould gyve unto the Kyng's Subjects, to be trew and obedient to his Grace; aſſuring you that there *was no ſuch Thing*, whereof the Grete Maſter promyſed you a Double at length: in that the King's Pleaſure is, that ye ſhall not onelie procure the ſaid Double, and ſende it hither, but alſo ſey unto the ſaide *French* King, that the King's Highnes cannot otherwiſe take it but verye unkyndly, that the ſaide *French* King, or any of his Counſaile, at whoſe Hands he hathe ſo moche meryted, and to whom he hathe mynyſtered ſo many Grete Benefits, Pleaſures and Commodytees, ſhoulde ſo *lightly* gyve Eare, Faith and Credence to any ſuch vayne Brutes and fleeng Tales; not havyng firſt Knowlege or Advertiſement from the King's Highnes here, and his Counſaile, of the Veryte and Trewth; affirming it to be the Office of a Freinde, hering any ſuche Tales of ſo Noble a Prynce, rather to have compreſſed the Bruters thereof to Sylence, or at the leeſt not permitted to have dyvulged the ſame, untill ſuch Tyme as the King's Majeſtee being ſo dere a Frende had ben adverteſed thereof, and the Trewth knowen, before he ſhoulde ſo lightly beleve or alledge any ſuche Reporte. Which ingrate and unkynde Demeanure of the ſaide *French* King, uſed in this Behalf, argueth playnly not to remayn in his Breſt ſuch Integryte of Herte, and ſyncere Amyte towards the King's Highnes, and his Proceedings, as his Highnes alwayes heretofore hathe expected and loked for: Which Thing ye may propone and alledge unto the ſaide *French* King, and the Grete Maſter, or to one of them, with ſuche Modeſtie and Sobrenes, as ye thinke they maye perceyve that the King's Highnes hathe Good and Juſt Cauſe in this Parte, ſomewhat to take their Light Credence unkyndly. And whereas the ſaide *French* King ſayeth, that touching ſuch Lawes as the King's Holynes hathe made, he will not medle withall; alledging it not to be mete, that one Prynce ſhoulde deſire another to chaunge his Lawes; ſayeing, that his be too olde to be chaunged. To that ye ſhall ſay, That ſuch Lawes as the King's Highnes hath made here, be not made without Subſtauncyall Grounds, by Grete and Mature Adviſe, Counſaile and Deliberation, of the hole Polycie of this Realme, and are in Dede no new Lawes, but of grete Antiquyte, and many Yeres paſſed, were made and executed within this Realme, as now they be renovate and renewed onlie in Reſpecte to the Comen Weale of the ſame. And it is not a little to his Highnes Mervule, that the ſaide *French* King ever would counſaile or adviſe him, if in caſe hereafter any ſuch like Offenders ſhould happen to be in this Realme, that he ſhould rather banyſh them, than in ſuch wiſe execute them. And ſpecyallie conſidering, that the ſaide *French* King himſelf, in Commonyng with you at the Tyme, not only confeſſed the extreme Execucyons and grete Bruyllie, of late don in his Realme, but alſo that he now intendeth to withdraw the ſame, and to Revoke and Call Home agayn ſuche as be out of his Realme: The King's Highnes, therefore, the more ſtraungely taketh his ſaide Adviſe and Counſaile, ſuppoſing it to be neither thoffice of a Frend, nor

nor of a Brother, that he wold determyn himſelf to call home into his Realme agayn his Subjects being out of the ſame, for ſpeking agenſt the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Auctorite, and Counſaile the Kings Highnes to banyſhe his Traytours into ſtraunge Parts, where they myght have good Occaſion, Tyme, Place, and Oportunyte to wourke their Feats of Treaſon and Conſpiracie the better agaynſt the Kings Highnes and this his Realme: In whiche Parte ye ſhall ſomewhat engreve the Matier after ſuche ſorte as it may well appere to the ſaide *French* King, that not only the Kings Highnes might take thoſe his Counſailes and Communications, both ſtraungely and unkyndely, thinking the ſame not to procede of mere Amyte and Friendſhip, but alſo uſing ſuch Polycie and Auſteryte in proponyng the ſame with the ſaid *French* King, and the Grete Maiſter, taking ſuch Tyme and Oportunyte as may beſt ſerve for the ſame, as they may well perceyve the Kings Highnes Proceedings here within the Realme, both concerning the ſaide Execucyons, and all other Things to be onely grounded uppon Juſtice and the Equyte of his Lawes, which be no new Lawes, but Auncyet Lawes made and eſtabliſhed of many Yeres, paſſed within this Realme, and now renovate and renewed as it is aforſaide, for the better Order, Weale, and Suretie of the ſame. And ye may ferther ſay, that if the *French* King and his Counſaile well conſyder, as they ought to do, that it were moch better to advaunce the Punyſhment of Traytours and Rebells, for their Offences, then to ponyſhe ſuch as do ſpeke agenſt the uſurped Auctoryte of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who Dayl e goeth about to ſuppreſſe and ſubdue Kyngs and Princes, and their Auctoritee gyven to them by Goddes Worde; all which Matiers the Kinges Pleaſure is, that ye ſhall take Tyme and Occaſion, as ye talkyng agayn with the *French* King, or the Grete Maiſter may declare your Mynd, as before is preſcribed unto you: Adding thereunto ſuch Matier, with ſuch Reaſons, after your accuſtomed Dexteryte and Diſcreſſion, as ye ſhall thinke moſt Expedient, and to ſerve beſt for the Kings Purpoſe, Defence of his Proceedings, and the i rofe of the *French* Kings Ingratitude, ſhewed in this Behalf; not doubting in your Wiſdom, good Induſtrie, and diſcrete Circumſpection, for thordering and well-handelling of the ſame accordinglie.

And touching *Melanchton*, conſidering there is no likelehood of his Repayree into *Fraunce*, as I have well perceved by your Letters; the Kings Highnes therfore hathe appointed *Criſtofer Mount*, indelaiedlie to take his Journey where *Melanchton* is: And if he can, to prevente Mounſieur *de Langis* in ſuche wiſe, as the ſaid *Melanchton* his Repayree into *Fraunce*, may be ſtayed and dyverted into *England*, not doubting but the ſame ſhall take Effecte accordinglie.

And as to Mr. *Heynes*, the King's Pleaſure is, that he ſhall go to *Parys*, there to lerne and diſſiphre the Oppynyons of the Lerned Men, and their Inclinations and Affections aſwell towards the Kyngs Highnes Procedings, as to the Biſhop of *Rome* his uſurped Power and Auctoryte, after ſuch ſorte as the Kings ſaide Highnes hathe now wrytten to hym, by his Gracious Letters addreſſed both to him, and the ſaide *Criſtofer Mount*; dyrecting them what they ſhall do in all Things comytted to their Charge at this Tyme, as I doubt not,

they will put there unto their Devoires for the Accompliſhment of the Kings Pleaſure as apperteyneth. And thus makyng an Ende, prayeng you to uſe your Diſcreſſion in the proponing of the Premiſſes to the *French* King, and the Grete Maſter, or the one or both of them, uſing the ſame as a Medecyn, and after ſuch ſorte, that as nere as ye can, it be not moch diſpleaſanntly taken, adverteſing the Kings Highnes from Tymè to Tyme of the Succeſſes therof; and of all other Occurrauuts as the Caſe ſhall require. I ſhall for this Tyme bid you moſt Hertelie Farewell, *&c.*

Thornebery the 23d Day of *Auguſt.*

Number 36.

The Engagement ſent over by the French *King, to King* Henry, *promiſing that he would adhere to him, in condemning his Firſt, and in juſtifying his Second Marriage.*

FRanciſcus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Chriſtianiſſimus, omnibus & ſingulis preſentes Lecturis & Audituris ſalutem. Non honoris ſolum noſtri, verum etiam officii & pietatis ratio illud à nobis efflagitat, ut non modo fortunas, ſed etiam fidem, Autoritatem, gratiam, & ſtudium omne noſtrum adhibeamus, ne cum amici longe chariſſimi, & de nobis optimè meriti, injuria juſtitia etiam & veritas negligantur. Hinc eſt quod cum Sereniſſimus & Innictiſſ. Princeps Henricus Dei Gratia Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Secundum Deum, Supremum in Terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Caput, Chariſſimus Frater ac Conſanguineus & perpetuus Confederatus noſter, vigore cujuſdam diſpenſacionis a bonæ memoriæ Julio papa, illius nominis ſecundo, cum nobili Muliere Catherina, preclaræ memoriæ Ferdinandi & Eliſabeth Hiſpaniarum Regum, Filia, ac preclaræ momoriæ Illuſtris Principis Arthuri, dicti ſereniſſ. Regis Henrici FratrisNaturalis & Legitimi, relicta, Matrimonium olim de facto contraxerit, & ex eadem in eodem pretenſo Matrimonio, Filiam adhuc ſuperſtitem.Mariam nomine ſuſceperit, cumque idem Sereniſſimus Rex dicti inceſti Matrimonii conſcientia motus, à prefata Domina Catherina diverterit, ac juſtiſſimis graviſſimis que de Cauſis, nobis etiam ſatis cognitis & perſpectis, ad id inductus, Matrimonium cum Clariſſima & Nobiliſſima Domina Anna nunc Angliæ Regina, rite, legitime & realiter mierit, contraxerit, & in facie Eccleſiæ Solemnizaverit,& Preclariſſimam Dominam Elizabeth Angliæ Principem ex eadem & in eodem Matrimonio Procreaverit, & ſuſceperit, cumq; preterea ſuper illius Diſpenſationis & Matrimonii viribus ac juſticia, necnon ſuper dictæ Dominæ Mariæ Legitimitate & natalium defectu, multæ graveſque queſtiones ſubortæ fuerint, in quibus tractandis ac in judicio & veritate diſcutiendis, nos bene multis

Argumentis perſpeximus, non eam (quam oportuit) equitatis rationem ab ipſo Pontifice Romano habitam fuiſſe; & multa ſive temporum iniquitate ſive hominum vitio contra omne jus phaſque in premiſſis & circa ea definita. Voluimus in hac Cauſa tam gravi integerimos quoſq; Regni noſtri viros, ac non modo in Sacra Theologia Peritiſſimos, verum etiam juris Eccleſiaſtici Callentiſſimos conſulere: quibus etiam Mandavinus ut quid in tota hac Cauſa Secundam Deum & conſcientiam ſentirent, fideliter nobis referrent atque reſponderent. Quoniam his autem habitis prius inter dictos truditiſſimos Viros matura Deliberatione, diligenti Examinatione, ac longo tractatu, nos ex eorum omnium & ſingulorum unanimi ſententia & conformi relatione, liquido comperimus, invenimus, & plene intelleximus, non ſolum quod dicta diſpenſatio fuit & eſt omnino nulla, inefficax & invalida tam propter ſurreptionis & obreptionis vicia, quam propter alias Cauſas, maxime vero propter Poteſtatis in diſpenſante defectum, ex eo viz. Quod Matrimonia cum relictis Fratrum decedentium ſine Liberis contracta, ſint de jure Naturali & Divino prohibita, nec Romanus Pontifex nec ulla alia humana poteſtas poſſit diſpenſare, ut illa aliquo modo legitima fiant aut conſiſtant; verum etiam quod prefatum Matrimonium inter dictum Chariſſimum Fratrem noſtrum ac prefatam nobilem mulierem dominam Catherinam de facto ut prefertur contractum, fuit & eſt Inceſtum, ac prorſus nullum, ac etiam contra Sacroſancta Dei percepta, atque adeo contra omnia jura tam Divina quam humana uſurpatum, quodque proinde dicta Domina Maria in eodem pretenſo Matrimonio ut prefertur, ſuſcepta & procreata, ad omnem juris effectum ſpuria & illegitima proles, ac ex illicito & inceſto coitu genita fuit & eſt, ſicque ab omnibus reputari, cenſeri, & haberi debuit, ac debeat omnino: ac etiam quod dictum Matrimonium quod idem chariſſimus Frater noſter cum dicta clariſſima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, fuit & eſt modis omnibus Sacroſanctum, legitimum & validum: quodque dicta Illuſtris Domina Eliſabeth Angliæ Princeps ex eodem Matrimonio, ſuſcepta necnon alia quæcumque proles ex eodem Matrimonio, Divina Bonitate in poſterum ſuſtipienda, Legitima fuit & eſt, eritq; & eſſe debet. Ac deniq; cum non ſolum multi ex Reverendiſſimus Romanæ ſedis Cardinalibus inter quos iinprimis fuit Cardinales ille quondam Aucomtanus, verum etiam nuper bonæ memoriæ Clemens Papa Septimus, ex certa & deliberata Animi ſui Sententia, cum nobis ipſis Marſiliæ tunc exiſtentibus, tum alias ſæpe Oratoribus noſtris tunc Romæ agentibus, palam ac vivæ vocis ſue oraculo confeſſus fit, & expreſſe declaravit ſe ſentire, dictam Diſpenſationem & Matrimonium cum dicta domina Catherina contractum, fuiſſe & eſſe nulla prorſus, & de jure invalida, quodque eadem ſic fuiſſe & eſſe per ſuam ſententiam definitinam ſeu finale decretum, declaraſſet, pronunciaſſet, & definiviſſet ſi privati quidam affectus & reſpectus humani non obſtitiſſent. Nos igitur Franciſcus Francorum Rex antedictus, ut juſtum veritati ſuffragium ſerentes, ſimul & juſtiſſimæ chariſſimi Fratris noſtri Cauſæ patrocinemur, notum facimus & in publicam teſtationem deduci volumus, per preſentes, quod nos primam quidem dictam diſpenſationem quæ a dicto Julio Secundo ut predicitur emanavit, nullam prorſus ac minus validam, & ex dictis cauſis inefficarem irritam & inanem fuiſſe ſemper, & eſſe, deinde ipſum

Matrimonium

Matrimonium quod ejuſdem Diſpenſationis virtute cum dicta domina Catherina olim de facto contractum fuit, inceſtuoſum, nullum ac omnino illegitimum, ac naturali Juri & Divinæ contrarium fuiſſe & eſſe, ac pro inceſtuoſo, nullo minuſque legitimo haberi debere: denique dictam Dominam Mariam ex eo Matrimonio ut premittitur ſuſceptam, prorſus illegitimam & ad ſuccedendum in Paterna Hereditate prorſus inhabilem fuiſſe & eſſe, & pro tali haberi cenſerique debere, reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, aſſerimus, cenſemus & affirmamus. Similiter reputamus acceptamus, judicamus, aſſerimus, cenſemus & affirmamus quod Matrimonium illud quod idem Sereniſſimus Rex & Chariſſimus Frater noſter, cum prefata Illuſtriſſima Domina Anna contraxit, fuit & eſt modis omnibus Sacroſanctum, legitimum & validem, & quod proles ex eodem Matrimonio ſuſcepta ſeu ſuſcipienda, maxime autem dicta clariſſima Domina Eliſabeth nunc Angliæ Princeps ex eiſdem ut prefertur procreata, ad omnem juris effectum legitima fuit & eſt, eritque & eſſe debet. Quodque non ſolum omnia & ſingula quæ dictus Sereniſſimus Rex & Chariſſimus Frater noſter, pro confirmando & ſtabiliendo hujuſmodi Matrimonio ſuo quod cum præfatâ Illuſtriſſima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, necnon predictæ Dominæ Eliſabeth Filiæ ſuæ, ac aliorum liberorum qui ex hoc Matrimonio procreabuntur, Legitima & Hereditaria in Regnum ſuum Succeſſione, ſtatuit, ordinavit, aut promulgavit, juſtiſſimis fundamentis innitantur & ſubſiſtant, verum etiam quod omnia & ſingula Sententiæ, cenſuræ, decreta, alii quicumque proceſſus & judicia contra præmiſſa, ac eorum occaſione per bonæ memoriæ Clementem nuper Pontificem Romanum, aut alium quemcunque Judicem, ſive aliam Autoritatem quamcunque facta, edita aut promulgata, aut impoſterum edenda, ferenda, facienda ſive promulganda, ſint ipſo jure nulla, irrita, injuſta & iniqua, ac pro talibus haberi, reputari, adjudicari, & cenſeri debere certo credimus, conſtanter atteſtamur, cenſemus, aſſerimus, & affiirmamus per preſentes. Promittimus inſuper in fide ac verbo Regio, ac ſub Hypotheca omnium bonorum noſtrorum Patrimonialium & fiſcalium, necnon bonorum ſubditorum noſtrorum, etiam in forma contractus Garentiçii. Paratam Executionem habentis, obligamus nos, Heredes & Succeſſores noſtros, dicto Sereniſſimo Henrico Chariſſimo Fratri noſtro, Heredibus & Succeſſoribus ſuis, quod nos hanc Animi noſtri Sententiam, & Judicium, quod ſuper Præmiſſis nos habere vere & ex Animo Declaravimus, ſemper & ubique locorum, maxime autem in omnibus & ſingulis futuris Synodis, aut Conciliis generalibus, & coram quibuſcunque Judicibus, necnon apud & contra omnes Homines; quicunque eidem Sententiæ noſtræ quacunque ratione adverſabuntur, cujuſcunque Autoritatis, pre-eminenciæ aut Dignitatis, etiam ſi Supremæ fuerint, per nos ac noſtros ſubditos quoſcumque, tam in Judicio quæ extra, manutenebimus propugnabimus, ac ſi opus fuerit, etiam manu forti defendemus, ac pro viribus juſtificabimus: nec ullo unquam modo aut tempore impoſterum publice aut occulte, directe aut indirecte, eidem Sententiæ noſtræ contraveniemus: nec quicquam unquam attemptabimus, moliemur, aut faciemus, nec ab aliis impoſterum cujuſcunque Autoritatis fuerint, fieri aut attemptari quantum in nobis eſt, permittemus, quod in irritationem, enervationem

tionem, prejudicium, aut in contrarium huic noſtræ Sententiæ cedat, aut cedere poſſit quoviſinodo. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium, &c.

Marked on the Back, thus:

Inſtrument of Francys *the Firſt, King of* France, *whereby he juſtifieth the Mariage of King* Henry *the* VIIIth *with Queen* Anne, *and declareth the Invalidity of the former with Q.* Catherin, *notwithſtanding the Pope's Diſpenſation.*

In another Place, on the Back, and with another Ancienter Hand, (I believe, *Cromwell*'s)

An Inſtrument deviſed from the French *King, for his Juſtification and Defence of the Invalidity of the King's Highnes Fyrſt Mariage, and the Validyte of the Seconde.*

Number 37.

Cranmer's *Letter to* Cromwell; *juſtifying himſelf, upon ſome Complaints made by* Gardiner.

An Original.

RIght Worſhipful, in my moſte hartie wiſe I commend me unto you, moſt hartely thankyng you, for that you have ſignified unto me by my Chapleyn Maſter *Champion*, the Complaynte of the Biſhope of *Wynchеſter* unto the King's Highnes, in two Thyngs concernyng my Viſitation. The one is, that in my Stile I am written, *Totius Angliæ Primas*, to the Derogation and Prejudice of the King's Highe Power and Authoritie, beyng Supreme Hedde of the Church. The other is, That his Dioces (not paſte five Yeres agon) was viſited by my Predeceſſor, and muſte from hensfurthe paye the Tenth Parte of the Spiritualties, accordyng to the Acte granted in the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament; wherfore he thinketh, that his Dioces ſhuld not be charged with my Viſitation at this Tyme. Fyrſte, as concernyng my Stile, wherin I am named *Totius Angliæ Primas*. I ſuppoſe, that to make his Cauſe good, (which els in dede were nawghte) he doth myxe it with the Kyng's Cauſe, (as ye knowe the Man lacketh neither Letnyng in the Lawe, neither witty Invention, ne Craſte to ſett furth his Matiers to the beſt) that he myght appere not to maynteyne his own Cauſe, but the Kyng's; agaynſt whoſe Highnes, he knoweth right well, that I may maynteyne no Cauſe; but gyve place, and lay both my Cauſe and Self at my Prince's Feet. But to be playne, what I think of the Biſhope of *Wincheſter*, I cannot perſuade with my ſelf, that he ſo much

much tendereth the King's Cauſe, as he dothe his own, that I ſhuld not viſite him: And that appereth by the very Tyme. For if he caſt no farther, but the Defence of the Kyng's Grace's Authoritie, or if he entended that at all, why moved he not the Matier, before he receyved my Monytion for my Viſitation; whiche was within Four Myles of *Wincheſter* delyvered unto hym the 24th Day of *April* laſt, as he came up to the Court? Moreover, I do not a litle marvaile why he ſhuld now fynde Faute, rather than he did before, whan he took the Biſhop of *Rome* as Cheff Hedd: For though the Biſhope of *Rome* was taken for Supreme Hedd, notwithſtanding that, he had a great Nombre of Primates under hym; and by having his Primates under hym, his Supreme Authoritie was not leſs eſteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the Kyng's Highnes, beyng Supreme Hedde, have Primates under hym, without any Dymynyſhing, but with the Augmentyng of his ſaid Supreme Authoritie. And of this I doubt not at all, but that the Biſhope of *Wincheſter* knoweth as well as any Man lyving, that in caſe this ſaid Stile, or Tytle, had byn in any Poynt Impedment or Hinderance to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Authority, it would not have ſo long ben unreformed as it hath byn. For I doubt not, but all the Biſhopes of *England*, would ever gladly have hadd the Archbiſhop's both Authoritie, and the Title taken away, that they myght have byn equall together; which well appereth by the many Contentions agaynſt the Archbiſhops, for Juriſdiction, in the Courte of *Rome*; which had ben eaſily brought to paſs, if the Biſhops of *Rome* had thought the Archbiſhopes Titles and Stiles to be any Derrogation to their Supreme Authority. All this notwithſtandyng, yf the Biſhops of this Realme paſſe no more of their Names, Stiles and Titles, than I do of myn; the Kyng's Highnes ſhall ſone order the Matter betweeñ us all. And if I ſaw that my Stile were agaynſt the Kyng's Authoritie (wherunto I am ſpecially ſworne) I would ſew my ſelf unto his Grace, that I myghte leave it; and ſo wolde have don before this Tyme. For, I pray God never be mercyfull unto me at the Generall Judgement, if I pereeyve in my Hert, that I ſett more by any Title, Name, or Stile that I write, than I do by the Paryng of an Apple, farther than it ſhall be to the ſettyng furthe of God's Worde and Will. Yet I will not utterly excuſe me herin, for God muſt be Judge, who knoweth the Botome of my Harte, and ſo do not I my ſelf: But I ſpeake forſomuch as I do fele in my Harte, for many evill Affections lye lurkyng ther, and will not lightly be eſpied. But yet I would not gladly leave any Juſte Thyng, at the Pleaſure and Sute of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he beyng none otherwiſe affectionate unto me, than he is. Even at the Begynnyng furſt of Chriſt's Profeſſion, *Diotrephes* deſyred *gerere Primatum in Eccleſia*, as ſaith St. *John* in his laſt Epiſtell. And ſyns, he hath had more Succeſſours than all the Apoſtles hadd, of whom have come all theis Glorious Titles, Stiles, and Pompes into the Churche. But I would, that I, and all my Brethren the Biſhopes, wold leave all our Stiles, and write the Stile of our Offices, callyng our ſelves *Apoſtolos Jeſu Chriſti*: So that we toke not upon us the Name vaynly, but were ſo even in dede; ſo that we myghte

ordre our Dioces in ſuche Sorte, that neither Paper, Parchemente, Leade nor Wexe, but the verie Chriſtian Converſation of the Peo-ple, myght be the Letters and Seales of our Offices, as the *Corinthi-ans* were unto *Paule*, to whome he ſaid, *Literæ noſtræ, & Signa A-poſtolatûs noſtri vos eſtis.*

Now for the Seconde; where the Biſhope of *Winchèſter* allegeth the Viſitation of my Predeceſſour, and the Tenth Parte now to be paid to the Kyng. Truth it is, that my Prediceſſour viſited the Dioces of *Wynchеſter*, after the Deceſſe of my Lord Cardynall, as he did all other Dioces (*Sede vacante*); but els I thynke it was not viſited by none of my Predeceſſours this Forty Yeres. And notwith-ſtandyng that, he hymſelf not conſidering thair Charges, at that Tyme charged them with an newe Viſitation, within leſſe than Half a Yere after; and that agaynſt all Righte, as Doctour *Incent* hath reported to my Chancellour, the Clergie at that Tyme paying to the Kyng Half of their Benefices in Five Yeres, whiche is the Tenth Parte every Yere, as they paid before, and have paid ſyns, and ſhall pay ſtill for ever by the laſte Acte. But I am verie gladde, that he hath now ſome Compaſſion of his Dioces, although at that Tyme he had verie ſmale, whan he did viſite them the ſame Yere that my Predeceſſour did viſite. And alſo other Biſhops, whos Courſe is to viſite this Yere, kepe thair Viſitation, (where I did viſite the laſte Yere) notwithſtanding the Tenth Parte to be paid to the Kyng's Grace. Howbeit I do not ſo in *Wynchеſter* Dioces, for it is now the Third Yere ſyns that Dioces was viſited by any Man, ſo that he hath the leſte Cauſe to complayne of any Biſhop, for it is longer ſyns his Dioces was viſited than the other. Therefore where he layeth to aggravate the Matter, the Charge of the late Acte graunted, it is no more agaynſte me, than agaynſt all other Biſhops that do viſit this Yere, nor makyth no more agaynſt me this Yere, than it made agaynſt me the laſte Yere, and ſhall do every Yere hereafter. For if ther were true Men, in Accomptyng and Paying the Kyng's Sub-ſidie, they are no more charged by this newe Acte, than they were for the Space of Ten Yeres paſt, and ſhall be charged ever hereaf-ter. And thus to conclude, Yf my ſaide Lorde of *Wynche-ſter*'s Objections ſhuld be allowed this Yere, he myght (by ſuch Ar-guments) both diſallowe al Maner of Viſitations that hath be down thes Ten Yeres paſt, and that ever ſhall be don hereafter. Now I pray you, good Maiſter Secretary, of your Advice, Whither I ſhall nede to writte unto the Kyng's Highnes herin. And thus our Lorde have you ever in his Preſervation. At *Otteforde*, the xiith Daye of *Maye*.

Your own ever aſſured

Thomas Cantuar'

Number 38.

A Letter of Barlow's *to* Cromwell, *complaining of the Biſhop and Clergy of St.* David's.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 107.

PLeaſeth your Good Maſterſhip, with Compaſſion to advertiſe the Complaynt and unfayned Peticions of your Humble Oratour, diſquietly vexed without Cauſe or any pretenced Occaſion, motioned of your ſaid Oratour's Parte: Whereas the Queen, of her Graciouſe Bounte, advouched me not unworthy the Priorſhip of *Haverford Weſt*, under her Grace's Foundation, ſyns the Tyme of my ther continuall Reſidence; Conſideryng the hungry Famyne of heryng the Word of God, and deſolate Scarcete of true Preachers, I have endeveryd my ſelf, with no ſmall Bodily Dainger againſt Antichriſt, and all his Confederat Adherents, ſincerely to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt; whoſe Verite, as it is invincible, ſo it is inceſſantly aſſailted of faithles falſe Perverters; by Reaſon wherof, they which of Dutie ought to fortifie me in Mayntenyng the Truth, malicioufly have conceiv'd a malevolent Mynde, cauſles to maligne againſt me in ſuch wiſe, that I was forced (from their Tyranny) to appele unto the Kyng his Honourable Councills; as plainly apperith by the untrue, ſurmiſed Articles, falſely contrived by the Black Freer of *Haverford Weſt*; which thoughe I preſented to your Maſterſhip, as the Act of his onely doing, yet was it the Mayntenans of the Biſhop, and his ungoſtly Spirituall Officers; which is evident by the Reward of the Biſhop to the Freer, at his departyng allſo by his Lettters directed to Mr. Dean of the Arches, and to Doctor *Huys*, diligently to ſollicite that I myght be ſuppreſſed in my juſt Matter: And where they ſithe perceive that (Praiſe be to God) under the Favour of your righteouſe Equite, they cannot prevaile againſt me as they willfully would, yet ceaſe they not wrongfully to vex ſuch as pertayne to me, troblyng them with Tyranny for my Sake, no ſuch Tyranny deſerving. As, where of late I ſent a Servant Home about certain Buſines; immediatly after his Comyng, the Biſhop's Officers aſcited hym to Apperance, ranſacking his Houſe, forced him to deliver ſuch Books as he had; that is to ſay, an *Engliſhe* Teſtament, the Expoſition of the vth and vith Chapters of *Matthew*, the Tenn Commandments, and the Epiſtle of Saynte *John*; violently with holding them with vehement Reproches, and clamorouſe Exclamations againſt Heretikes: As if to have the Teſtament in *Engliſh* were horrible Hereſie, to no litle diſmaying and ferefull Diſcomfort of the ſincere Favorers of God's Word. Moreover, they charged in the Kyng's Name, the Maire of *Tynby*, in payne of Fyve Hundreth Markes, to put in Warde the ſaid Poore Man, his Wiff, and a certain Honeſt Widdowe of inculpable Fame, with whom they were at hoſt, laying certen Articles to their Charge which they never thought nor ſpake, aud after moſt ſhamefull Ru-

mors rayſed upp to their Dyffamation, with ſlanderouſe Wonderment of the Towne, all crayfty Means aſſayded to bryng in falſe Witnes, when no Accuſer would appear openly; as a true Certificat under the Towns Seal, largely doth teſtify; the above mencyoned Officers without any Charitable Satisfaction to the ſaid Parties wrongfully Impriſoned, badd the *Maire* do with them as he liſted; and ſo thens departyng made their advaunt in Places where they came of their valyant Actes againſt Hereticks, meaning thereby the Favourers of Chriſts Goſpell: In Conſideration wherof, it may pleaſe your Singular Goodnes to provide a Redreſs, that from the Terrour of ſuch Tyrannes, the Kings Faythfull Subjects, your porre Oratoures maye peaceably live according to Gods Lawes, without any ſuche unchriſten Empeſchment, and combroſe Vexations.

Furthermore unfayndly to aſſertain your Maiſterſhip in what perilous Caſe greatly lamentable the Kings Faithfull Subjects, the poore *Reſians* in the Dioces of Saynt *David*, your Suppliant Oratours are miſerably ordered under the Clergy, requireth a farre larger Proceſſe then here maye conveniently be compriſed: For though we have ſemblably to other Dioceſes, in outwarde Auctorite and exterior Ceremonies a Biſhope, a Suffrigan, Archdeacons, Deanes, Commiſſaries, and other Biſhoplike Officers, intitled with Spirituall Names; alſo a multitude of Mounks, Cannons, Freers, and Secular Priſtes, yet among them all, ſo many in Number, and in ſo large a Dioces, is there not one that ſincerely Preacheth Gods Word, nor ſcarce any that hartely favorith hit, but all utter Enemys ther againſt, whoſe ſtubborne Reſiſtence cannot laſt without froward Rebellion againſt the Kings Graciouſe Actes eſtabliſhed upon the Verite of Gods Word. And concerning the enormous Vices, the fradulent Exactions, the myſordered Lyving, and Heathyn Idolatry, ſhamefully ſupported under the Clergies Juriſdiction; which by ſequele of theyr blynd willful Ignorance, do conſequently follow, no Dioces, I ſuppoſe, more corrupted, nor ſo far out of Frame, without hope of Reformacion, except your Lordſhip ſhall ſee a Redreſſe, in whom under the Kyngs Grace, the Truſt of all thoſe that meane well onely conſiſtyth. Fynally theyr abuſed Faſhiones at length to diſcover at your Commandment; I ſhall be ready with ſuch certente of Truth, that no Advirſary ſhall be able to make contrary Denyall; which ſo performed, it may then pleaſe your good Maſterſhipe to licence me to departe, under the lawfull Favour of your Protection; without the which, nether can I without Perell repair Home, nor there in Safte contynue, among ſo odiouſe Adverſaries of Chriſts Doctrine, by whoſe Tyranny, that I may not be unjuſtly oppreſt, I moſt humbly beſeeche your aſſiſtant Aidè, howbeit no farder then the Write of Scripture will juſtifie my Cauſe; nether for no Carnall Commodite of any Worldly Preferment, but all onely for the Advancement of Chriſts Goſpell, to the Honour of God, who evermore graciouſly preſearve your Maſterſhipe in honourable Felicite.

Your Humble Oratour

William Barlo,

Prior of Haverford-Weſt.

Number 39.

A Letter of D. Legh's, *concerning their Viſitation at* York.

To Mr. *Cromwell*, Chief Secretary.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 104.

RYght Worſhipful Sir, my Dewty pre-ſuppoſed, this is to adver-tiſe you, that Maſter Doctor *Layton* and I, the xith Day of *January*, war with the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whom we according to your Pleaſure and Precepts have viſyted: Injoyning him to preach and teach the Word of God (according to his bownd Dewty,) to his Cure committed unto him, and allſo in the Knowledge concerning the Prerogative Power the Kings Grace have, and to ſee others here in his Juriſdiction being induyd with Good Qualities, having any Reſpect either to Gods Goodnes, Vertue, or Godlines, to performe the ſame, injoyning moreover to him to bring up unto you his Firſt, Second, and Third Foundations, wheruppon he enjoyeth his Office, and Prerogative Poore, with the Graunts, Privelegis and Conceſſions given to him, and to his See apperteyning; the which whan that you have red them, and knowe in all Points the hole Effect of them, I doe not doubt, but that ye ſhall ſee and rede many Things worthy Reformation. By the Knowledge whereof, I ſuppoſe the Kings Highnes and you will be glad, and do think it mete that every Biſhope war in likewiſe orderyd: then ſhuld they, them under the Governances Edifye much in Chriſt in his Doctrine and Teachings: And then the Poor Ignorante Perſons now by Blindnes and Ignorance ſeduſid, might therby be brought to Light and Knowledge, wherby they ſhould profit muche, the Welthe of their own Soules, and the Commynaltye: and it ſhould be greatly Expedient to the Conſervation of their Fidelite toward their Prince, and to his Graces Succeſſion now begotten, or hereafter to be begotten. Now that I have enformed your Maſterſhip of our Acts and Deeds, done to a good Ende, as our Opinion ſerve us, that ſhall lie in your circumſpecte Prudencye and Wiſdom to order all Things, as ye ſhall think to your approved Diſcretion moſt mete, and to the farderans of the Glory of God, and Preſervation of the Common Wealthe, moſt Expedient and Neceſſary. For in the ſame Juriſdictions given heretofore either augmented or diminiſhed, to be miniſtred to their Biſhops as wall be thought to your Wiſdom moſt convenient; I do not dowght but it ſhall be much profitable, and commodious both to the Kings Highnes, and to your Maſterſhip, as knoweth God, who ever preſerve your Maſterſhip. From *Yorke* the xiiith Day of *January*.

Yours ever aſſured,

Thomas Legh.

Number

Number 40.

A Letter of Tonſtall's *upon the King's ordering the Biſhops to ſend up their Bulls.*

An Original.

RIght Honorable, in my humble Maner I recommend me unto your good Maſterſhip. Advertiſing the ſame, that I have of late receivd a Letter from Maſter Doctor *Layton*, declaring unto me that ye willyd him to write unto me, that albeit the Kings Highnes hath directed his Letters Miſſives to all and ſingular his Biſhops in this his Realme, to appere before his Grace immediately after the Feaſt of the Purificacyon next cominge, to the Intent that they ſhall deliver up unto his Graces Handes all their Bullys of Confirmation, or ſuch other like, as they have had from *Rome* at any Time heretofore; yet his Grace conſideringe my late Departure thens, for my more eaſe and quietnes, is well content that I make mine Abode here, ſo that I Write unto his Grace a Letter, therin declaringe that I will be content to doe as other Biſhops do in this Behalf, and to gife up into his Handes all ſuche Bullys as his Graces Pleaſure is to have of me. Advertiſing me further, that your Maſterſhip, as my great Frende hath promiſed to the King, that I will accompliſhe the Kings Deſire and Pleaſure herin: For whiche your moſt great Kindnes not only ſhewed unto me many Times hertofor, but allſo nowe renewid at this Time, with making of ſuch Aſſurance for me to the Kings Highnes I moſt humbly Thanke your Maſterſhip. Advertiſing the ſame, that foraſmuch as I could not perceive by any Part of Maſter *Layton*'s Letter to what Intent the Kinges Highnes wold have the ſaid Bulles delivered into his Handes; and if in my Letter to be written unto his Grace I ſhuld miſtake his Entent, I ſhuld not only therby offende his Grace, which I would be as lothe to doe as any Subject within his Realme, but alſo make him to be diſpleaſed with my Kinſman, that ſo blindly had Written unto me, and paradventure with your Maſterſhip for uſinge him for your Secretary in this Behalf: conſidering with my ſelf the hole Effect of the ſame, better to be to have my Bulles into his Hands, thought that moſt beſt to ſend up the ſaid Bulles there to be ready to be delivered at his Graces Will and Pleaſure: Humbly beſeechinge your Maſterſhip to move the Kings Highnes to be Good and Graciouſe Soveraigne Lord unto me, and to conſider if I ſhuld nowe in my Age leif my Biſhoprich, which I truſt his Grace of his Goodnes meanith not to make me to doe, by demandinge of my Bulles to be delivered into his Handes, that ſhuld not only diſapoint me of my Liffinge, but many other my Servants his Subjects, that have

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 246.

have their Liffinge only by me, who if I ſhuld leve my Promotion ſhuld be thereby deſtitute of Succour; which being my ſpeciall Truſt that his Grace of his ineſtimable Goodnes will have reſpect unto, and that my Mind herein, not to lefe my Promotion, is neither Ambiciouſe nor Unreaſonable, nor contrary to his Graces Entent, I have ſent up the ſaid Bulles there to be redye, whiche Thinge ſens that is more then I was willed to doe by Maſter *Layton*'s Letter. I have forborne to wryte unto his Grace that I wold do that, ſeinge I do indeed accompliſhe his Graces Pleaſure. Praynge humbly your Maſterſhip upen Advertiſement geffen to the Kings Highnes, hereof to know his Will and Pleaſure what he will have to be done, and the ſame ſo knowne to declare unto this Bearer *William Redmayn*, who therupon ſhall deliver the ſaid Bullys into your Hands, or to whom the Kings Grace will appoynt to receyve them, yf the Kings Will and Pleaſure be to have them. Which I doe undoubtedly truſtinge that the Kinges Highnes will be as good to me, as he is to other Biſhops of his Realme beinge in like Caſe, ſeinge I had them by him, and did renounce all Things conteynd in them contrary to his Prerogative Royall, at ſuche Time as I preſented to his Grace his Bull unto him, as that will appere by the Othe of my Homage remayninge with the ſaid Bull in the Kings Records now beynge in your keeping, as all Biſhops ever have been accuſtumyd to doe by the Laws of this Realm heretofore uſed. The Bulls that I do ſend remayning in my Handes concerning my Biſhopryche be v. in Number, the other were delyvered to whom they were directed: One to the Kings Highnes, an other to my Lord Cardinall, then being my Metropolitan, whoſe Soul God Pardone, an other to my late Lord of *Rocheſter* to take my Othe to the Biſhop of *Rome*, which I think was ſent up to *Rome* with the Othe as hathe been accuſtomyd to be done. And ſo thoſe that I nowe ſend did remayne ſtill in my Handes. And other Bulles then theſe have I noon, humblye beſeeching your Maſterſhip in all mine Affayrs to be good Maſter unto me, and to be meane unto the Kings Highnes to be Good and Graciouſe Soveraigne Lorde unto me, and I ſhall according to my moſt bounden Dewty, daily pray for the Preſervation of his Royall Eſtate longe to endure; and likewiſe I ſhall contynewe daily Beedman to your Maſterſhip, whom Almighty Jheſu preſerve in long Life aud good Healthe to his Pleaſure and yours. From *Aukelande* the xxixth Day of *January*;

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Your Maſterſhipes Humble Beedman

Cuthbert Dureſme.

Number

Number 41.

A Letter of the Archbiſhop of York's, *concerning the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries.*

RIght Honourable, after my Hertieſt Commendation. According to your Requeſt made to me in your Letters, I have furthwith upon the Receipte of the ſame, ſent Commandement to certayne Monaſteries for beeing with me to *Yorke*, where I was than; and now I have given Commandement to all Archdeacons, to warne all Monaſteries, of leſs yearly Value than Two Hundred Pound, being within their Archdeaconries, that they ſhall nothing imbecille, ne alien: And if they have, that they ſhall agayne call ſuch Things aliened, or imbecilled, to their Hands. Some that were noted to have received ſome Goods of ſuche Monaſteries, I called and warned, that they ſhold in no wieſe meddle with any ſuch Goods; and that if they had any ſuch, that they ſhold reſtore them: And ferthermore, if any ſuch Goods ſhall be offred to them, that they ſhold give me Warning. And forbicauſe moſt reſorte for ſuch Propoſe is to the Citie of *Yorke*, I have warned the Majour of *Yorke*, and other of his Brodren thereof, and ſpeciallie the Maiſter of the Mynt, upon their Peril and Daunger, that they receive no Goods of any ſuch Monaſtries. And ferther herin I entend to do from Time to Time, as I ſhall ſee nede, and daily do warn ſuch as do reſort to me, that they meddle not with any ſuch Goods, that by them this Commandment may be the more publiſhed, as I truſt it ſhall be now by the Archdeacons Officials, which be nowe all Abrode, and have Speciall Commandment to ſett furthe this Propoſe. *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 239.

Sir, I entierlie pray you to be good to me, for Two Places of the Patronaige of the Archbiſhopps of *Yorke*, that if you ſhall thinke opon ſuch Conſiderations as I ſhall alledge, that I have Reaſon to ſute for them, as you woll help me with your good Word, that they be not ſuppreſſed. The one of them named Saincte *Oſwaldes*, is not of Foundation a Monaſterie of Religious Men, but is *Libera Capella Archiepiſcopi*. No Man hathe Title in it but the Archbiſhop: The Prior therof is removable at my Pleaſure, and accomptable to me: and the Archbiſhoppe may put ther, if he woll, Seculer Preſtes, and ſo would I have done at my Entre, if I had not ther found one of myne Acquayntance, whom I judged meete to be there under me. And moreover, the Archbiſhops of *Yorke* had it given to them by *William Rufus*, in Exchange for Recompenſe, as well of Lands as Juriſdiction, taken from them at the Coming in of *William* Conqueror, as appereth in my Regiſtres, and other Old Books. And in the ſame it appereth, that the ſaid Chapell enjoyeth all Privileges, like as all other the Kinges Free Chapells; for it was ſome tyme *Libera Capella Regia*: And for the Defence of the ſaid Privilaiges, and Juriſdiction ther, my Predeceſſours have alwaies had Writts from the King,

King, agaynſt all Diſturbers; becauſe it is no other but *Libera Capella*, and ſome tyme was the Kinges.

The other is called *Hexham*, upon the Borders of *Scotland*, and was ſome Tyme *Sēdes Epiſcopalis*; and many Holie Men, ſome time Biſhops, ther be buried in that Church, Saincts of Name. And Wiſe Men, that knowe the Borders, think, That the Lands therof, although they were Ten tymes aſmuch, cannot contrevaile the Damaige, that is like to enſue, if it be ſuppreſſed. And ſome waye, there is nevar a Houſe between *Scotland* and the Lordſhipp of *Hexham*; and Men feare, if the Monaſterie go down, that in Proceſſe all ſhall be waſte muche within the Land. And what Comfort that Monaſterie is daylie to the Contre ther, and ſpeciallie in Tyme of Warre, not onlie the Contre Men do knowe, but alſo many of the Noble Men of this Realme, that hath done the King's Highnes Service in *Scotland*. I dout not, but that the Land of that Monaſterie is better than Two Hundred Pound by Year; as likewiſe the Archbiſhop's Lands, war much better if they laye in a quiet Place. Some of my Prediceſſours have had ther 1300 Marcs by Year, and now it is (*communibus Annis*) undre 250. I entierlie pray you, if you think that I have Reaſon, ſend for theſe Two, that you woll help me to ſave them. And as for *Hexham*, I think it is neceſſarie to be conſidred, as (I think) they that knowe the Borders woll ſaie.

Sir, According to the King's Commandment, I have generally given Commandment, that no Prechers ſhall be ſuffred, that withoute Diſcretion preche Novelties, and (as you right wiſelie conſider'd) do rather ſowe Seeds of Diſſention, than do any good: And ſome ſuch as I have heard to uſe ſuch Preaching, I have diſcharged; and yet they preach: But I make Proceſſe agaynſt them; and ſome of them ſay, they will get Licence of the Kyng to preach. If they obteine any ſuch Licence, I then am diſcharged for them that have ſuch Licence. But I truſt, that you woll ſuffer no ſuch Licence to paſs, but that I ſhall knowe therof: And what your Pleaſure is than, if they preach ſuch Novelties, I pray you I may know by this Bearer. Some ſay, they have Licence of my Lord of *Canterbury*; but, I truſt, they have no ſuch: And if they have, none ſhall be obeyde here, but onlie the Kyng's and yours. And this in my hertieſt maner. Fare you well. From *Cawed*, the xxiiid of *April* 1536.

Your own ever aſſured

Edward Ebor'

Number

Number 42.

Inſtructions for Sending Barnes, *and others to* Germany.

An Original.

MAſter Secretary, After our moſt hartie Commendations, ye ſhall underſtand, that having received the Letters ſent unto you from Sir *John Wallop*, and ſhewed the ſame unto the King's Majeſtie; his Pleaſure thereupon was, that we ſhuld diſpatch theſe our Letters incontinently unto you, concernyng the Accompliſhment and Doing of theſe Things enſuing. Firſt, his Grace's Pleaſure, that you ſhall immediatly (upon the Receipt herof) deſpech *Barnes* in Poſt, with *Deryk* in his Company, into *Germany*; commanding him to uſe ſuch Diligence in his Jornaye, that he may and it be poſſible, meet with *Melanction* before his Aryvall in *France*: And in caſe he ſhall ſo meet with him, not only to diſſuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the *French* King doth perſecute thoſe that will not grante unto the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Uſurped Power and Juriſdiction; uſing in this Parte all Perſuaſions, Reaſons and Means, that he can deviſe, to empech and let his ſaid Jornay thither; laying unto him, how much it ſhuld be to his Shame and Reproch, to vary and go nowe from that true Opinion wherin he hath ſo long contynued; but allſo, on the other ſide, to perſuade him all that he may, to convert his ſaid Jornay hither, ſhewing as well the Conformitie of his Opinion and Doctrine here, as the Nobilitie and Vertues of the King's Majeſtie, with the good Entertaynement which undoubtedly he ſhall have here at his Grace's Hands. And if percaſe the ſaid *Barnes* ſhall not meet with him before his Arryvall in *France*, then the ſaid *Barnes* proceeding himſelf forth in his Jornay towards the Princes of *Germany*, ſhall (with all Diligence) returne in Poſt to King's Highnes the ſaid *Deryk*, with Advertiſement of the Certaintie of the ſaid *Melanct* cummyng into *France*, and ſuch other Occurrants as he ſhall then know. And if the ſaid *Deryk* be not now redy to go with him, the King's Pleaſure is, that ye ſhall in his ſtede, appoint and ſende ſuch one other with the ſaid *Barnes*, as you ſhall think meet for that Purpoſe.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 330.

And when the ſaid *Barnes* ſhall arrive with the ſaid Princes of *Germany*, the King's Pleaſure is, He ſhall (on his Grace's Behalf) aſwell perſwade them to perſiſt and continue in their former good Opinion, concerning the Deniall of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Uſurped Autoritie, declaring their own Honour, Reputation and Suretie, to depende therupon; and that they now may better mayntain their ſaid Juſt Opinion therin then ever they might, having the King's Majeſtie (One of the moſt Noble and Puiſſant Princes of the World) of like Opinion and Judgment with them; who having

proceeded therin by great Adviſe, Deliberation, Conſultation, and Judgments (of the moſt part) of the great and famous Clerks in *Chriſtendome*, will in no wiſe relent, vary, or alter in that Behalf. Like as the ſaid *Barnes* may declare and ſhew unto them, by a Book made by the Dean of the Chaple, and aſmany of the Biſhops Sermons as you have. Whiche Booke you ſhall receive herwith: The Copie wherof, and of the ſaid Sermons, you muſt deliver unto the ſaid *Barnes*, at his Departure, for his better Remembrance, and juſt Occaſion. To whom alſo his Grace's Pleaſure is, you ſhall ſhew as muche of Maſter *Wallop*'s Letter, (which we ſend you alſo again) as you ſhall ſee drawen and market with a Penne in the Margent of the ſame. As alſo exhorte and move them, in any wiſe to beware, how they commit any of their Affaiers to the Order, Direction, or Determination of the *French* King, conſidering he and his Counſell be altogether Papiſt, and addict and bent to the Maintenance and Conſervation of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretended Auctoritie. Furthermore, the King's Pleaſure is, ye ſhall uppon the Receipt herof, immediatly cauſe Mr. *Haynes*, and *Chriſtopher Mount*, in Poſt to repair into *France*, to Sir *John Wallop*, in as ſecrete maner as they canne; as commyng like his Friend, to viſit him, and not as ſent by the King. And in caſe they ſhall (by him, or otherwiſe) lerne and know that *Melanchthon* is there arryved; then his Grace woll, that the ſaid *Haynes* and *Mount* ſhall (in ſuch ſort as they be not much noted) reaſorte unto him: And for the deſuading of the Contynuance there, or the Alteration of his Opinion, and the Alluring of him hither, to uſe ſuche Reaſons and Perſuaſions as be before written, with ſuche other as they canne further deviſe for that Purpoſe. To the which *Haynes* and *Mount*, the King's Pleaſure is, ye ſhall delyver like Copies of the ſaid Dean's Book, and Biſhop's Sermons, to be ſhewed unto the ſaid *Melanchthon*, or otherwiſe uſed, as may be moſt expedient for the Atchievement of the King's Purpoſe in that Behalfe.

Ye ſhall allſo underſtande, that the King's Pleaſure is, ye ſhall write to Sir *John Wallop*, and ſend unto him therwith like Copies; willing him, in caſe he ſhall have certain Knowledge that the Articles be true, (written in theſe his Letters) concernyng the *French* King's Sending into *Germany*, for the Contynuance of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretended Supremacy; to repair with the ſaid Copies to the *French* King; and not only to ſet the ſame forth, with ſuch Reaſons as he canne deviſe in that Parte, ſhewing, how much it ſhall be againſt his Honour, both to give Himſelf ſubject to the ſaid Biſhop, and to move other to do the ſemblable; but allſo to declare unto him, that the King's Highnes (remembring his old frendly Promiſes, concernyng the Mayntenance of his Cauſe, and of his Proceedings touching the ſame) cannot but think it a little ſtrange, that the ſaid *French* King (ſeing his Majeſtie hath, in his Doings touching the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, moved neither his, nor any Prince's Subjects) will move and ſtyr the *Germaynes*, to condeſend uppon a contrary Opinion, both to themſelfs, and to his Grace in this Behalfe: And that his Majeſtie muſt nedes think his Amytie muche touched

in

in that he ſhulde move any State or Contrey, to do that Thing which is ſo much againſt the Kings Highnes and his own Promiſe, uſing all the Wayes he canne to diſuade him from the diſhonorable Obedience of the ſaid Biſhops, ſoe moving him to inclyne to the Kings juſt Opinion touching the ſame.

Finally, the Kings Pleaſure is, ye ſhall write an other Letter to the Biſhop of *Aberden*, ſignifieng that the Kings Majeſtie taketh it very unkindly that the King his Nephew wold now embrace without his Advice or Counſail, being his dereſt Freinde and Uncle, and now in Leage and Amytee with him, the Marriage of M. *de Vandoms* Daughter, whereunto he would give non Eare at his Graces Overture hertofor made of the ſame; in your ſaid Letter, imputing a greate Negligence therin, to the ſaid Biſhop, and other of his Maſters Counſail, ſeeing their Maſter ſheweth not, in the doing therof, ſuche Amytie towards the Kings Highnes as the Friendſhip between them doth require: And to make an Ende, his Grace woll in no wiſe that *Barnes*, or *Haynes*, ſhall tary for any further Inſtructions of the Biſhope of *Cantorbury*, or any other, having his Grace determyned to ſende the ſame after, by Mr. *Almoner* and *Hethe*; but that he, Mr. *Haynes*, and *Mount*, ſhall withall poſſible Diligence departe immediately in Poſt, without longer tarieng thenne for this their Diſpatche ſhall be neceſſary, ſoe as their Abode empeche not the Kings Purpoſe, touching the ſaid *Melanction*: And thus fare youe moſt hartly Well, from *Langley* in much haſte, this *Monday* at iij of the Clock, at after Noone.

Your Lovyng Friend

T. Norfolk.

George Rocheford.

Number 43.

The Smalcaldick *League.*

BY the Grace of God, We *John Frederich* Duke of *Saxony*, High Mareſhall of the Empire of *Rome*, and Prince Elector, Lantgrave of *Truringie*, and Marquis of *Miſne*, aſwell in our own Name, as in the Name of the Noble Prince *John Erneſt*, likewiſe Duke of *Saxonye*, out moſt beloved Brother, *Philippe*, *Erneſt*, *Francis*, Brethren Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*; *Ulrich* Duke of *Wortenberg*, and in *Deck*, Erle in *Montbelyard*; *Philipp* Lantgrave of *Heſſen*, Erle of *Catts* in *Dietz*, *Zigenham* and *Nyer*; *Berminus* and *Philip*, Dukes of *Stetin*, *Pomern*,

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 303.

Pomern, *Caſſaburn*, *Wenden*, Princes of *Rug*, Erles in *Guſkan*; *Wolfgang John*, *George*, and *Joachim*, Brethren Princes in *Anhalt*, Erles of *Aſcanion*, and Lords in *Bernburg*; *Gebhard* and *Albert*, Brethren, Erles and Lords in *Mansfeld*; the Conſules, Decurions, Tribunes, Senate, and People of the within named Cities of the *High-Germany*, *Saxon*, and Hanſe, or on the See, that is to ſay, *Argentina*, *Auguſta*, *Frankford*, *Conſtantia*, *Ulme*, *Eſling*, *Rentling*, *Memingia*, *Linde*, *Bibrac*, *Iſua*, *Magdeburgh*, *Breme*, *Brunſwick*, *Goſlaria*, *Hamibria*, *Gottingia*, *Embeck*, *Hamburgha*, *Lubeck*, and *Myndia*, do profeſs by theſe our Letters, in the Name of us, our Heyres and Succeſſors, and do ſignifie to all Men that ſeen the State of this Seaſon, is every where very perillouſe, and appereth ſo, that many Men are about and practiſe to diſturbe, ſuch as do cauſe, and ſuffer the ſyncere Doctrine of the Goſpell to be preached and taught in their Dukedoms, Provinces, Cities and Tertitories, (by the Grace of God) and which (aboliſhing all Abuſes) doe ſtudie to bring in Ceremonies conſenting to the Word of God: and efforce them ſelfs to divert them from Chriſts Doctrine; yea, by Force and Violence: and ſeen alſo that the Office of every Chriſtian Mageſtrate, is not only to ſuffer that the ſyncere Worde of God be preached to his Subjects; but alſo with all his Studye, Care, and Sollitude to provide (to his Power) that the holeſome Doctrine of the Goſpell and the Truth, onſe known and profeſſed, be not violently extorted, and they deprived of the ſame: For this Cauſe, we doe knowledg that it is our moſt Duetie and Neceſſitie, of the Offices of our Mageſtrate, in caſe nowe or hereafter it ſhuld happen, that any Man wold attempt and aſſay to diverte us, or our Subjects, by Force or Dede, from the Worde of God, and the Truth known; and to bring in again, and reſtore the ungodlie Ceremonies and Abuſes already aboliſhed (which God by his good Clemence woll forbyd, as we truſt that no Man woll attempt ſuch Thing) for to repreſſe ſuch violence and Perill from the Bodys and Souls of us and our Subjects, by the Grace of God, and for to excuſe and avoid the ſame to the Praiſe of God, to the Augmentation of the Syncere Doctrine of the Goſpell, and to the Conſervation of the Uniform Eſtate, Tranquillite, and Honeſtie Publick, in the Empire, for the Love of the Nation of *Alemayne*; and alſo for the Commendation, Honour, and Good of our Dukedoms, Provinces, Lordſhips, and Cities, onely to provide for the Cauſe of our Defence, and Tuicion; the which is permitted to every Man, not onely by the Lawe of Nature and of Men, but alſo by the Law Written. Therefore we have aſſembled and concluded, to give and be bound eche to other of a Chriſtian, Lawfull and Friendly Leage and Confederation, and by the Vertue, Fource, and Reaſon of this our Letters, we agree, conclude, and bynde our Selfs eche to other upon a Confederation, with the Conditions that followeth, That is to ſay, that all and every of us ſhall be bound to favour eche other hartely and truely, and to warn eche other of all Imminent Danger, and to avoid it: And that noon of us, openly, or ſecretly, ſhall willingly give Paſſage to the Enemy, or Adverſaries of the other, nor to warn, or ſupport them.

And

And becauſe this Confederation is onely made for Cauſe of our Tuicion and Defenſe, and not to the entent that any of us ſhall move warr, if ther ſhall happen any of us whatſoever he be, to be violently aſſawted for the Word of God, the Doctrine of the Goſpell and our Faith, or for ſuch other Cauſes as do depend of the Word of God, the Doctrine of the Goſpell, or our Faith, or be annexed thereunto; or if under any other Pretext or Colour, there ſhuld be any Violence attempted againſt any of us, and that we the reſt, which ſhuld not then be invaded myght thinke and judge that ſuch Werr, or Violence, ſhuld be moved for the Cauſe of the Word of God, or of the Religion; And that he to whom the Werr, or Violence is Imminent, wold permitt it to our Knowledge, Arbitracion, and Deciſeon; that then we all the reſt of this Confederacion, and every of us, that be comprehended in this Chriſten Confederacion ſhall be bound to take no leſſe to Herte, and take in hand as deligentely to provide for the ſame, incontinently as ſuch Perſons that be invaded, ſhall require our Help, or that we ſhall knowe it, (with all our Power) as though we ſhuld be aſſawted our Selfs, and for our own proper Cauſe: And therefore without any Delaye, and without any Decepte or Gyle, without taryeng for any other, with all our Might and Power, we ſhall be bound to Succour, Defend, and Helpe him that ſhall be aſſawted, after ſuch Form and Manner, as for the Qualitie and Circumſtances of the Thing, and the Tyme it ſhall be adjudged moſt util and moſt commodiouſe to the reſt of us; And like as the Fidelite and Charite to be given and ſhewed to the Neighbors upon his Conſcience and Salut ſhall teach him, And that we ſhall truely adminiſter and deale oon with another. And that in ſuch Caſe never oon of us ſhall agree, compound, or make any Tranſaction, or Trewes without the Aſſent and Will of the Reſt.

Alſo that this our Chriſten Confederation ſhal be taken and underſtanden to be in no wiſe Prejudicial or Hurtfull to the Emperors Majeſtie, our Clementiſſime Lord; nor to any State of the Empire, or any other: But onely for the Conſervation of the Doctrine and Truth of the Goſpell, and of the Peace and Tranquillite in the Empyre and *Alemayns* Nation, and to withſtand wrongfull Violence from us and our Subjects and Allyes; and onely in Caſe of Defence, and in ſuch Caſe as every of us may bear and ſuffer the juſt Knowlege and Deciſion of his own Cauſe as is aforeſaid, and none other wiſe; and if any Man wol be joyned to this our Confederacion, which is not comprehended in it already, ſo that he be dedicate to the Worde of God, and ſhall permitte the Syncere Doctrine of the Goſpell, conformable to our Confeſſion, exhibited to the Emperors Majeſtie, and to all the Orders of the Empire in the Aſſemble at *Augſburg*, freely to be preached, tought, and kept in his Lands, Province, and Dominions, and woll conſtantely ſtyck to the ſame Doctrine, he or they ought to be aſcribed and receyved in this Confederacion, by the Aſſent and Will of us all.

And bycauſe that Chriſten Confederacion, which ſhall be finiſhed the *Sunday invocavit*, the Year of our Lord 1537, hath laſted the other 6 Years laſt paſt, between us, excepted us *Ulrich*, Duke of *Wertemberg*, *&c.* and us *Bernim* and *Philipp*, Dukes of *Pomeren*;

us *John*, *George*, and *Joachim*, Princes of *Anhalt*; and the Cities of *Augſburgh*, *Frankford*, *Kempt*, *Hamibra*, and *Mynda*; We, at their Friendly and Diligent Peticion, have receyved them into this our Confederation, and we do bynde our Selfs eche to other agyn, that this Chriſten Leage ſhall be proroged and extended, begynning from the ſaid *Sunday invocavit*, 1537, by the Space of Ten Yeres next enſuyng, as this Chriſten Leage by the Ten Yeres next enſuyng, ought to be kept and proroged conſtantely, ſyncerely, and *bona fide*, by us and every of us, without any Frawde, or Malign.

And if it ſhall happen us to entre Werre with any Man for the Doctrine of the Religion, or any other Cauſe depending of the ſame, that ſhuld not be finiſhed within the Space of the ſaid Ten Yeres, yet nevertheles, although the ſaid Time of Ten Yeres be utterly expired, yet the ſaid Expedicion, ſhall be contynued and proſecuted, and the Werre brought to an Ende; and that then it ſhall not be Lawfull for any of the Confederates to exempte him of the ſame, nor hope upon Exemption, and from that Tyme it ſhall be Lawfull for the Confederats, to protract and prolong this Confederation, if they ſhall ſo think good.

We the foreſaid Electors and Princes, Erles and Magiſtrats of Cities by Interpoſition of our Feith inſteed of an other, do Promiſe and take upon us, for us, and for our Heires conſtantly and perpetually to obſerve and performe all and ſingular the Premiſſes truely and ſyncerely as it behoveth Princes, and Good Men. And that we ſhall nor doe, nor procure any Thing in any wiſe to be done againſt this Leage and Confederation: But in all Points ſhall deale and procede truely and ſyncerely without any Frawde or Malengin. And for more Credence and Confirmacion of all and every thoſe Things, every of us the ſaid Electors, Princes, Erles, and Cities, in the Name of us our Highnes and Succeſſors, have cauſed our Seales wittingly and willingly, to be ſett to theſe Preſents, which have been given the Yere of the Nativite of our Savyor Jeſus Chriſt, 1536.

Number 44.

Propoſitions made to the King, by the *German* Princes. *Paper-Office.*

The Peticion and Requeſt of the Right Noble Princes, Duke John Frederike, *Elector of* Saxe, *and* Philip *the Lantgrave of* Heſſe, *to the moſt Noble Kyng of* England; *exhibited at* Smalcaldia, *to the moſt Reverende Biſhop of* Hereford, *and other the Ambaſſadors of the Kyng's moſt Royall Majeſtie, upon the preſent Day of the Natyvyte of our Lord, Anno Dom.* 1536.

1. *Item*, THAT the ſaid moſt Noble King wolde ſet fourth the Evangelie of Chriſte, and the Syncere Doctrine of the Faith, after ſuch ſort, as the Princes and States Confederates have confeſſed in the Dyet of *Anguſta*, and the ſame defended, according to their Appologie and Purgation made: Except parcaſe ſome Things therin ſhall ſeme, by the common Aſſent of the ſaid moſt Noble Kyng, and the ſaid Princes, neceſſarie to be changed or reformed by the Word of God.

2. *Item*, That the ſaide moſt Noble King, joyning with the ſaid Princes and Stats Confederats, wold mayrnteyne and defende the ſaide Doctrine of the Evangelie, and the Ceremonys conforme to the ſame, at the future Generall Counſaill, if it ſhall be Pious, Catholique, Free and mere Chriſtien.

3. *Item*, That neither the ſaide moſt Noble King, without the expreſs Conſent of the ſaid Princes and Stats Confederats, nor the ſame Princes and Stats Confederats, without the expreſs Conſent of the ſaide moſt Noble King, ſhall aſſent nor agre to any Indiction or Appoyntement of a Generall Councill, which the Biſhop of *Rome*, that now is, or hereafter ſhall be, or any other, by whatſoever pretended Auctorite, doth, or ſhall make and appoynt: nor yet ſhall conſent to any Place, where the future Generall Counſaill ſhall be had, nor to the Counſaill it ſelf; but that all thoſe Thyngs may be ordered and done, by the mutuall Aſſent and Counſaill of the ſaid moſt Noble King and Princes Confederat. Provided nevertheleſs, that if it ſhall appere certeynly, by juſt Arguments and Reaſons, ſuch a Chriſtien, Free, Generall Counſaill, to be indicted and appoynted, as the Confederats, in their Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Ambaſſador, named *Peter Paule Verger*, do deſire, that ſuch a Councill be not to be refuſed.

4. *Item*,

4. *Item*, If it ſhall happen that (the ſaide moſt Noble King, and Princes, and Stats Confederats, not agreeing upon the Place, nor the Indiction of the Counſaill) the Biſhop of *Rome*, and other Princes conjoyned with hym in that Cauſe, will nevertheleſs procede to the Celebration of a Counſaill, or rather of the Appoyntment of the Place wherunto the ſaide moſt Noble King, and Princes, and Stats Confederat ſhall not agree; that then, and in that Caſe, aſwell the ſaide King, as the ſaid Princes and Stats Confederat, ſhall chieflie (to their Power) endevor and compaſs, that the ſame Indiction may be utterly avoyded, and take noon Effecte.

5. And furthermore, that they ſhall make, and ſemblably procure to be made, by their Clargy, their Publick and Solempne Proteſtacions, wherby they ſhall teſtefie and declare, both the Synceryte of their Faith, and alſo that they do utterly diſſente from ſuch maner of Communication and Indiction; and that they will not be bounde to the Decrees or Conſtitutions of the ſame Counſaill, (if any ſuch Counſaill do folowe in dede) nor in any maner of wiſe obey the ſame herafter.

6. And alſo, that they ſhall not at any tyme obey, nor ſuffer to be obeyed by any of theirs, any Decrees, Mandats or Sentences, Bulles, Letters, or Brieffs, which ſhall procede, or be fulmynate from ſuch a Counſaill, ſo indicted and celebrate eyther in the Name of the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf, or of any other Potentate whatſoever; but ſhall have and repute all ſuch maner of Reſcriptes, Decrees, Bulles and Breves, as voyde, inane and fruſtrate; and ſhall declare, that ſo they ought to be reputed and taken. And allſo for the Remotion of all Slaunder, ſhall procure their Biſhopes and Preachers, to declare the ſame to the People really, and with Effect.

7. *Item*, That the ſaid moſt Noble King, like as by the Grace of God he is aſſociated to the ſaid Princes and Stats Confederat in the Doctrine of Chriſt, and the Defence of the ſame; ſo alſo he woll vouchesauf, upon Honourable Conditions, to be aſſociate unto the Leage of the ſame Princes and Stats, ſo as his moſt Noble Majeſtie may obteine the Place and Name of Defenſor and Protector of the ſaid Leage.

8. *Item*, The neyther the ſaid moſt Noble King, nor the ſaide Princes and Stats Confederat, ſhall knowledge, maintain nor defend, at any Tyme herafter, that the Primacie, or that the Monarchie of the Biſhop of *Rome*, may at this Day take place, or ever ſhall, by God's Lawe; nor ſhall conſent nor graunt, that it is either utile or expedient to the Comen Welth of *Chriſtendom*, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhuld have Preemynence afore all other Biſhops, or in any maner of wiſe have any Juriſdiction at all, in the Realmes, Kyngdoms, or Domynions of the ſaide King and Princes.

9. *Item*, If it ſhall happen, that War, or any other Contencion, either for the Cauſe of Religion, or for any other Cauſe beſides this Cauſe, ſhall be inferred or moved againſt the ſaid moſt Noble King, his Realmes, Domynions or Subjects, by whatſoever Prince, State or People, or alſo againſt the ſaid Right Noble Princes or Stats Confederat: That in that Caſe, neither of the ſaid Parties ſhall give Ayde,

Ayde, Helpe, nor Socours againſt the other Partie, nor ſhall aſſiſt the Prince, nor the People ſo invadyng or movyng Warre, neither with Counſaill, Helpe nor Favour, dyrectly nor indirectly, prively nor apertely.

10. *Item*, That the ſaid moſt Noble King would vouchſaufe, for the Defenſe of the ſaid Leage and moſt Honeſt and Holie Cauſe, to Conferre to and with the ſaid Princes, giveing Suretie (as within is added) to lay fourth and contribute One Hundreth Thouſande Crownes. Which Money, it ſhall be Lawful to the Confederats to uſe and employ wher Nede ſhall be, in Cauſe of Defenſe, for the Moytee or Halfe Parte therof. The other Moytee they ſhall take of the ſame Money, which they have leyd fourth, and contributed to the ſame Sum.

11. And if need ſhall be of contynuall and dayly Defence, for the Contynuance of the Warre, or Invaſion of Adverſaries; in that Caſe, foraſmuch as the Princes and Confederates be not only bound unto ferther Collacion and Contribucion of Money, but alſo to the mutuall Defence with their Bodies and Goods; it may pleaſe the ſaide moſt Noble King, not to be greved in ſo urgent a Cauſe of Neceſſity, alſo to contribute more, that is to ſay, Two Hundreth Thouſande Crownes: Which Money, nevertheles, for the Halfe Parte, the Confederates may employe together with their own Money. And if it happen the Warre to be ſoner ended, then that that ſhall remain, ſhall be juſtly reſerved, and (the Tyme of the Confederation fynyſhed) ſhall be reſtored to the ſaide moſt Noble Kinge.

12. Which if the ſaid moſt Noble King woll do, the Princes do promyſe themſelfs, with their ſufficient Sureties, to aſſure not onlie that they ſhall not convert this Money to any other Uſe, than to the Defence of the Leage and Cauſe of Religion, together with their owne Money which they in ſuch a Confederation do contribute, but alſo that entirely and faithfully, they ſhall paye and reſtore unto the ſaid moſt Noble King the ſame Summ, which either when ther ſhall be no need of Defence, or (after the Defence) ſhall remain and be left, in caſe it ſhall not be employed to that Uſe.

13. *Item*, That for as much as the Ambaſſadors of the ſaid moſt Noble King ſhall now for a Tyme remayne in *Germanye*, and with the Lerned Men in Holy Letters, diſpute and commun of certeyn Articles; the Princes do deſire, that they woll ſhortly inquire and knowe their moſt Noble King's Mind and Reſolution, in the Conditions of the ſaid Leage; and when they ſhall be certefied, to ſignifie the ſame unto Us the Elector of *Saxe*, and Lantſgrave of *Heſſe*.

14. Which when they have done, the Princes will ſend in their (and the Stats Confederats Names) Ambaſſadors to the ſaid moſt Noble King, and amongſt them one excellently Learned, not onely to conferre with his Royall Majeſtie upon the Articles of Chriſt's Doctrine, and to deliberate upon the Ceremonies, and other Things in the Church, to be changed, ordered and reformed, but alſo to comment and conclude upon all the Articles, of the which we have ſpoken with the King's moſt Royall Majeſty, in the Name of the Confederats.

Number 45.

Paper-Office. *The Anſwer of the King's moſt Noble Majeſtie of* Englande, *to the Peticions and Articles lately addreſſed to his Highnes, from the Noble Prynces,* John Frederike *Duke of* Saxe, *Elector,* &c. *and* Philip *Lantſgrave* van Heſſe, *in the Names of them, and all their Confederates.*

1. THE ſaid moſt Noble King anſwereth, That his Majeſtie will, and hathe of long Tyme mynded to ſet fourth the Evangelie of Chriſte, and the trew ſyncere Doctrine of the ſame, out of which ſpringeth and floweth our trew Faith, whiche to defende he is moſt redy both with Life and Goods; but to ſay, that he being a King reckened ſomwhat Lerned, (though unworthy), having alſo ſo many Excellent well Lerned Men within this Realme, thinketh it mete to accept at any Creature's Hands, the Obſerving of his and his Realmes Faith, thonlye Grounde wherof remayneth in Scripture; ſurely he doth not; and requiereth his entier Frends herewith not to be greved: But his Highnes is right well contented, and much deſireth, that for Unyte in Faith and Articles, to be made uppon the ſame, it wolde pleaſe his ſaide Confederats and Frends, to ſende hither ſome of their beſt Lerned Men, to conferre and conclude, with him and his Lerned Men, to the Intente to have a parfaite Concorde and Unyon in Faith amongſt us. In which his Highnes doubteth not, but at ſuch Tyme as when their Deputs ſhall come, they ſhall fynde the moſt Towardnes in the King, and in his Realme.

To the Seconde, his Highnes anſwereth, That he is content to employ himſelf, joyntly with the ſaid Confederats, in all Generall Counſailes, they being *Catholici & Liberi, in Loco etiam omni Parte tuto*, for the Defence of their mere and trew Doctryns of the Goſpell, according to their Deſires. But as touching the Ceremonies, there may be different Rites, and ſuch Dyverſite uſed in dyvers Domynyons, *fere per totum Mundum*, that it will be harde to conclude anye Certentie in them. Wherfore his Highnes thinketh it mete, that the Order and Limitacion of them, ſhoulde be left to the Arbitrees of the Governours of everye Domynyon, ſuppoſing that every of them can tell what is moſt comodious for his owne Domynyons.

To the Thirde, his Majeſtie anſwereth, That he is contented, that neyther his Highnes, (without the expreſs Conſent of the ſaid Princes and Stats Confederate) nor the ſame Princes and Stats Confederate, (without the expreſs Conſent of his Highnes) ſhall aſſent nor agree to any Indiction of a Generall Counſaile, or to any Generall Counſaile, which the Biſhop of *Rome* that now is, or that

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hereafter ſhall be, or any other by whatſoever pretended Auctorytee, doth, or ſhall make, enter, preſume, or begynne, or cauſe to be made, entered, preſumed, or begon, but that they neyther ſhall conſent to any Place of the future Counſaile, nor to the Counſaile ſelfe, except it be by their mutual Conſents, aſſented and agreed unto; provyded neverthelefs, that if it ſhall appear certenly by juſt Arguments and Reaſons both to his Majeſtie, and the ſaid Confederats, that a Chriſtien Free Counſaile may be indicted, *in loco etiam omni Parte tuto*, that then that Counſaile ſhall not be by him, or them, refuſed.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th Articles, his Highnes is content to accept in every Point, according to their own deviſes.

To the 7th, his Grace anſwereth, That he doth moſte fully accepte their good Overture therein, by the which they declare their good Inclynacion and Hertie Good Will towarde his Highnes; nevertheles, his Majeſtie deſireth them to take in good Parte, that he doth not accepte the ſaide Name and Place, till he be throughlie agreed with them uppon the Articles before rehearſed; which ones agreed on, his Highnes entendeth moſt thankfully to accep the ſame.

The 8th Article, his Majeſtie is content to accepte according to their own Deſire.

9th, Alſo his Highnes agreeth, ſo that they woll adde therunto, that in that Caſe of Warre, neyther Partie ſhall ſuffer or permytte any of their Subjects, or Servants, to ſerve them, that in ſuch wiſe ſhall by any Warre moleſt any of them.

To the 10th, his Majeſtie anſwereth, That for the Warres already by paſt, he being in no Confederacion with them, thinketh it very ſtrange, and ſomwhat unreaſonable, that they ſhould of his Highnes require any Ayde or Aſſiſtence; but in caſe that this Confederacion now ſpoken of do take effecte, and that the contynuance of Warres ſeme to be neceſſary, by their mutual Conſents, for the ſupporting of their Faith againſt their Adverſaries; and therefore the Confederats being allſo bound to contrybute for their Parts, every Man for his Porcyon as ſhall be thought neceſſary amongſt us; his Highnes will be content for his Parte, in Declaracyon of his Loving Harte to them, to contribute 100000 Crowns, the Tyme, and Place, and Facion, for the Employment of the ſame, ones bytwen his Grace and them agreed on: Provyded that in Caſe that eyther there ſhall be no Warre made to any of the Parts for the ſame; or that it ſhall be ſooner ended then ſhall be looked for, that then the Hole, or that Part left and remayning, ſhall be fully and trewly *bona fide* reſtored unto his Highnes, whenſoever he ſhall demaunde, or require the ſame.

The 11th, his Majeſtie doth accepte according to their owne offer.

The 12th, his Highnes alſo agreeth unto.

To the 13th, (*Two Lines torn out*) agreed unto the moſt Part of the Articles, they will now according to their own offer, with all Speed and Diligence, ſend hither their Ambaſſadors plenaryly inſtructed to comon, agree, and conclude with his Majeſtie in all

Things that ſhall be comoned of, and treated betwixt his Highnes and them.

Number 46.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 104.

The Anſwer of the King's Ambaſſadors, made to the Duke Saxon, *and the Landgrave of* Heſſie.

FIRST, that his Highnes, aſwell by his Ambaſſadors, as their Letters from *Smalkald*, doth perceive Two Things; the one is their Gratitude and Benevolence towards his Majeſtie, and that they deſire the Continuance between their Progenitors inviolably obſerved to be increaſed: The other is not only thair great Conſtance in the ſetting forth of the Trueth of the Goſpell that was darkened afore, but allſo that they exhorte his Grace to the Defence of the ſame, which be moſt acceptable to his Highnes, and thanketh them aſwell for his Behalfe, as allſo for the Behalfe of all *Chriſtendom*, knowleging the greate Benefite of God, in giving the ſayd Princes ſuch Stedfaſtneſs and Strength; and that his Majeſtie willed to be ſhewed unto them that their wondrouſe Vertues have ſo raviſhed and drawn his Mind to thair Love, that his Highnes feled a greate encreaſe to thair Unitie, in ſuch wiſe, that he is determined fully never to paſſe the Occaſion, without Correſpondence of Love, nor any Occaſion that he ſhall think may conduce in any wiſe to their good Myndes, and Godly Proceedings, and for to declare his Minde to the Articles of your Peticion.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, Articles do pleaſe his Majeſtie well ynough; and although there be ſome Things in them, that his Grace would grante eaſely to no manner Princes, were they never ſo greate; yet nevertheles his Highnes for his Affection towards them, thinking that they meane nothing ells but the Reformation of the Church, which his Majeſtie for his Parte deſireth much, and deſireth to joyne with them in the ſame; in theſe Articles his Majeſtie deſireth that only the 3d and 4th Article be more ampley declared, that is to ſay,

The 3d Article by theſe Wordes, *Item*, that nether the Kings Highnes without the Aſſent of the Princes and Stats Confederate, nor they without his Graces Aſſent ſhall agree to the Indiction of any Counſaile, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, that now is, or any other whatſoever Auctoryte may pretende: and that alſo nether of the ſaid Parties ſhall agree uppon the Place of a Councile to be had, without the Agreement of the other expreſſely to be given, but that the ſame be done by the mutuell Aſſent of his Grace, the ſaid Princes and Eſtats. Provided nevertheles, that if all they ſhall perceive a Lawfull and Chriſtien Free Concile to be Indicted in ſome ſure and indifferant Place, that then nether of them both Partiesſhall refuſe the ſaide Concile.

To the 9th Article his Highnes wold have added, that nether of both Parties ſhall permitt any of their Servants, or Subjects, to be in ſolde againſt the other Part, nor to helpe directly, or indirectly, ſuch as wolde invade, or entrepriſe againſt them.

As to the 1ſt, 2d, 7th, and 10th Articles, his Grace anſwered, to the 10th his Majeſty ſayeth, that he doubteth not but the ſaid Confederats do well think and know, that his Grace is moved in his Mind by no more private Neceſſitie, that he or his Realm have, nor any private Profite to joyne with the ſaid Confederats in Leage and Defenſe, for he and his Realme is in good Peace: and knoweth not that the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Emperor, or any other Prince pyketh any Quarrel with him, and that much leſſe Warre; and allthough his Grace feared ſome Hoſtilitie of them, nevertheles by the Death of a Woman, all Calumnies be extincted; and to the entent the Confederats might know his Graces good Affection towards them, and to the Reformacion of the Church, and Abolicion of Abuſes, his Grace ſignifieth unto them, that he woll in no wiſe refuſe thair Peticion, but willingly contribute for his Parte 100000 Crownes for the Defence of the Leage, in Caſe that the Confederation between the ſaid Confederats and his Grace to be made, ſhall be brought to any Effect. And for other Appendaunces of this Article, as touche ſufficient Suertie, *Item*, that the Half of the Monaye by them contributed ſhuld be ſpent, or ever they touched his Graces Monaye: *Item* concerning the Forme and Maner to depoſite and ſpend the ſame. *Item* to make his Highnes prevey of the ſame, that on thair Behalfe ſhall be contributed, and of the Neceſſitie where abouts it ſhold be ſpent; and that all Things may be done by Common Adviſe and Aſſent, becauſe the ſame do require long Treatie; therefore his Grace referreth the ſame to his Orators, and to ſuch of thairs, as by the 13th Article they deſire to ſend, his Grace deſireth the ſaid Princes to ſend them fully inſtructed, and with ſufficient Power and Auctorite to treate with his Highnes, not doubting but they ſhall have reaſonable and friendly Anſwer.

To the 1ſt, 2d, and 7th Articles, his Majeſtie hath veray acceptable and agreeable, the Honour they have thought to deferre unto him, as above all Princes, to call him to be Protector and Defendor of their Religion, wich is a Declaration of the certain Benevolence and Truſt that they have in his Majeſtie; and although his Majeſtie knoweth what Envy and Danger foloweth ſuch Title, yet nevertheles his Highnes is ſo deſirous to do them Pleaſure, and to the Glory of the Goſpell, his Grace is content to accept the ſame Honour, after that between his and thair Orators Agrement, ſhal be had upon the 1ſt and 2d Articles, for it ſhuld not be ſure nor honourable for his Majeſtie, before they ſhall be with his Grace agreed upon certain Concorde of Doctrines, to take ſuch a Province upon his Highnes; and foraſmuch as his Majeſtie deſireth much that his Biſhops and Learned Men might agree with theirs, but ſeen that it cannot be, oneles certain Thinges in their Confeſſion and Apologie, ſhuld by their Familiar Conferencies be mitigate, His Grace therefore would the Orators and ſome Excellent Learned Men with them ſhuld be ſent hither, to conferre, talke, treate and common upon the ſame according to the 13th Article.

Now

Now that his Highnes by the ſame Anſwers ſheweth unto them his good Harte, truſting that they woll be of Correſpondence, therunto his Majeſtie deſireth Three Things of them of no great Coſte nor Difficultie.

Firſt, That in Caſe any King, Prince, or other, would invade his Majeſtie or Dominions for the ſame, or for the Cauſe of the Religion, that then they woll furniſhe him at thair Expences, 500 Horſemen armed of all Peces, or 10 Ships well arrayed for the Warre, to ſerve his Majeſtie by the Space of Four hole Monethes by Land or by Sea; and that it ſhall be at his Graces Choyſe to have Horſemen, or Shipps, and that ſuch as his Grace ſhall chuſe, ſhall be ſent to him, within a Month after the requiſition thereof.

Second, That beſides the ſame, that they ſhall reteyn at his Majeſties Coſts and Chardges, ſuch Number of Horſemen and Footmen, as his Highnes ſhall require; ſo that the Horſemen paſſe not the Number of Two Thouſand, and the Footmen the Number of Five Thouſand; or for the ſaid Footmen, 12 Ships in good Order furniſhed with Men, Harneys, Ordynances, Victuells, and other Things neceſſarie; and that the Kings Majeſtie maye hyre them, reteyne at his Wages as long as it ſhall pleaſe his Grace; and it ſhall be as his Majeſties Choyſe to have the ſaid 12 Ships, or the ſaid Number of Horſemen and Footmen, and that ſuch as his Majeſtie ſhall choyſe, maye be redye within Two Moneths after his Requiſition.

Thirde, That the ſayd Confederats woll take upon them in all Conciles herafter, and every where ells to promote and defend the Opinion of the Reverend Fathers, Dr. *Martin*, *Juſtus Jonas*, *Cruciger*, *Pomeran*, and *Melanchton*, in the Cauſe of his Graces Marriage.

Number 47.

A Letter writ to the King by the Princes of the Smalcaldick *League.*

An Original.

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 283.

SEreniſſime Rex, Poſtquam Romanus Pontifex, Paulus Tertius, Generalem Synodum Mantuæ celebrandam, & inchoandam die viceſſimo tertio Maij, indixit, miſit ad nos Invictiſſimus Imperator Carolus Quintus Clementiſſimns Dominus noſter, Oratorem ſuum, ut ad Indictionem illam Concilij ipſi veniamus, vel Procuratores noſtros mittamus.

Etſi

Etſi autem nos ex animo ſemper optavimus, ut Synodus, rebus deliberatis, emendationem abuſuum atque errorum, qui diu jam in Eccleſia hærent, inſtitueret, etiam adverſus illos ipſos Pontifices & Prælatos, quorum partim Negligentia, partim Cupiditatibus, vitia illa in Eccleſiam irrepſerunt: Tamen Bulla, in qua Paulus Pontifex Concilium indicit, non obſcurè teſtatur, Pontificem (cum ſuis conjunctis) nequaquam paſſurum eſſe; ut in Synodo, de reſtituenda vera Doctrina, & corrigendis Abuſibus atq; Erroribus, agatur. Sed quemadmodum ab ipſo, & quibuſdam ſuis Anteceſſoribus Doctrina, quam confeſſi ſumus, ſine ulla Cognitione, aut Examinatione Generalis, liberæ, & Chriſtianæ Synodi, temerè, & cum Contumelia Evangelij, damnata eſt; Ita oſtendit ſe Paulus Pontifex, hæc Præjudicia, Prætextu Synodi confirmaturum eſſe: Et conatur ſibi ipſa receptione Bullæ, obligare omnes Reges & Potentatos, ut ipſi quoque aſſentiantur illis Prejudiciis, & omiſſa cognitione, ſe ad Piam & Catholicam Doctrinam, & in Evangelio clarè traditam, quam profitemur extirpandam, & armis delendam conjungant. In hanc Indictionem ſi conſenſiſſemus, viſi eſſemus hæc Præjudicia confirmare & Doctrinam Eccleſiæ Romanæ & Doctrinam noſtrorum Teſtimonio noſtro condemnare. Itaque Oratori Cæſariæ Majeſtatis, verè, & bona fide commemoravimus, quare nobis illa Indictio Concilij, iniqua, & pernicioſa Eccleſiæ videatur; ac petivimus, ut Cæſariæ Majeſtati, Excuſationem noſtram juſtam, & conſentaneam, Juri ſcripto & naturali, quare in illam Indictionem non conſenſerimus, exponat.

Non dubitabamus, aut quin Romanus Pontifex, & hi quos habet conjunctos, ſe excuſaturi eſſent apud Regiam Dign. V. tanquam Pontifex fecerit ſuum Officium, ac oſtenderit ſe voluiſſe recte conſulere Eccleſiæ; nos vero oneraturi Invidia, quaſi communi Utilitati deeſſe velimus. Quare neceſſarium nobis viſum eſt, Cauſas, propter quas Indictionem illam iniquiſſimam, & inſidiarum ac periculi plenam recuſavimus, Regiæ Dignitati veſtræ, & cæteris Regibus & Principibus ſignificare, ut adverſariorum Calumniis, & aliorum Suſpicionibus occurreremus.

Itaque, ut Regia Dignitas veſtra Cauſas illas verè & integrè intelligere poſſit, rogamus, propter Gloriam Chriſti, ut Regia Dignitas V. noſtram Excuſationem, quam publicatam his Literis adjecimus, perlegat. qua in re non ſolum periculo moveatur multorum in Germania Populorum, quib. Regiam Dignitatem V. optimè velle ſperamus, ſed etiam cogitet, hanc noſtram Cauſam ad communem Salutem Eccleſiæ pertinere, in qua cum Diſciplinam multis in rebus collapſam eſſe conſtet, & paulatim receptos eſſe abuſus non diſſimulandos, diu multi, magni, & præſtantes Viri, Emendationem optaverunt & flagitarunt. Non dubitamus, aut quin Regia Dignitas V. etiam ex alio cupiat Eccleſiæ Chriſti quemadmodum Deus hoc Officium, præcipuè à ſummis Principibus requirit, omni Ope, & omnibus Viribus conſulere. Proinde & communem Eccleſiæ Cauſam; & nos ipſos diligenter commendamus Regiæ Dignitati V. & noſtra Officia, cum ſumma Obſervantia, Reg. Dignitati veſtræ deferimus. Bene & feliciter valeat Regia Dignitas Veſtra. Datæ vij. Calend. April. Anno Domini M. D. XXXVII.

Dei

Dei Beneficio, Joannes Fredericus Dux Saxoniæ, Sacri Romani Imperij Archimareſchallus ac Princeps Elector, Lantgravius Turingiæ, & Marchio Myſiæ.

Et Philippus Lantgravius Haſſiæ, Comes Cattorum Diek, Zygenhaim, & Nidde, ſuo & aliorum, Principum Statuum, & Civitatum Imperij Germanicæ Nationis, Nomine, puram Evangelij Doctrinam profitentium.

Sereniſſimo Principi, Domino Henrico ejus Nominis Octavo, Britanniæ & Franciæ Regi, Domino Hiberniæ, Domino Cognato, & Amico noſtro Cariſſimo.

Number 48.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. P. 212.

Cranmer's *Letter to* Cromwell, *complaining of the Ill Treatment of the Ambaſſadors from* Germany.

MY very ſinguler good Lorde, in my moſt hertie wiſe I recommend me unto your Lordeſhip. And where that the Oratours of *Germany*, when thei granted to tary one Moneth, required that we ſhould go furth in their Booke, and entreate of the Abuſes, ſo that the ſame myght be ſet furth in Wryting as the other Articles arr: I have ſyns effectuouſly moved the Biſhops therto, but they have made me this Anſwer; That thei knowe, that the King's Grace hath taken apon hymſelf to anſwer the ſaid Oratours in that Behalf, and therof a Book is alredie diviſed by the King's Majeſtie; and therfore they will not meddell with the Abuſes, leſte thei ſhould write therin contrarye to that the King ſhall write. Wherfore thei have required me to entreate now of the Sacraments of Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction; wherin thei knowe certeynly that the *Germanes* will not agree with us, excepte it be in Matrymoney onlye. So that I perceyve, that the Biſhops ſeek only an Occaſion to breke the Concorde; aſſuring your Lordſhip, that nothing ſhall be done, unles the King's Grace ſpeciall Commandmente be unto us therin directed. For they manifeſtly ſee, that they cannot defend the Abuſes, and yet they wold in no wiſe grant unto them. Farther, as concernyng the Oratours of *Garmanye*, I am advertiſed, that thei are very evill lodged where thei be: For beſides the Multitude of Ratts, daily and

nyghtly runnyng in thair Chambers, which is no ſmall Diſquietnes; the Kechyn ſtandeth directly againſt their Parlar, where they dayly Dine and Supp; and by reaſon therof, the Houſe ſavereth ſo yll, that it offendeth all Men that come into it. Therefore, if your Lordſhip do but offer them a more Commodious Houſe to demore in, I doubt not, but that they will accept that Offer moſt thankefully, albeit I am ſuer that they will not remove for this tyme. And wheras of late I did put your Lordſhip in Remembrance, for the Suppreſſion of the Abbey of *Tudberye*; now I beſeech your Lordſhip, not only that Commiſſionours may be ſent unto that Houſe, but alſo in likewiſe unto the Abbey of *Roceſter*, or *Crockeſdon*; beſeeching your Lordſhip to be good Lorde unto this Berer *Frances Baſſet*, my Servant, for his Preferment unto a Leace of one of the ſaid Houſes; not doubting but you ſhall prefer a right honeſt Man, who at all Tymes ſhall be able to do the King's Grace right good Service in thoſe Partes, and alſo be at your Lordſhip's Commandment during his Life. Thus Almightie God have your good Lordſhip in his bleſſed Tuition. At *Lambeth*, the xxiijd Daye of *Auguſte*.

Your own ever aſſured

T. Cantuarien'

Number 49.

The Earl of Northumberland's *Letter to* Cromwell, *denying any Contract, or Promiſe of Marriage, between Queen* Anne *and Himſelf.*

An Original.

MR. Secretary, This ſhall be to ſignifie unto you, that I perceyve by Sir *Raynold Carnaby*, that there is ſuppoſed a Precontract between the Queen and me; wherupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my Oath before the Archbiſhopps of *Canterbury* and *York*, but alſo received the Bleſſed Sacrament upon the ſame before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other the King's Highnes Council Learned in the Spirituall Law; aſſuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the ſaid Oath, and Bleſſed Body which affore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the ſame may be to my Damnation, if ever there were any Contracte, or Promiſe of Marriage between Her and Me. At *Cott.* Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

Newyngton-Green, the xiijth Day of *Maye*, in the 28th Year of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the VIIIth.

Your Assured,

Northumberland.

Number 50.

A Letter, giving Pace *an Account of Propositions made to King* Henry *by* Charles *the Vth.*

Paper-Office. TRUSTY and Right Wel-beloved, we grete you well, lating you Wit, that on *Tuesday* last passed, repaired to our Maner of *Greenwiche* unto us, the Emperors Ambassador here Resident, and on his Masters Behalf, pretending a Desire to renew the Old Amytie that hath been between us, testified nevertheles by Letters of Credence sent from the said Emperor to our Trusty and Right Wel-beloved Counsailer, *Thomas Cromwell*, our Principal Secretary, which of long Seasons hath been interrupted, made unto us for the Advancement of suche a Renovation certain Overtures: The First was, that he wold be a Means to have a Reconciliation between us and the Bishop of *Rome*: An other, that we would ayd him with some Contributions in his entended Voyage against the *Turk*: The Third, that forasmuch as by a certain Leage passed between us, it is covenanted and agreed, that in Case either of us shuld be invaded in any of our Realmes, Dominions, or Seigniories, which we have in Possession, the other shuld ayd him in such Form, as in the said Leage is expressed, at the Costs and Expences of the Prince requiring the same, and that there is a greate Appearance that the *French* King wil now invade him in the Duchie of *Millain*, we wold grant him such Ayde for his Defence against the said *French* King, as in the said Leage is limited. To the said Masse and Substance of his Credence, tending to a Renovation of Amytie, ye shall understande our Answer was, that albeit the Interruption and Disturbance therof, hath proceded holly on the Emperors Behalf, who for our Friendeship in suche wise hertofore shewed unto him, in making him King of *Spayn*, in making him Emperor, whenne the Empire was at our Disposicion, in lending him our Money, that he may only thank us for the Honour he is now advanced unto, hath nevertheles for his reciproque shewed unto us, all the Ingratitude he could devise, both in contempnying, as it were, a Friendship, when we have done more for his Satisfaction in our Proceedings then needed, and in procuring what Displeasure and Injury he could against us, at the Bishop of

Romes Hande, as by Credible Reports we have knowen and lerned ; yet ſuch is our Zeal to Unytie, Concord, and Quiet amongs Chriſtian Princes, and ſuch is our Princely Nature, that as we canne continue our Diſpleaſure to no Man, if he do ones remove the Cauſe therof : So if he which is a Prince of Honor, and a Perſonage whom we ones choſe, and thought Worthie for his Vertue and Qualities, to be advanced, will by his expreſs Writing, eyther deſire us to put his Doings towards us in Oblivion, or by the ſame Purge himſelf, and declare that ſuch Things as we have noted Unkindnes in at his Hande, hath been unjuſtly, and without his Deſert, imputed unto him, we ſhall gladly embrace his Overture touching this Renovation ; but we plainly ſaid and offered, that ſeing we had ſuſteyned the Injury, we could not be a Suiter for the Reconciliation, nor treat with his Maſter of ſuch Appendents for Aydes, as be before expreſſed, or any ſuch like, unleſs our Amyties ſhuld be firſt Symple, and without all Manner of Conditions renoveled ; which Parte, if he will firſt accompliſh, he ſhuld not need to doubt, but to all his reaſonable Deſires to be made after, he ſhall have as Friendly and Reaſonable Anſwer, as between Friends in the Higheſt Degree of Friendſhip can be required. Touching the Biſhope of *Rome*, we declared unto him, that as we have not proceeded uppon ſo ſleight and ſlender Grounds, as we wold revoke, alter, or change any Peece of our Doings ; having in all Cauſes made our Foundacions uppon the Laws of God, Nature, and Honeſtie, and eſtabliſhed all our Works made uppon the ſame, by the Conſent of all the States of our Realme, in open and High Court of Parliament, ſo conſidering there hath been ſome Means made unto us by the Biſhop himſelf for ſuch a Reconciliation, which we have not yet embraced, it ſhuld not be Expedient to have it compaſſed by any other Means ; nor we could take as in good Parte, or think that the Emperor ſhuld erneſtly mind a Reconciliation, and a Renovation of our Amyties, if for the Satisfaction of the Biſhop of *Rome* our Enemye, he ſhuld move us to allter any one Thing that we have here determyned contrary to his Purpoſe, and pretended Autoritie. To his Requeſt for Aid againſt the *Turk*, was anſwered, that we could give no certain Reſolution, becauſe the Affaires of *Chriſtendom* be not quiet, but in Caſe their may enſue between Chriſten Princes an Univerſall Reconciliation, Conconcord, and Agreement, we ſhall not fayle in that Matter to doe for our Parts, that to the Office of a Chriſtien Prince appertaineth : Finally to his Deſire for Ayde againſt the *French* King, we ſaid it ſhuld be convenient that our Amytie ſhuld be firſt renewed, and certainly eſtabliſhed, before we ſhuld treat of any ſuche Appendants ; and thenne being an indifferent Friend to both, we might frankly Travail to conſerve Peas and Unitie ; or ells Friendly to ſtaye him that wold do wrong ; but tyl ſuch Time as that Foundation were made, we could neyther in this Appendant, nor any ſuche like make any direct Anſwer. And foraſmuch as not only for your Inſtruction, but allſo for that we be much deſirous to know in what Parte they take our Anſwer there, we thought convenient to Advertiſe you of the Premyſſes, our Pleaſure is, that ye ſhall aſwell in your Conferences with the Emperor, pretending only a Generall Knowledge of certain,

of the Overtures made by his Orators here, both maintain our Anſwers to the ſame, with ſuch Reaſons as ye canne deviſe for that Purpoſe, and of your ſelfe exhorte him not to pretermyt this goodly Occaſion, ſo graciouſly beganne, commenced, and entred, extolling our Princely Harte, Nature, and Courage, with our moſt gentle Inclynation, to the Satisfaction of our Friends deſires, in all reaſonable Things, wherunto they ſhall not preſs us; which kind of Conſtraint doth for moſt Parte more hurte in the ſtay of good Purpoſes, then canne be, after with Repentance when the Tyme is paſt eftſoons redoubled. As in Semblable Maner move Monſieur *Grandevile* of your ſelf, as a Perſonage whom ye repute, addicte to the Advancement of our Honor, to deſire the Emperor to conſider what Good may enſue to him, and to the hole State of *Chriſtendom*, if we may joyne again in perfite Amytie; and that it were great Pitie, and purcaſe greater Loſſe then might be after recovered, to ſuffer this goodly Meane and entree to paſſe without certain Fruit and Effect, by the putting to it of ſuch Appendants and Conditions, as ye knowe, what ſoever we will after do, at the contemplation of Friendſhip, yet our Nature and Courage will not bear to be newe loden and charged withall; ſpecially conſidering that we have ſuffered the Injury; and with theſe and ſuche like Words, as we woll that ye ſhall endevor your ſelf of your ſelf to pryk them forwarde to the Renovation of our Amytie, without adding therunto any Conditions. Soe ye ſhall repayr to the Court and to *Grandevil* as ye may conveniently, to give them Occaſion by your being in their Eyes, to enter Communication with you of theſe Matters; wherby you ſhall the better alſo perceyve wherunto they will bend, which our Pleaſure is, you ſhall from Tyme to Tyme ſignify unto us, as ye may have any certain Matter worthie our Knowleage.

Number 51.

Inſtructions by Cardinal Pole *to one he ſent to King* Henry.

An Original.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 340.

Imprimis, to declare to his Grace myn hole Entent and purpoſe yn wrytyng the Booke, wherein takyn my teſtimony off God, that only ſeyth the Hart of Man, was only the Maniſeſtation off the Treuth in that Mattier, that by Maſter Secretaryes Letters I tooke as a Commandment to ſhew my Sentence herein, which wrote the ſame to me by his Gracys Pleaſure, that I ſhuld by Writing declare myn Opinion; and this is the very Cauſe I dyd wryght; for otherwiſe, I thynk I had never ſett Penne to Booke in ſo lyttyl hope of Perſuaſion, and in ſuch a Matter as the Tyme was ſo lykely nott to be all the beſt acceptyd.

Further to declare after I was onys entred into the Mattier, haveng ſent to me the Books of them that have wrytten yn the contrary Part, wherin I ſaw the Trueth mervyolouſlye ſuppreſſyd and cloked, with all Colours that could be invented ſett upon the untrew Opinion, ſeyng beſyde what Acts folowed of the ſame ſo ſore and greviouſe, both in the ſight of God, and Judgment of the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, out of that Realme, that except thoſe Colours were takyn away, and Treuthe purely ſett forthe, wythe Declaration of the inconvenient Acts, yt myght ſoon torne to the utter Danger of his Graces bothe Honour afore God and Man, and utter Deſtruction, as yet ſemyth, of the Quyettnes of the Realme; this made me wyth all both Wytt and Lernyng that God had gyven me, to endevour to expreſſe ſo the the Trouthe, and declare the Qualytyes off thoſe Acts that folowed of the ſiniſter Opinion, that I doubt not whoſoever reade the Booke that wole knowe the Trouthe, ſhuld never after need to fall into Daungier, for Ignorance of the trew Sentence.

And this I did with this hope, haveing this ever fixid in my Harte, that howſoever hys Grace was by perverſe Occaſion brought from thoſe Opinions which was for his Honore, moſt to maynteyne, that he was brought thereto as God ſuffereth thoſe that be in his Favour, and whom he hath Electe to Eternall Felycytie, notwythſtandyng to faull ſome Tyme into Offenſys dampnable, to the Entent they myght better know where they have their trew Lyght and Savefgarde which comythe of God, and nothyng off them ſelf: as ytt is not not unknowne that Scripture mentionethe both of *Davyd* and *Solomons* faulles, which bothe in Concluſion, were recoveryd by the Mercye of God againe, and *Solomon* notwithſtanding the Gyft off Wyſedome that God had gyven him, fell ſo ſore that he was utterly tornyd from God, and gyven to Idolatrye. This I conſydreng in thoſe Elect Perſonys off God, and judgeng verely thoughe his Grace was by God permyttyd to faull from the trew Doctrine of Chriſt, yett as God ſaved *David* by thoſe Meanes, to ſend a Prophete unto him to ſhow hym the Trewth, which as ſoone as he had hard told hym, forthwyth fell to Repentance, and ſo was taken to the Grace off God again, and recoveryd to his greatter Honour, then he was yn afore his Faull; the ſame truſt I had in his Grace, whiche made me put my uttermoſt Studye and Labour, callyng for help of God, to manyfeſt the Trueth, where I doubt not but God hath hard my Prayer, that for Knowledge of the trewe Sentence, there can be no doubt; and I cannot but greatly truſt, that his Grace herynge and aſſenting, as King *David* did to the ſame after his Errour, ſhall be recoveryd by God to higher Honour and Grace, then ever he was afore God ſuffered him to faull.

In this Declaration of this Treuthe, becauſe not only afore God were great Peryll, but alſo in this World preſent afore Man, many ſoore Daungers myght happen, in Caſe his Grace did remayne and continew yn his Sentence ſo dyvers from the reſt of the Chriſten Princes; this cauſyd me, callyng to my Mynd what Daunger might follow bothe of his People at home, whoſe Mynds Experience ſhowethe cannot be quiettyd wythe this Innovations touching Opinions in Relygion; and alſo of outward Power of thoſe Prynces to

whoſe

whoſe Honour yt ys judged to apperteyne to defend the Lawes of the Church, againſt all other Princes or Nations that doyth impugne them, for theſe Conſiderations to the Entent the Daunger hercoff now not unknown, I have in the ſame Booke, ſometyme in my own Perſon, brought all ſuch Reaſons wherebye juſtely either the People, or oughtward Prynce might be inſtigate againſt his Grace, foloweng the dyvers Trade from other Chryſtian Princes that he hath begone. Which Reaſons and Diſcourſes conteynyd in the Booke vehemently ſett forthe, yf they ſhuld be redd apart without Conſyderacyon of my fynall Purpoſe, which by all Means entendyd to ſett affore hys Graces yien, not only the Treuthe off that was to be folowed, butt the Daungers that were moſte lykelye to enſue, both at home and abrode, yf they were not followed, he ſhall think by what vehemencye and ſore reprehenſion he ſeyth in the Wrytyng, that I am the greatyſt Adverſaraye of his Graces Honour that ever any hitherto hath bene: but God knoweth my Entent, and he that redyth the hoole Booke togyther ſhall knowe the ſame, how my very Purpoſe and Ende was to ſave him from great Dyſhonour and Peryll both in this World and that to come, which were nothing poſſyble to examine, not knoweng what they were, and what were lykely to happen to be ſayd or done againſt his Grace: which foloweng all probabylytie the Book doth expreſſe, and for the better underſtanding of both my Opinion and Sentence that I follow in the Book, touching the Declaration of the Truthe, and of my utter fynall Purpoſe in the hole Matter, thys chifly I wole deſyer his Grace, bycauſe of the Prolyxitie thereof, which ſhuld be to muche for his Grace to rede hymſelfe, that that wole pleaſe hym to apoynt ſome lernyd and ſald Man to rede over the Book, and that done to declare his Judgment, bound firſt wyth an Othe off hys Fydelytie, firſt to God, and afterwards to his Grace to ſhow hys Judgment without Affection of any Part: and yf his Grace wold gyve this Charge to the Biſhop of *Dyrrhum*, whome I judge to be the ſaldyſt and moſt grounded in Lernyng, with Faythful Hart to his Grace, above any other that I knowe, puttyng the ſame Charge unto him by another; I think his Grace ſhuld thereby beſt and moſt truely be enformed; and ſo when he hath made his Relation, afterward his Grace may prove other Menes Jndgments as it ſhall pleaſe him.

Furthermore to declare unto his Grace how my full Purpoſe and Mynd was, touching the hole Booke that never no Part thereoff ſhuld a come abrode in any Manes Hands, afore his Grace had ſeen ytt; and to folow in this Booke the ſame maner off ſecretnes that I did in the other which I deliveryd to his Grace concerning his Matrymonye, but by what Meanes in one Part of this Book I have been fruſtrate of my Entent; this you may declare by Mouth, knowing the hole Mattier.

Fynally, With all Humbylnes to deſyre his Grace, in the Name of his moſt faythfull Servant, and moſt tender of his Honoure and Welthe, that where as by the Judgement of all wiſe Men, God of hys Mercye and Love toward his Grace, and for a greate Warnyng to retourne to hym, hathe detectyd the Iniquitie of her, which hath

bene.

bene the Oryginal Cauſe and Occaſion of althyſe bothe Errours and Dangers his Grace hath coſt hymſelf in, that now his Grace will correct himſelf to take the ſame, as yt ys a favorable Admonition of God, and to follow theyr Sentencyes and Counſell, which (next unto theyr Conſcyence toward God) hath had none other Cauſe, butt only pure Love and Fydelytie to his Honour and Welth: which cauſyd them, againſt their owne private Welthe, wyth greate Daunger beſyde, ever to dyſſent from that Matrymonye; judgeng ever, as ytt was moſt lykely, both great Diſhonour, great Daungiers and Perylls, both ſpiritually and outwardly, to followe thereoff.

And now, yf God hathe manifeſted the ſame to the Recovery of hys Grace *Welth*, allwayes that his Grace wyll accept thys Warnyng to retourn to the Unytie of his Church, in that Sentence and Mynd that the reſt of Chriſtiane Prynces do; wherein I dare be bolde to ſaye, yf God ſhowe this great Benignitie and Mercy unto him, for to make him returne; for ſuerly God's Hand that muſt be; and whenſoever that ſhall be herd, that ſhall be taken for one of the greatyſt Myracles that hathe been ſhowed this many Agys, with the moſt certyn Sygne of ſpeciall Favour that ever was ſhowed from God to any Prynce: Then furſt of all this ſhall follow, that when as now all *Chriſtendome* callyng for a Generall Councell, yf that follow, ether his Grace muſt wyth Dyſhonour and Damage flee to obey thereunto, or wyth more Daunger anſwer there to ſuch Cauſes as wold be layde unto him. Yf he do returne, thys furſt ſhall followe, by that Meanys that ſhuld be founde, that no Prynce Chryſten, whoſoever he were, ſhold appere there with more Honour then ſhuld his Grace. And wheras it was for the Innovation that he hath made in the Churche, to be the Occaſyon of Ruyne of one of the feyreſt Membre of the Churche, if God make him torne; the Concluſion wyll be brought to this, that hys Faull ſhall be the happyeſt Faull that was unto the Churche many Yeres; which may be brought to be a redye and highe Way to the Reformation of the Hole, to the more Manyfeſtation of the Honour of God: So that fynally, the Ende ſhall be in every Man's Opinion, that marketh the hole Proceſſe, that God ſuffred his Grace to faulle, to make hym ryſe wyth more Honour, to the greater Welth not only of his own Realme, but of the hole Church beſyde.

Your Faithfull Servant,

R. Pole.

Number

Number 52.

A Letter to Pole *from the Biſhop of* Durham, *in his own Hand.*

An Original.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 385.

RYght Honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your Maſterſhip, advertiſing the ſame that I have reſceived your Letter, datyd at *Venice* on *Corpus Chriſti* Evyn laſt; by which I do perceyve, that where of late you ſent a Boke with a Letter unto the Kyng's Highnes, concernyng your Opinion of the King's Title, and the Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*; and your Deſire was in your Letter, as ye write, that I myght ſee the Boke, to enforme his Grace what I thought theroff. And now ye ſend to me your ſaid Letter, to informe me of your Meanynge and Purpoſe in your ſaid longe Boke, wherin I do perceyve, ye fere leſt your Vehemency have offended. I do ſignifie unto you, that I have both well peruſed your ſaid Letter, to compriſe well the Effect theroff in every Point; and alſo have peruſed, with odyr your ſaid longe Boke, unto the Ende theroff. Which made me hevy in my Harte, both whylſe I was in Redinge of it, and allſo mych more when I had redde it thorow, ſeinge the Vehemency and Egerneſs of it in all Partes, dyd ſore byte; and yet the hole Thinge ran wyde off the Truthe. For in all your Boke, your Purpoſe is to bring the King's Grace, by Penance, home unto the Churche again, as a Man clerly ſeperate from the ſame alredy. And his Receſſe from the Church, ye proffe not otherwiſe, than by the Fame and comon Opinion of thoſe Parts; who be farr from the Knowlege of the Truth of our Affairs here, and do conjecture every Man as they lyſt, (blyndly) of Thinges unknowen unto them. And in Cauſe of his Retorne, ye promiſſe to illuſtrate the King's Name, ſo to bend your Lernyng therunto, that all Diſpleaſure that may be takyn of your ſaid Boke, ſhuld be clerly therby abolyſed and takyn away; and all ſhold redund unto his Glory and Honour. And to compriſe in few Wordes the Effecte that is worn off your ſaid Boke, that makes vehemently many Playes, and doth conteyn lyttle or no Salve to hole them. And as it ſemyth to me, ye wer ſtyrred to ſore in your Spirite in all your Wrytings therof, and wer not quiet in your Mynde, whyle ye were in doynge of it. Wold to God ye had rather written to his Grace your Opinion, brevely compriſyd ſecretly in a Letter, that he ſhold not have nedyd to have ſhewed it to other Lernyd Men of his Counſell, than in ſo longe a Boke to have dilatyd all Thynges as ye have done, that he muſt of Neceſſitie be conſtranyd to commytte that to ſuch truſty Perſons, as ſhold pleaſe his Grace to know by them the Effecte

Effecte theroff. What Stupidity was it, to ſend ſo long a Boke ſo longe a way, conteynyng ſo diſpleſaunt Mater, by one Man, who myght have myſcaryed or peryſhed in the way, and therby the Boke have comen (as was likely) to the Handes of ſuch as wold have publiſhed it to the King's Slaunder, and the Realmes, and moſt of all to your owne, that ſhuld be the Author of ſuch a Boke, made againſt your Prince and Countre: Wherin all the World ſhuld repute you to be unkynd unto your Prince and Countre, who evermore ſo had lovyd you, and brogt yow up in Lernygne, and ye to ſpend the ſame to his Reproche. So that ſurely, who ſoever not favouryng the King, ſhold have lykyd the Matter, yet muſt he nedys have myſlyked the Author therof, uſinge his Lernyng againſt hym, in whoſe Defence he ought to have ſpent both Lyff and Lernyng. But Laude be to God that the Boke came ſaffe unto the King's Handys, wherby that Yeperdy ys paſt. One Thinge made me cold at the Harte, when I red it in your Letter that ye writt of Two Quares; which be not in your Hands to repreſs. The Reſidue, ye ſay, ye can make ſure not to come abrode; which, yf ye folow myn Advyſe, ye ſhall do furthwith; burnyng them, for your owne Honour, and the Noble Houſe that ye be come of: that it never came abrode, that ye excercyſed your Style or Lernyng againſt him, whom ye ougth in all Points (by your Wit and Conning) to defende: And yf any Faults wer founde by odyrs, to excuſe them by all means, and not to animate them by your Penne. And would to God lykewiſe, that ye wold endevour your ſelf (by all means to you poſſible) to gett again thoſe Two Quarys, and lykwiſe to burn them. For, in all your Boke, ther is not one Queyre without Bytterneſs, mych more then I wold it were. But to retourne to that Thinge that I ſaid before, that methought your hole Book ran wyde off the Truth. I ſhall, by your Patience, yf ye be contente to here me as your Frende, opyn unto you what I mean therby. Ye preſuppoſe for a Ground, the King's Grace to be ſwarvyd from the Unite of Chriſt's Church, and that in takinge upon him the Tytle of Supreme Hede of the Church of *Englande*, he intendyth to ſeperate his Church of *Englande* from the Unitie of the whole Bodie of *Chriſtendome*; takyng upon hym the Office belonging to Spirituall Men, grounded in the Scripture, of immediat Cure of Soule, and attribute to hymſelf that belongith to Preſthode, as to prech and teach the Word of God, and to mynyſter the Sacraments. And that he doth not know what longeth to a Chriſten King's Office, and what unto Preſthode; wherin ſurely both you and al odyr ſo thinkinge of him, do erre too farre. For there is no Prince in *Chriſtendome*, that more regardith, or better knowith the Office and the Honor of a Chriſten Prince, nor that more doth eſteem Spiritual Men that be gyffen to Lernyng and Vertue, than he doth: And that ye may boldly (without Reproch) avouch to all Men affirming the contrary, whatſoever ſiniſtrouſly conceived Opinion any Perſon ſhall have of hym, in thoſe Partes, or any oder. For, his full Purpoſe and Intente is, to ſee the Laws of Almyghty God purly and ſincerely prechyd and taugth, and Chriſt's Fayth without Blot kepte and obſerved in his Realme; and not to ſeperate hymſelf, or

his Realme, any wyſe from the Unitie of Chriſt's Catholyke Church, but inviolably, at all Tymes, to kepe and obſerve the ſame; and to reduce his Church of *Englande* out of all Captivitie of Foreyn Powers, hertofore uſurped therin, into the Chriſten Eſtate, that all Churches of all Realmes wer in at the Begynyng; and to abolyſhe, and clerly to put away ſuch Uſurpations, as hertofore in thys Realme the Biſhops of *Rome* have, by many undue meanes, increſyd to their grete Avantage, and Impoverythinge of thys Realm, and the Kyng's Subjects of the ſame. So that no Man therin can juſtly find any Fawte at the King's ſo doinge, ſeinge he reducyth all Thynges to that Eſtate, that is conformable to thoſe auncient Decres of the Churche, which the Biſhop of *Rome* (at his Creation) ſolemly doth profeſs to obſerve hymſelf, which be the Eygth Univerſal Counſells. Which yf ye do rede advyſedly, and ſtudiouſly do conſyder how the Church of Chriſt was ſtablyſhed by thoſe, and how far of late Yers the Byſhops of *Rome* have broght this Realme and odyr from thoſe; ye ſhall manyfeſtly perceyve the Abuſe and Diverſitie betuyx the oon and the other. I am ſure, at *Venice* ye may have the ſayd Counſels in *Greke*, lyke as now they be comon abrode in *Latyn*, tranſlatyd even from the Begynning. Which if they had been comenly knowen and redde hertofore, the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Power hertofore uſurpyd in many Realmes, had never ſo farre been avancyd, as of late it hathe. Wold to God ye had ben exerciſed in Rendinge of them, before the Sendinge of your ſaide Boke, that ye might have knowen from the Begynning, from Age to Age, the Continuaunce and Progreſſe of the Catholike Churche. By which ye ſhuld have perceived, that the Church of *Rome* had never of olde ſuch a Monarchie, as of late it hathe uſurped. And if ye will ſay, that thoſe Places of the Goſpell, that ye do allege in your Boke, do prove it, then muſt ye graunt alſo, that the Counſel of *Nice* and others did erre, which ordeined the contrary. And the Apoſtels alſo, in their Canons, did ordeine, That al Ordring of Preſts, Conſecratynge of Biſhops, and all Matirs Spirituall, ſhuld be fynyſhed within the Dioceſſe, or at uttermoſt within the Province wher the Parties dwelte. Which Canons of the Apoſtels, *Damaſcen* doth commemorate for Holy Scriptures. Now it is not lyke, that the Apoſtels, who were Prechers of the Goſpell, wold make Canons contrary to the Goſpell; nor that the Four Firſt Cheffe Counſels General wold have ordenyd ſo as they did, if the Goſpell, or the Scripture, had bene to the contrary. And whet ye in your Boke much do ſtikke to common Cuſtome of the Church, fuerly after Chriſte, above a Thouſand Yere, the Cuſtome was to the contrary, that now is uſed by the Biſhop of *Rome*. At that Tyme, in the Primitive Church of Chriſte, when the Blood of Chriſte and Martyers was yet freſhe, the Scriptures wer beſt underſtande, Faith moſt firme, and Vertue moſt pregnant; the Cuſtomes then uſed in the Church, muſt nedes be better than any contrary Uſe ſens, eyther by Ambition or Covetouſnes, any waies cropen in. And to aſſure you of my Mind what I do thinke; ſuerly who ſoever ſhall go about, by the Primatie of *Peter*, which was in Prechinge the Word of God, to eſtablyſhe the worldly Autorite of the Biſhop of *Rome*, which

which he now claymeth in dyverſe Realms, in worldly thyngs ſoe perfecte temporall, ſhall no more couple them to gedyr then lygth and darknes; but ſhal improve the thinge that he goeth about to prove. Iff ye wold rede *Nicolas Cuſa de concordia Catholica* in his Second Boke thorowly, he ſhold gretly open this Matter unto you. Wherfore ſens the King's Grace goeth about to reforme his Realme, and reduce the Church of *England* unto that State that both thys Realme and all other wer in at the begynnynge off the Faith, and many hundredth yere aftyr; yff any Prince or Realme wyl not folow hym, lat them do as they lyſte; he doth no thinge but ſtablyſhyth ſuch Laws as wer in the begynnynge, and ſuch as the Biſhop of *Rome* profeſſeth to obſerve. Wherfore nidyr the Biſhop off *Rome* hymſelf, nor odyr Prince, ought off Reaſon to be miſcontent her with. Yff I wer with you but oon day, I wold truſt to ſhew you ſuch grounds in thys Matter, that ye myght chaunge your mynde, oonleſſe ye wer totally addite to the contrary opynion, as I pray God ye be not, both for your own and for your friends ſake, who ſhuld take grete diſcomforth theroff. Oon thinge yet reſtith that I thougth convenient to advertiſe you off wherin I do perceyve ye be ignorant. Which is thys. Ye write in one parte off your Boke, that ye think the Herts off the Subjects off thys Realme greatly offendyd with Abolyſhinge off the Byſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Autorite in this Realme, as yff all the People or moſte part off them toke the Matter as ye do. Wherin I do aſſure you ye be deceivyd. For the People perceyve ryght wel what profite cometh to the Realme therby; and that al ſuch Money as before iſſuy'd that way, now is kept within the Realme; wheras before al that went that way, which was no ſmall ſhare, but grete and exceſſive, and dayly the ſayd Yſſue encreſyd more and more, never retornyd again hedyr any parte theroff. Which was to the great impoveryſhinge off thys Realme. So that yff at thys day the King's Grace wold go about to renew in his Realme the ſayd abolyſh'd Autorite off the Byſhop of *Rome*, grantyng hym lyke Profites as he had before thorow thys his Realme, I thinke he ſhold fynd mych more diffyculte to brynge it aboute in his Parliament, and to induce his People to agree therunto, then any thinge that ever he purpoſed in his Parlement ſens his firſt Regne. Wherfore I wyſhed that, as many odyr things more to have ben out of the your Boke. Which myght peradventure have engendry'd ſum parte off ſuſpicion in the King's Gracs mynd toward his Subjects, as I truſt verayly that dyd not. And wher ye do fynde a faute with me, that I faynted in my hearte, and wold not dye for the Biſhop of *Rome*'s authorite; when thys matter was firſt propoſyd unto me, ſurly it was no faynting that made me agreeable therunto; for I never ſaw the Day ſens I know the progreſſe and contynuance off Chriſt's Church from the begynning, and redde ſuch Hiſtoryes Eccleſiaſticall and Ordinaunces from Age to Age as do manyfeſtly declare the ſame, that ever I thought to ſhede oon droppe off my bloode therfore: for ſure I am noon off them that hertofore have had avantage by that authorite, wold have loſt oone peny theroff to have ſavyd my lyffe, nor wyl not do to ſave yours, yff ye ſhold be in ſuch neceſſite. Which God for his Mercy forbydde, and kepe you from truſt off ſuch ſocoure.

Finally, accordinge to your deſire ſens your Boke ys Comon unto the King's Hands, and he perceivyth the Effecte off it, I ſhall help as mych as may lye in my lityl power, that your plain facyon off writinge, as off a ſharpe goſtly fadyr, may be takyn in beſt parte according to your Letter and Deſire in that behalf; but at the Reverence off Almygthy God hynder not your ſelfe in addictynge you to the Opinion off your Boke, towching the Biſhop off *Rome*'s Autorite; thinking, that as ye ſe it now in *Italy* and diverſe Countreys, ſo it was from the beginning, and ought to be by God's Law. For the forſaid Counſayls do ſhew plainly ther is in the Church of Chriſt no ſuch Monarchie ordaynyd by Chriſte. And the preemmenence of ſittinge, that was gyffen to the Biſhop off *Rome* in the forſaid Counſels general, which were callyd al by the Emperors off that tyme, was gyffen to hym by cauſe he was Biſhop of *Rome*, the cheffe Cite off the Empire, and not for *Peter* and *Paule*'s ſake, which wer Apoſtyles, and bernyd in *Rome*, nor for the Goſpell-ſake; and the ſecund place was gyffen to the Patriarch off *Conſtantinople*, by cauſe that Cite was called *Nova Roma*, and ſo was preferryd both before *Antiochia*, wher Sainte *Petyr* was firſt Biſhop, and wher the Name of *Criſtendom* firſt began; and alſo before *Alexandria*, where Sainte *Marke*, the Diſciple off *Petyr* did preche. And alſo before *Hieruſalem*, wher Criſt himſelfe preched, and the hole Colledge off the Apoſtles afftyr him; And *Jacobus frater Domini* was firſt Biſhop, which was in the beginning untill it, was diſtroyed, callyd *Mater cunctarum Eccleſiarum*, which Three ware Sees Apoſtolyke. Befor al which three Sees, and alſo before *Epheſius*, where Sainte *John* Evangeleſt did write his Goſpell, and ther dyed, *Conſtantinople* was preferry'd, becauſe it was the ſecond grete Congregation off Criſten Men in the Empire, and was callyd *Nova Roma*. Wherunto thoſe holy Counſels wold never have conſentyd, and namely *Calcedonenſe*, wherin wer vj *C.* and xxx Biſheps of the beſt lernyd off al *Criſtendome*, yff they had ſeen the Goſpell to the contrary. Moreover, yff ye rede, as I am ſure ye have, *Baſilium*, *Nazianzenum*, *Chriſſoſtomum*, *Damaſſenum*, ye ſhal fynd in them no ſuch Monarche off the Biſhope off *Rome*, as he clamyth ſpoken off nor never mentioned. Al which I touch to put you in remembrance off, to the intent that ye ſerchinge forther in this matter, may perceive the old Fadyrs and Counſels, not to have knowen any ſuch thinge as now off late is pretentyd and uſurped.

Wherfore I beſeech you, not truſtinge your own ſelf to mych herin, to have recourſe to thoſe Autors that may informe you off the begynning off the Church. Conſydering therwithall of what Blood ye be, and off what Contre. The King's Hyghnes hath in his Realme Men as wel lernyd in Divinite as be in odyr Countreys, and they have fougth in this Mater, evyn to the bothome; which think themſelfs wel delyvered from the Bondage off *Rome*. And yff you ſhuld now be againſt your Contre to kepe them ſtill in Captivite, what they wyll thynke off you, I reporte me unto you. What alſo the King's Grace, who hath brogth you up, and hath bene good and gracyous unto you, ſhal thynke, but that ye be unkynd, to be againſt him and hys Realme, who hath been always for you and yours. What diſcomford ſhold it be to my Lady your Modyr, in hir Age to ſee you

ſwarve

ſwarve from your Prince and Contre in Opinion. What Diſcomford ſhold it be to my Lord your Brother, to ſee you off whom he ſhold have comford, uſe your Learning to his Diſcomford? What Diſcomford ſhold it be to all your other Frendys to ſee you off obſtinate Opinion againſt al your Countrey, you may by your Wiſdom conſider. Whom all ye may comfort and chiefly your ſelf, in conformyng you to the Truthe grounded opon the Stablifhment off the holly Church of *Chriſtendome* ſens the Begynnyng. And beynge the Supporting of this Monarchie inventyd off late Days by Ambition, wheroff the old Fadyrs never hard tell. St. *Gregorie* wryteth ſore againſt the Biſhop off *Conſtantinople* off his time who went about a lyke Monarchie, affirmyng noone ſuch to be in the Church of Chriſt. Saint *Cyprian* wryteth, *qui omnes Apoſtoli erant Paris honoris & poteſtatis. Conſilium Epheſinum* affirmyth the ſame, which cannot agree with thys late found Monarchie. At the reverence of God truſte not your ſelf to much herein, but ſuffer your ſelf to be perſuaded to ſeke fordyr then ye yet have doon. I dobt not but God willing ye ſhall fynd the Truth in ſearchynge fordyr, yff ye perſuade not your ſelfe that ye have found it already. I beſeche you, have in your remembrance, that I wrote before to burn the Originally off your to ſharp Bokes, and I ſhall move the King's Hyghneſs that your Boke ſent to hym may be kept ſecret. And in conformyng your ſelf to the Opinion off your Contre and off the Truth, I doubt not but ye ſhall be acceptyd of the King's Highneſs as well as ever ye wer, and mych bettyr bycauſe ye ſhew in your Boke the intier Hert that ye bere hym, as his Grace by his Wiſdome can mych better conſider than I can write unto you. And that ye may ſo do I pray the Holy Ghoſt to illuminat you. And if ther be pleaſure that I may do for you or yours, ye ſhall be aſſured to fynd me redy evermore therunto: as knoweth Almighty God who have you in his Bleſſed Tuition.

From *London* the xiij Day
of *July*, 1536.

Number 53.

An Original Letter of Poles *to* Cromwell *juſtifying himſelf.*

May the 2d. 1537.

MY Lorde, yff afore tyme itt could nott be ſuerlye and clerelye perceived what Affectyon I have ever borne to the Kyng's Honour and Wealthe, which in my hole Lyfe never gave the leaſt Occaſyon, whye any Man ſhoulde think, but wyth them that tendery'd the ſame moſte, I myght chieflye be nombery'd: yf my Deeds

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 355.

were

were trulye and indyfferentlye examined: but howe ſoever ytt be, yff any Dede afore perverſlye interpretate myght ryſe any Scrupell to ſurmiſe the contrary, ſurely theſe Letters that I wryght now, as the Time and Caſe requirithe, bearyng that Tenour as in Readyng you ſhall knowe, be ſuffycyent not onely to abolyſhe all former Doubts, ſhewing thoſe to be perverſly ſurmyſed, but to make clere, that a more conſtant and ſtable Mynde in obſervance off a Prince, hathe not bene founde nother yn Subject nor other Perſonnes beſyde. And the Cauſe hereoff ys, that there never happened lyke Occaſyon as thys ys, that cauſythe me nowe to wryght, wherebye my Mynd myght be ſo well knowen, while Occaſion ys gyven off the Kyng's Part under this Maner, that he procureing againſt me, by ſuch Meanes to my Undoynge, as was never hard off the lyke in Chryſtendome againſt anye, that bare that Perſonne that I do att this tyme. Yff my Minde, after all this remain ſtable, to procure all Things that may be to his Honour and Wealthe, as ever I have profeſſy'd afore-tyme, what can be more ſuerer Tokyn off a depe and a profound grounded Love and Affection: Whither I do ſo I ſhall afterward ſhowe you. If I declare firſt to Hym that knoweth it beſte, the Kyng's Act ageynſt me, to the Entent you maye knowe, yff I after that remayne yn my Old Eſtate off Obſervance, ytt is not for Ignorance that I knowe not what is machinate ageinſt me. And ſuerly, thoughe I knewe afore bothe by your Letters and other in what Diſpleaſure the King had me, without the leaſt Cauſe ſhewed off my part; I take God and my Conſcience to judge, which thynge, iff I had borne but a meane Affectiyon myght a been ſuffycyent to alyenate alſo my Mynde from thence, where I ſawe what ſoever I dyd for the beſt, to be ever accepted in the worſte Parte. But this I wyll not have yowe take for any Proffe off my Mynde, but to procede off the Kyng's Dyſpleaſure toward me; the leſſe I knowe the Cauſe to be, the further I was from all Imagynacyon to ſuſpect that hys Grace ſhould be ſo incenſy'd againſt my Perſonne; that for to have me in his Hands, he wold be content to breke and vyolate both Godd's Law and Mann's, to dyſtuourbe all Commercement betwene Contrye and Contrye, between Man and Man, and thys I would never a thought: but fyndyng the ſame to be ſo in Dede, I could not but fynde wythall, howe hys Grace was bent with all to my utter undoynge; agaynſt the which yff I remayne in my old Purpoſe to procure hys Wealthe and Honour, he that wyll ſeke other Proffs after thys, or wyll not be content with thys Declaracyon off a Mann's Mynde, he declareth with all that wythe no Proffe he wyll be content, but wyll have him one off hys Enemies whither he wyll or no. And off this Mynde off the Kynge toward me I had furſt knowledge at myne arryvenge in *France*, off the whiche to ſhowe you the firſt Motion of my Mind herein, I was more aſhamyd to hear for the Compaſſion I had to the King's Honour, then movyd by any Indygnacyon, that I comyng not only as Imbaſſadour, but as Legate, yn the hygheſt Sort of Embaſſage that ys uſed amongſt the Chryſten Princes, a Prynce off Honour ſhold deſyer off another Prince off like Honour, betraye thyne Embaſſadour, betray the Legate, and give him into my Embaſſadour's Hands to be brought unto

me. This was the dishonourable Requeſt, as I underſtand of the King; which (as I ſaid afore) to me ſuerly, regarding my own Part, I promes'd you was no great Diſpleaſure, but rather (if I ſhall ſay Truth) I toke Pleaſure herein; and ſaid furthwith to my Company, that I never felt my ſelf in full Poſſeſſion to be a Cardinall, as when I herd thoſe Tydings: wherby it pleaſed God to ſend lyke fortune to me, as it did to thoſe Hedds of the Church, whoſe Perſones the Cardynalls do repreſent, which was to be perſecuted moſte of them, whoſe Wealth they labouryd for moſt buſyly. In this Caſe lyved the Apoſtells: And the ſame nowe beyng happenyd to me, afore God I promiſe I felt no Diſpleaſure, but rather was glad thereof, ſpecially conſedyryng herebye I hadd the better Occaſyon to declare and juſtyfie my Minde more then ever I had afore, which was ever my Minde: but touchyng the thynge, iff we had no other Religion, but lyved as Paganes and infidells, yet *Jus Gentium* ſhould ever teache us what Demande this was, the Lawe of Nature alone myght declare how abhomynable ytt were to grante to ſuch a Requeſt, and no leſs to deſyer ytt. This I rehearſe now to this Intent, that you might the ſooner perceve, that if there had been but one Sparke of a Mynde alienate from the Kyng, thys were able to ſet the ſame in ſuch a Fyer, that furſt conſideringe how all Regarde off Honour was ſett aparte, and the Law that maintaineth the Commercement between Man purpoſyd to be violate; ſo ytt myght torne to my undoing. Furſt of all of my part, I ſhuld abſtaine from all Commercement with that Part, other by Word Writing, or Dede; Secondorylye, procure by all honeſt Wayes, if I wolde not by diſhoneſt, to repaye this Malignytie, to the uttermoſte Damage I could devyſe toward them, of whoſe malygne Minde towarde me I had ſo greate Experyence: And yett after all this, furſt of all, youe may ſee forthwythe by wrytyng att this tyme, I doe nott abſtayne from the furſt Acte to practyſe and entreate, wyth them that hath bene Authors hereof, and to practyſe yett to hys Honour and Wealthe, whiche wold utterlie extinguyſhe both in me. And if I be herd herein, to put the ſame alſo in Execution; which Thing thoughe I do ſuerlie of my owne Purpoſe and Mynd, yet ſome Occaſion hereof, howe it cometh otherwiſe I will not denye, nor kepe cloſe, which is this; That whereas the Biſhope of *Verona*, that was ſent of me to the *Frenche* Court, to intimate thoſe Affaires, that for the Wealthe of *Chryſtendome*, the Pope had committed unto me, to entreate with his Majeſtie, in his Retourne paſſynge by *Abbeyſſe*, where were lodged my Lorde of *Wynchеſter*, and Mr. *Eryan*; whereas he could not but gretlie marvayle of this Acte of the Kyng toward me, my hole Legation purpoſing no other but his Honour and Weltche: And deſiereng therefore to conferre the ſame with the Embaſſadours, for better Declaracyon of the Truthe of the Mattiers, to be known as they were: My Lord of *Wynchеſter*, and Mr. *Eryan*, both abſtaynenge for Reſpect from all Communycation, yet ſending unto him theyre Secretarye, after the Biſhope had in parte declared the Effect of my Legacie, that touched then any Part the Kyng, yet ſemed to be open

to

to bothe Parties, that all the King had done agaynſt me, was of the ſiniſtre and falſe Reports of other, that by falſe Conjecture of Things they knewe not, had ill enfourmed the King of my Purpoſe in comyng into theſe Partes, which the Secretarys thought onys clered and declaryd, other by Letters or Meſſingers, the Kyng wold turne his Mynde, as his Grace ſawe the Deds to juſtyfie themſelfs. This the Biſhope of *Verona* (at his Retourne) ſhowed me; which I accepted in that Parte to be trewe alſo, that all came of evill Enformacion. And that his Grace being aſſertaynced of my Mynd, as it is and ever hath bene, it were not unpoſſyble then ſome Part to knowledge rather my Gratitude, than to machynate anye Thing contrary. And that it might be ſo knowen, for all Parts yet cannot be but well; but as I ſhewed the Biſhope, by Letters I had attempted often the ſame, but all could not prevail: My Meſſengers I had ſent often for that Purpoſe, could never be admitted to have Audience of the Kyng. And without one of theſe Wayes were founde, there could no Concluſion be had in theyſe Mattyers, wherein reaſonyng with him, I asked, if for the Love and Service that ever he hath born to the Kinge, and ſhowed indede when he was in that Place where his Service might be in ſteade to the Kynge, and Love alſo he hath ever to me, having aſſured Knowledge of all my Affayres and Purpoſes, not only theſe laſte, but all ſynyth my departing from the Realme, whether he could be content (the King's Pleaſure firſt knowen) to acquiet the King's Mynde in this Behalfe, by going to his Grace, and enforming him of the hole; wherein, afore God, he ſhuld do a Dede moſte charitable. Wherin alſo I did allege unto him, for to bind him withall; bycauſe after ſuch Demonſtracyon of the Kyng's Mynde made unto me, few Men wold be content to practyſe wyth his Grace, in any thing belonging unto me. For this Cauſe, I did rehearſe the more Thyngs to enduce him hereunto; and amongſt other, this chieflye, the Purpoſe of his comyng with me, which (afore God) was this: That the Pope, entending by all meanes of Benignitie to practiſe with the King, haveng the *Frenche* Kyng ſo joined in Amytie with the Kyng, and with his Sanctitie alſo; devyſeng for a mete Inſtrument betwene bothe. Yf any Perſonne, for this Degree newlye taken, were not accepted, the Biſhop of *Verona* was thought moſte meeteſt, being for his old Deſerts to both Princes, as long as he was in that Place where he might do them ſerviceable Pleaſure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, and counted (for his Goodneſs) the beſt Biſhop of *Italye*. So that all Thynges conſydered, in Mattiers of the Church to entreate with theſe Princes, none was thought like: Wherupon the Pope bounde him to take thys Jornaye with me, for this Purpoſe. And this Bond, amongſt other I rehearſed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the Kinge. To the which, he made Anſwer; Yf there were none other Bond nor Reſpect in this Mattier but of God, knowing my Mattiers as he doth, and ſeing what Inconvenients might followe, if they were not at laſte well accepted, beſyde the Servyce he hath ever owed to the Kinge, and Love toward me, knowing what Comfort that might be to all Partys, if my trewe and faythfull Dealings were well intimate

to

to the King, he wold be content at all tymes the waye onys founde afore, howe with Commodytie he might come to the King's Preſence, to take this Charge upon hym. Thys, my Lorde, you may nowe perceive, that if I had any Part that mynde, that the Kyng's procurenge againſt me doth ſhowe to be perſuaded I have, yt could not be poſſible I could have any Confidence to attempt any medlyng wythe his Grace under ſuche maner: But becauſe nor my Confydence, nor affecyonate Mynde, yt is not taken awaye, therefore this I do declare unto you by theſe Letters, to the Intente you maye intimate the ſame to hys Grace. And now you ſee by a great Proffe what my Mynde is, you may alſo ſee how all Suſpytion may not alonlye be clearyd, many Things apeacyd that peradventure might torne to greater Trouble, but alſo many Things be brought to Light, to the Kyng's more aſſuryd Honour and Wealthe, than any thing is I thinke thought of hitherto make for the ſame. For all this I dare promiſſe to follow, if the Biſhop be herd with that Mynde, as he is ſent, and content for to go. Other Declaration of my Mynde by Letters I entende not to make, than my Letters agreyng with my Acts ſent afore do make Teſtimonye; and that the Biſhope, which is prevye to all, may better declare preſentlye. But this I will ſaye, if I bare in any parte that Mynde, the Kyng's Acte agaynſt me doth ſhow, his Grace is perſuaded I ſhold have, ſuerlye I wold never adone as I have done, in all my Acts and Proceſſes by Letters, made the Kyng and you prevye unto them. Thys I dyd at my furſt commyng to *Rome*, and the Cauſe of my Legacy nowe, and the Cauſe of my comyng to theſe Parts. Such Adviſes Rebels be not wont to give unto thoſe, from whome they rebel, but ſpecially at *Rome*, being there when the Tyme was troubleous for the Kyng in his Realme; lettyng them the ſending furthe of the Cenſures, which myght a cauſed more Trouble; and ſending at that Tyme my Servant purpoſelye, to offer my Service, to procure by all meanes his Honour, Welth, Quietneſs; animating beſyde, thoſe that were Cheffe of my nereſt Kynne, to be conſtaunt in his Servyce. Thys Rebells be not wont to do. And I know, at *Rome*, if any Man had been premyate to do hym Servyce, none could have done more; inſomuch that Men judged me Half a Rebell to God and my Contrye, becauſe I wold not aſſent to divers Thyngs, that had made little to the Kyng's Quietneſs: But ſpecially, having in my Hand thoſe Wrytings, that put forthe peradventure, might a cauſed moſt Trouble of all. Theſe inſtauntly being deſired of thoſe, which had in a manner Authorytie to commande, and yet ever finding meanes that they never came into their Sight nor Hands, and to this Hower ſuppreſſing the ſame lykewiſe. If one that had Mynd of Rebellion wold do the ſame, be thinke you well: But, as I ſay, my Purpoſe is not to juſtifie my Mynde, by theſe Letters, at this Time, in more Acts than one, which is of this preſent Time. Nor if it be not juſtified of ſuch a one as the Biſhops, that knoweth them aſſuredly, I do nother entend hereafter to labour any more herein: Afore God, and all Men, that will be indifferent Judges of the Truthe, I will not doubt, at all times to juſtifie my ſelf toward

ward the King, I wold to God I could so well juſtifie my ſelf afore God and the Catholick Church, for negligent Service in this Behalf, becauſe I would not offend the Kinge. Now I will ſay no more, but pray unto Almighty God, to put that in the Kyng's Mynde that may be moſt to his Honour and Wealthe, with Grace to follow the ſame; and to take from all other ſuch Occaſyon, why they ſhuld thynk, if they ſerve the Kyng according to their Conſcience, they ſhulde be compteyned to offend the Kyng, and ſo herebye to ſeparate the one from the other; which ſuerlye to no Man ſhuld be more Greffe than to me. But Goddes Pleaſure be fulfylled above all, to whome now I commit you. Written at *Cambray*, the Second Day of *Maye*.

Your Lovyng Friend

R. Card. Legat.

Number 54.

A Letter of the Abbeſs of Godſtow, *complaining of Dr.* London.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 228.

PLeaſith hit your Honor, with my moſte humble Dowtye, to be advertiſed, that where it hath pleaſyd your Lordſhip to be the verie Meane to the King's Majeſtie, for my Preferment, moſt unworthie to be Abbes of this the King's Monaſterie of *Godyſtowe*; in the which Offyce, I truſte I have done the beſt in my Power to the Mayntenance of God's trewe Honour, with all Treuth and Obedience to the King's Majeſtie; and was never moved nor deſired by any Creature in the King's Behalfe, or in your Lordſhip's Name, to ſurrender and give upe the Houſe; nor was never mynded nor intended ſo to do, otherwiſe than at the King's Gracious Commandement, or yours. To the which I do, and have ever done, and will ſubmit my ſelf moſt humblie and obedientlie. And I truſte to God, that I have never offendyd God's Laws, neither the King's, wherebie that this poore Monaſterie ought to be ſuppreſſed. And this notwithſtanding, my good Lorde, ſo it is, that Doctor *London*, whiche (as your Lordeſhip doth well know) was agaynſt my Promotion, and hathe ever ſence borne me great Malys and Grudge, like my mortall Enemye, is ſodenlie cummyd unto me, with a greate Rowte with him; and here dothe threten me and my Sifters, ſayeng, that he hath the King's Commiſſion to ſuppreſs the Houſe, ſpyte of my Tethe-

Tethe. And when he ſawe that I was contente that he ſhulde do all Things according to his Commiſſion; and ſhewyd him playne, that I wolde never ſurrender to his Hande, being my Awncyent Enemye; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my Siſters, one by one, otherwiſe than ever I harde tell that any of the Kyng's Subjects hathe been handelyd: And here tarieth and contynueth, to my great Coſte and Charges; and will not take my Anſwere, that I will not ſurrender, till I know the King's Gracious Commandement, or your good Lordeſhip's. Therefore I do moſte humblie beſeche you, to contynewe my good Lorde, as you ever have bene; and to directe your Honorable Letters to remove him hens. And whenſoever the Kyng's Gracious Commandement, or yours, ſhall come unto me. You ſhall find me moſt reddie and obedyant to folloe the ſame. And notwithſtand that Doctor *London*, like an untrew Man, hath informed your Lordſhip, that I am a Spoiler and a Waſter, your good Lordſhip ſhall knowe that the contrary is trewe. For I have not alienatyd one halporthe of goods of his Monaſterie, movable, or unmovable, but have rather increaſyd the ſame. Nor never made Leaſe of any Farme, or Peece of Grownde belongyng to this Houſe; or then hath bene in Tymes paſte allwaies ſet under Covent Seal for the Wealthe of the Houſe. And therefore my verie Truſte is, that I ſhall fynd the Kynge as Gracious Lorde unto me, as he is to all other his Subjects. Seyng I have not offendyd. And am and will be moſte Obedyent to his moſt Gracious Commandment at all Tymes. With the Grace of Allmighty Jeſus, who ever preſerve you in Honour longe to indure to his Pleaſure. Amen. *Godiſton* the vth Daie of *November*.

Your moſte bownden Beds Woman

Katharine Bulkeley, *Abbes there.*

Number 55.

A Letter to Bullinger *from one of* Maidſtone, *giving an Account of an Image, which ſeems to be the Rood of* Boxley *in* Kent.

Johannes Hokerus Maydſtanenſes.

RUIT hic paſſim Azzotinus Dagon, Bel ille Babylonicus jam dudum confractus eſt. Repertus eſt nuper Cantianorum Deus ligneus, penſilis Chriſtus, qui cum ipſo Protheo concertare potuiſſet. Nam & capite nutare, innuere oculis, barbam convertere, in curva- At *Zurich.*

re corpus, adeuntium averlari & recipere preces ſcitiſſimè noverat. Hic cum Monachi ſua cauſa caderent, repertus eſt in eorum Templo, plurimo cinctus anathemate, linteis, cereis agricis ..... exteriſque ditatus muneribus. Subodoratus eſt fucum cordatus Vir, Nicolai Patrigii noſtri frater, affixum contra parietem è veſtigio ſolvit, apparent artes, apparent impoſturæ, mirus ac Polypeus præſtigiator deprehenditur. Erant foraminoſo corpori occultæ paſſim fiſtulæ, in quibus ductile per rimulas, ferrum à myſtagogo trahebatur, laminis nihilominus artificioſe celantibus. Hinc factum eſt ut populum Cantianum, imò Angliam totam jam ſeculis aliquot magno cum quæſtu dementarit. Patefactus Meydſtanuenſibus meis ſpectaculum primitus dedit, ex ſummo ſe culmine confertiſſimo ſe oſtentans populo, aliis ex animo, aliis Ajacem riſu ſimulantibus. Delatus hinc circulator Londinum eſt. Inviſit Aulam Regis, Regem ipſum, novus hoſpes: nemo ſalutat verè. Conglomerant ipſum riſu aulico, Barones, Duces, Marchiones, Comites. Adſunt è longinquo, circumſtand', intuend' & videnď penitus. Agit ille, minatur oculis, averſatur ore, diſtorquet nares, mittit deorſum caput, incurvat dorſum, annuit & renuit. Vident, rident, mirantur, ſtrepit vocibus theatrum, volitat ſuper æthera clamor. Rex ipſe incertum gaviſus ne magis ſit ob patefactum impoſturam, an magis doluerit ex animo tot ſeculis miſeræ plebi fuiſſe impoſitum. Quid multis opus? Res delata eſt ad Conciliarios. Hinc poſt dies aliquot habita eſt Londini concio, prædicabat è ſacra Cathedra Epiſcopus Roffenſis, ſtat ex adverſo Danieli Bel Cantianus, ſummo erectus pulpito. Hic denuò ſeſe aperit, hic denuò coram fabulam ſcitè agit. Mirantur, indignantur, ſtupent. Pudet ab idolo tam turpiter fuiſſe deluſos. Cumque jam incaleſceret Concionator, & Verbum Dei occultè operaretur in cordibus auditorum, præcipitio devolvunt iſtum lignum truncum in confertiſſimos auditores. Hic varius auditur diverſorum clamor, rapitur, laceratur, fruſtillatim comminuitur, ſcinditurque in mille confractus partes, tandem in IGNEM mittitur. Et hic tulit exitum illum.

Number 56.

A Conſolatory Letter to Henry *VIIIth, from the Biſhop of* Durham, *after the Death of Queen* Jane.

Cott. Libr. *Titus* B. 1. P. 121.

PLeſe your Highnes to underſtande that wher now of late it hath pleaſyd Almighty God to take unto his Mercy out off this preſent Lyffe, the moſt Bleſſed and Vertuouſe Lady, your Graces moſt Deareſt Wyffe the Queens Grace, whoſe Soule God pardone, and newes thereof Sorrowfull to all Men, came into theſe Partes, ſurely it cannot well be expreſſed, how all Men of all Degrees dyd greatly lament and mourne the Death of that Noble Lady and Princeſſe,

taken out of this World by bringing forth of that Noble Fruit that is spronge of your Majesty, and her, to the great Joy and inestimable Comforte of all your Subjects, considerynge withall that this Noble Fruit, my Lord Prince, in his tender Age intreryng into this World, is by her Death lefte a Dear Orphant, commencinge thereby thys miserable and mortall Lyffe, not only by Weepinge and Waylinge, as the Mysery of Mankynde requireth, but also refte in the Begynnynge of his Lyffe from the Comforte of his moste dear Mother. And albeyt to hym by tenderness of his Age, it is not knowen what he hath lost, yet we that do know and feel it, have much more Cause to morne, seinge such a Vertuose Princesse who hath shewed so great Hopes of much Frute to come of her Body, is so sudenly taken from us. But thys notwithstandinge your Majesty wiron thys chaunely most towcheth, must by your High Wisdome consyder the Misery of the Mortal Lyffe of Mankynde, which no Man born in this World, Prince nor Poore Man, can exchue; seing it is the Sentence of Almighty God, sayinge in the begynning aswel to the Woman, *In dolore paries Filios tuos*; as to the Man, and by him to all his Posterite, *Pulvis es & in pulverem reverteris.* In which Mortal Lyffe who soever is most vexyd and troubled, yf he take it patiently ys more accepte to God, and called in the Scripture therby blessed; as it is written in the Book of *Job*, *Beatus Homo qui corripitur a Deo; in crepationem ergo Domini ne reprobes, quia ipse Vulnerat & medetur, percutit & manus ejus sanabit.* And it is written in the Epistle of *James* lykewise, *Beatus Vir qui suffert tentationem, quum autem ille probatus fuerit, accipiet Coronam Vitæ.* And as Saint *Paul* saies to the *Hebrewes*, It is a sure tokyn that God favoureth them as his Children, to whom he sendeth Adversite, sayinge, *Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat; flagellat autem omnem Filium quem recipit. In disciplina perseverate, tanquam Filiis vobis se offert Deus: Quis enim Filius quem non corripit Pater; quod si extra disciplinam estis, cujus participes facti sunt omnes, ergo adulterini & non Filii estis.* And albeyt the Disciplin of Adversite be full of Hevinesse for the Tyme, yet it endeth alwayes in Joy; as there followeth, *Omnis autem disciplina in presenti quidem non videtur esse gaudii sed meroris, postea autem fructum pacatissimum exercitatis per eadem reddet justitiæ.* And like as al Men more do favour those their Servants, that in a longe Voiage do sustein more Adversite, so Almighty God in thys Lyffe (which all is but a Voiage, for as Sainte *Paule* saieth, *Non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus,*) most accepteth those his Servants, that so sustein most Adversite patiently. And Saint *Paule*, consyderinge the Instabilite of this World, exhorteth all Men to use al Things therin as Transitory, and not permanent both in Prosperity and in Adversite; for neither of both doth tary, but brively overpaseth; sainge, *Tempus breve est; reliquum est, ut qui habent Uxores tanquam non habentes sint, & qui flent tanquam non flentes, & qui gaudent tanquam non gaudentes, & qui emunt tanquam, non possidentes, & qui utuntur hoc mundo, tanquam non utantur, preterit enim figura mundi hujus.* Then sence Prosperite is Fugitive, and taryeth not, let us not truste to yt, and since Adversite soon overpasseth and abideth not, let us not esteem it, for after it sustenyd patiently

patiently ſure we be that Joy ſhall ſucceed. Conſyder yf it like your Majeſtie how oft Tymes ſence your moſt Noble Regne began, God hath ſent you diverſe and many Tymes great flowings of Proſperite, and therfor yf God ſum Tymes do ſende a droppe of Adverſite, ſuſtein it by your High Wiſdome, with patient Suffering, as I truſt aſſuredly, and doubt not but your Highnes wyl; aſſured you may be that God for your ſo doinge ſhal hyghly requite that far beyond your Highnes Expectations. Grete Cities, Towns, and Regions, al People in them, and Princes of the ſame, oft do ſuſtein Adverſite bycauſe the hole World is alway ſubject to mutabilite, and lyke as after Lygth ſucceedeth Darknes, and after Somer cometh Winter, ſo Darknes taryeth not, but Light doth folow, and Winter giffeth Place to the Somer again; ſo that I doubt not but God willing this Storme of ſorowful Seaſon, ſhal by your Majeſties Wyſdome after a Tyme overpaſs, and the Somer of joyful Gladnes ſhal ſucceed, not only to your Grace Comforte, but to the Comforte of all your Subjects, much Mornyng at this Tyme in their Harts with your Highnes. And when Almighty God hath taken from your Grace, to your greate Diſcomforte a moſt Bleſſed and Vertuouſe Lady, conſyder what he hath given your Highnes again to your Comforte, and to the rejoyce of all us your Subjects, our moſt Noble Prince, to whom God hath ordeined your Majeſtie not only to be Father, but alſo as the Tyme now requireth, to ſupply the roome of a Mother alſo. So that therby he ſhal hereafter have double Cauſe to Honour your Highnes. As it is not to be doubted, but God grantyng him Lyfe hereafter he wyl do. In whom in the mean Tyme, Almighty God of Infinite Mercy grant, that your Grace putting away all ſorowful Penſiveneſſe, may to the Comfort of your Noble Harte, long rejoyce, which ſhal be alſo to the High Comfort of al the Subjects of your Graces Realme. And ſenſe Mornyng can in no wiſe amend the Matter, and thanks given to God may ſooner over-blow this Storm. Beſt ſhall be to conclude with *Job*, *Dominus dedit*, *dominus abſtulit*, *ſicut Domino placuit ita factum eſt*. *Sit nomine Domini Benedictum*. God gave your Grace that Noble Lady, and God hath takyn her away as it pleſed hym. So it is done, Laude by gyven to hym: and for to conſyder alſo, how *Job* exhorteth by his Example, al Men being in like Caſe, to Patience, ſainge, *Si bona ſuſcepimus de manu Domini*, *mala autem quare non ſuſtineamus*: Which your Highnes for your great Wiſdome and Learninge can much better conſider, then I can advertiſe the ſame, unleſſe ſorrowfulnes for the Tyme put it out of remembrance. Almyghty God of his Infinite Mercy grant your Grace Spiritual Comfort, and putting away al Worldly Hevyneſſe, ever to rejoyce in him, who have your Majeſtie alway in his Bleſſed Protection to your Harts Deſire, with encreaſe of much Honore. From your Citie of *Yorke* the xiii Day of *November*.

By your moſt humble Subject,
Servant and Chaplein
Cuthbert Dureſme.

Number

Number 57.

Injunctions geven by Edwarde *Archbuſhope of* Yorke, *to be obſerved within the Dioces of* Yorke, *by all the Clergie of the ſame, and oder, whome the ſayde Injunctions do concerne.*

YOU ſhall fyrſte diligentlie obſerve all maner of Injunctions, given unto you by the King's Hyghnes Commaundiment, and ſpecially concerninge the Abolicion of the Papacie, or of the pretendyd Juriſdiction challenged by the Bysſhope of *Rome* within this Realme; and alſo concerning the Confirmation and Eſtabliſhment of the Kyng's Highnes Title of Suprime Heade over thole Catholique Churche of *Englande*, aſwell Spirituall as Teinporall.

Item, Everie Curate and Preyſte within this Dioces, ſhall have an New Teſtament, in *Engliſhe* or *Latten*, within Fourtie Days nexte after the Publication hereof; and ſhall daylie reade Two Chapitores of the ſame afore Nowne, and Two at aftre Nowne, and that treatablie and diſtinctlie; and ſhall do his beſt Indevoure to underſtande the ſame.

Item, Everie Curate ſhall provyde to have the Booke compyled by the King's Highnes Commaundiment, namyde *Thinſtitution of a Chriſten Man*, with all convenient Speyde, as ſoon as the ſaide Book ſhall come forth by his Commaundment: And in the ſame ſhall daylie read Two Chapitores, ſo that he may be able to declare the ſame to his Parochians.

Item, All Curates and Heades of Congregacions, Religioufe and not Religioufe, Privileged and not Privileged, ſhall, accordinge to the Kyng's Highnes Commaundiment and Injunctions, everie Holie Day, at Mattens Time, and betwene Mattens and Laudes, read the *Pater Noſter*, and the *Ave Maria* in *Engliſhe*, treateabli and diſtinceelie, and cauſe all theire Parochians, whiche cannot all redy ſay it in *Englyſhe*, yonge and olde, to reherſe everie Petecion by it ſelfe, to thend therof, after them; and in lykewiſe everi Holy Day, at Maſſe, and immediatlie after the Crede, ſhall rehers everie Article of the Crede by it ſelfe, and ſo ſhall cauſe the Parochians to rehers after them, everie one by it ſelfe, to thende, and likewiſe every Holy Day, at Even-Songe, betwene Even-Songe and Completorie, ſhall rehers the Tenne Commaundements, every one by it ſelfe, and ſo cauſe his Parochians to rehers after him, everie one by it ſelfe, to thende, to thentente that they may lerne perfectelie all Three. And for this Purpoſe, the ſaide Curates, and oder Heades of the Congregacion, muſt give Warninge to thaire Parochians, that none of them be abſent at ſuch Times as any of the ſaide Three ſhall be reherſed. And ſhall furthermore declare unto them, that they ſhall not be admytted to reſave the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Alter at *Eaſter*, tyll they

they can perfectlie reherſe them all Three by Rote: And therfore everie Goſtelie Father, accordinge to the King's Injunctions, muſte everie *Lent* examen ther Parochians, in Time of Confeſſion, to knowe wheder they have learned the Premiſſes perfytly, or not.

Item, All Curates muſte continuallye call upon thaire Parochians, to provide a Booke of the hole Byble in *Englyſhe*, of the Largieſte Forme, within Fourtie Dayes nexte after the Puplication hereof, that may be chayned in ſome open Place in the Churche, that all Men may reſorte to reade in it for theare Inſtruction, under the Payne of Sufpencion of ther Churches. And the ſame to be boughte at the Charges of the Vicare or Parſonne, and Parochians, accordinge to the King's Injunctions.

Item, All Curates muſte cauſe one Booke, compriſinge the *Pater Noſter* and *Ave Maria* in *Engliſhe*, the Crede and the Tenne Commaundements in *Engliſhe*, to be ſet upon a Table in the Churche openlie, that all Men may reaſorte to learne them, at all ſuch Tymes as they woll. And this to be done, within Twentie Days after the Puplication hereof.

Item, No Curates, nor oder Preiſtes of what ſorte ſoever they be, ſhall haunte Taverns or Alehowſes, or open Hoiſtres, oder wayes than for neceſſarie Meales and Refiections; if they canne have none in oder Places, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions; but ſhall occupie themſelves, ether in the Churche, or in thaire Chambers, with Reading of Holy Scripture, or Teachinge of Children.

Item, All Curates and Preiſtes, beinge in one Churche togeddre, ſhall (if they can ſo provide) live togedder at one Commons; and not one to be in one Place, and ane oder in an oder Place. And ſhall, in all theire Behaviors, ſhew good Example, in Worde, Dede, Countenaunce and Habyte, to the better Edifienge of the Laye-People.

Item, They ſhall not be Common Hunters ne Hawkers, ne playe at Gammes prohibytede, as Dyceſe and Cartes, and ſuche oder.

Item, That they ſhall (accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions) in no wiſe diſcorage any Man to reade in the *Engliſh* Byble, which is the Booke of Lyefe; but ſhall comfort them therin: Never the leſſe exhorting them to entre in to the Readinge therof, withe the Sperite of Mekenes, and Purpoſe to be goſtelie edified. And not to be Brablers ne Praters, Arguers ne Diſputers thereof; ne to preſume that thay know therin that they know not; but, for ther Inſtruction, to reſorte to ſuch as be better lerned than they be, when they finde any Dyfficultie therin.

Item, All Curates and Heades of Congregations, Religiouſe and oder, Privileged and oder, ſhall everie Holy Day reade the Goſpell, and the Epiſtle of that Day out of the *Inglyſhe* Byble, planely and diſtinctlie: And they that have ſuch Grace, ſhall make ſome Declaracion odre, of the one, or of bothe, (if the Time may ſerve) everie Holy Day.

Item, Every Curate, reſident and hable, ſhall make 4 ſolempne Sermons in the Yeare, one everie Quarter: Not reſcoent, havinnge 5*l.* or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *de claro*, ſhall finde one ſolempne Sermon for the

the Inſtruction of the People, in the Begyninge of *Lent*: Havyng 10 *l. de claro*, 2 ſolempne Sermons; one in the Begyning of *Lent*, an othur at ſume othur Time of the Yere. Having 15 *l.* 3 Sermons; one in the Begynninge of *Lent*, thoder at Two convenient Tymes. Havinge 20 *l.* 4 Sermons; one at *Lent*, thoder Three, at Three convenient Times. Havinge 30 *l. de claro*, 5 Sermons; one at *Lent*, and the oder Four at convenient Times. Having 40 *l.* 6 Sermons; one in the Beginninge of *Lent*, and the oder Five at convenient Times. And as the cleare Valew dothe encreaſe, ſo mo Sermons.

And yet nevertheles we now moniſhe, under the Payne of the Lawe, all Parſons and Vicares to be reſident upon theire Curis, beinge within this Dioces, afore the Feaſte of *Chriſtenmas* next; oneles they can and do ſhew, afore that Day, a Lawfull Cauſe, why they may not, or ſhoulde not do ſo.

Item, That none be admytted to kepe Cure, ne to ſay Maſſe in any Churche of this Dioces; oneles he be admitted by me, or my Officer, havinge Commiſſion fro me for the ſame; and allſo do ſhewe the Lettes of his Orders.

Item, That no Man be admitted to Preache within this Dioces, oneleſſe he have Auctorite under the King's Seale, or myne, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions.

Item, All Curates and oder, havinge Charge of any Congregacion, muſt diligentlie informe theire Flocke, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions, that they may in no wiſe yelde Worſhippe to any Images, Lowtinge or Bowinge downe, or Knelinge to the ſaide Images, ne Offering to them any Money, or Wax lighte or unlighte, or any oder Thing: For ſo muche, as Offeringe is to be made to God onlie, and to no Creature under God. Nevertheleſſe they may ſtill uſe Lightes in the Roode Lofete, and afore the Sacrament, and at the Sepulture at *Eaſter*; accordinge to the King's Injunctions: So that they none uſe to the Honer or Worſhippe of any Image, ne by the Way of Offeringe made, odre to any Image, or to any Sainct repreſented by the ſame.

Item, They muſt teache theire Flocke, that Images be ſuffred onelie as Bokes, by which our Hertes may be kindeled to folow the holy Steppes and Examples of the Saintes repreſented by the ſame; even as Sainctes Lives be written, and muſte be redde in written Bookes, for the ſame Purpoſe: And that, as we do not worſhipe our Booke when we have rede the Saint's Liefe; ſo likewiſe, we ſhall not worſhipe the Images, which is as the Booke to them that cannot read in odre Bokes.

Item, They muſte declare to thaire Flocke, that althoughe they ſee the Image of the Fadre repreſented as an Olde Man, yet they maye in no wiſe beleve, that the Hevenlie Father is any Man, or that he haithe any Bodie or Age; but that he is a Nature and Subſtaunce, above all meſure paſſinge the Capacite and Undreſtandinge, oder of Mans Witt or Aungelles.

Item, Alle ſuche Ymagies, to whiche any maner of Reſorte is uſade, by waye of Peregrenage or Offeringe, they muſt depoſe and

ſequeſtre frome all Sighte of Men, and ſuffre them no more to be ſett upp.

Item, They muſt charge all the Faders and Moders, and Heades of Howſe-holdes, and Gode-Fatheres, and Gode-Motheres, and Scoole-Mayſtres, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions, to ſee theire Children, Servantes and Scoleres, well inſtructe in the *Pater-Noſter*, *Ave Maria*, Crede, and Tenne Commandiments in *Engliſhe*, and all oder Thinges compprifed in theis Injunctions. And for that Purpoſe, all Curates and Heades of Congregacions, muſte ons in a Quarter rede theis Injunctions, in the Churche, in thaudience of all the People; aſwell for the Remembrance of theire owne Dewtie, as for ther Citinge the People to knowe theire Dewtie. And we Charge and Commaunde all Curates, and all oder of this Dioces to whome it ſhall apperteigne, to have a Copy of theis Injunctions, within Fourtie Days next folowinge the Puplication hereof. And when the ſame ſhall be imprinted, we charge them to have them ſo imprinted within Sex Days aftre the ſame ſhall come to thire Knowledge, under Payne of Excommunication.

Item, They muſte inſtructe their Parochians, that they nothinge pleaſe God, but diſpleaſe him; doeng Workes onlie in thaire owne Will and Devocion, by Man's Tradicion, and leaving the Workes by God commanded, undone.

Item, They muſte inſtruct their Flocke, that their Confidence for thatteyning of Everlaſting Lief, muſt be only in God, and in his Grace and Marcy, and in the Merits and Redemption of our Saviour Jeſu Chriſte: And that none of our Workes, as ours, have any Efficacie or Vertue to ſave us, but only have their Vertue and Efficacie by the Grace of God, and Merits of Chriſt's Paſſion.

Item, All Curates muſt openly, in the Church, teach and inſtruct the Mydwiefes, of the very Wordes and Fourme of Baptiſme; to thentente that they may uſe them perfietly, and none oder: In Time of Nede, that is to ſay; that they, Nanning the Child, muſt ſay theſe Wordes; *John*, or *Thomas*, or *Agnes*, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Fader, the Sonne, and the Holie Goſt*: And that ſaying thies Wordes, they muſt caſt Water upon the Child. For which Purpoſe, they muſt have ready at Hand a Veſſel of Cleane Water.

Item, They muſt often upon the Holidays, and ſpecially at Times of Mariages, warn their Parochians, that they in no wiſe make any privie Contract of Mariage, but afore Two or Three ſufficient Witnes required to be preſent for that Purpoſe: And that afore they make any Contract, they do their beſt Endevour, to know wheder there be betwene them any Lawfull Impediment, oder by Godds Lawe, or any oder Eccleſiaſtical yet uſed, afore they entre to make any Contract.

Item, That the Fadres, and oder Freyndes, conſtrayne not them that be under their Correccion and Governance, to Marry agenſt their Willes, ne afore they have Diſcretion to conſider what the Bounde of Mariage meaneth.

Item,

Item, All Curates and oder Heddes of Congregacyons muſt never ceaſſe to imprinte in the Hertes of their Flocke the Two Commaundiments which our Saviour calleth the Fulnes of the Lawe; that is, the Love of God above all Thing, and thei Love of thye Neighbore as thy ſelf: And likewiſe the ſayd Curates muſt continuallie engrave in the Hertes of their Flocke the Two Preceptes of the Lawe of Nature; that is, do as thou wolde be done unto, and do not that thou wolldeſt not to be done unto the.

Item, They muſte alway emploie them ſelf to mainteyn Charitie and Peace in our Lorde Jeſu amonges their Parochians, and to avoide all Rancor and Diſſention amongs them.

Item, That they in no wiſe kepe thoes Dayes for Holy whiche by our Soveraigne Lord the Kynge opon juſte Conſideracion be abrogat: Ne aſmoche as in them is ſuffer of their Parochians to kepe them as Holie, but that they in theme be occupied everie Man in his Buſines, as in oder Days according to the Kinges Highnes Injunctions.

Item, They muſte inſtructe their Flocke, that in thoſe Dayes whiche be obſerved and kept for Holiedayes, they muſt utterlie withdrawe themeſelfes frome all Worldlie and Fleſhelie Buſines and Occupacions, and Houſes of Gammes and Playes; ſpeciallie frome all Synne; and entierlie, and hollie emploie themſelfes to Gooſtelie Works, behoveable for Manis Soule: And that therefore Taverns, Vitailing-Houſes, may not thyes Dayes be uſed and exerciſed, and ſpeciallie in the Tyme of Divine Servicie, onles Neceſſitie oderwiſe require for them that Travaile in Journey.

Item, All Houſes of Religion, Colleges, Hoſpitalls, and all oder havyng any Beneficies appropriated unto theme, ſhall according to the Value of their Beneficies, have in their Churches appropried certain Sermons every Year; as in like Ordinance for Curates as afore is compriſed.

Item, All Curates and oder havyng Benefices appropriated by them ſelf yf they can, or by oder Preachers ons every Quarter, muſt teache and inſtruct the People of their Dewtie of Fathefull and Loyall Obedience to our Soverand Lord the King, declaring that they be bounden to yield entier and perfect Obedience to his Highnes by Goddes Lawe, expreſſe under the Payn of Dampnation everlaſting: And that to make any ſtyrryng, gathering of People, or Commocion, withoute his expreſſe Commandment, is to breke, not only Goddes Commandment and Lawe, but alſo all Natural and Politique Order, in which the Heed governethe the Membres, and not the Membres the Heed, and in which alſo all the Members, aſwell by Nature, as by good Policie, employe them ſelffe and indaunger them ſelf for the Preſervation and Mayntenance of the Heed.

All which Injunctions by thauctorite which we have under God, and our Soveraigne Lord the Kynge, we charge all to whom it apertenythe to obſerve and kepe under the Paynes lymyted in the ſame, and under the Paynes of Suſpencion and Sequeſtracyon of the Frutes of theyre Beneficies and Promocyons Eccleſiaſticall, and oder Paynes Arbytrary, as we ſhall thynke convenient and reaſonable.

Number 58.

Injunctions given by the Biſhoppe of Coventre *and* Lychefelde *throughe out his Dioceſſe.*

TO all and ſingular of the Clergie within the Dioceſs of *Coventree* and *Lichefelde*, I *Rolande*, by the Grace of God Byſhop of the ſayd Dioceſſe, beynge commaunded therunto by the Kinges Majeſtie, gyve theſe Injunctions following, for the Honour of God, thencreaſe of Vertue, and Abolyſhmente of Ignorance, Vice, and Vicioufe Lyvinge.

Fyrſte, That ye and every one of you, ſhall with all your Diligence and Faythful Obedience, obſerve and cauſe to be obſerved, all and ſyngular the Contentes of the Kynges Hyghnes Injunctions, by his Graces Commiſſarys gyven, in ſuch Places as they in Tymes paſte have vyſited, and alſo ſent unto you at this Tyme. And that ye and every of you, ſhal provyde for Copies of the ſame, to be had before the Feaſt of *Lammaſſe* nexte enſuynge.

Item, That ye and every of you do inſtructe and teach your Pariſhoners, the Kinges Majeſtie to be only the Supreme Heed under Chryſt in Erthe of this his Churche of *Englande*, unto whom all Potentates and Powers of the ſame owen to obey, being therto obliged and bounde by Goddes Worde. And that the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Predeceſſours, did ever heretofore uſurp upon the Kynges of this Realme, in the uſing any maner of Juriſdiction or Auctorite within the ſame. And that ye ſhal exhorte every *Sonday* al your Pariſhoners, to the due Obedience of our Prince and Soveraigne Lorde, his Heires, and Succeſſours Kynges of *Englande*.

Item, That every Perſon or Proprietary of any Pariſhe Churche within my Dioceſſe, ſhal on thiſſide the Feaſt of *Penteccoſte* nexte commynge, provide a Boke of the hole Byble, bothe in *Latin*, and alſo in *Engliſhe*, and laye the ſame in the Quiere, for every Man that will, to loke and reade theron: And ſhal not diſcorage, but erneſtly comforte, exhorte, and admoniſhe every Man to reade the Bible in *Latin* or *Engliſhe*, as the very Worde of God, and the Spiritual Foode of Man's Sowle, wherby they maye the better knowe their Deutyes to God, to their Soveraigne Lord the Kinge, and their Neighboure: Alwaye gently and charitably exhorting them to uſe a ſober and a modeſte Haviour in the Readynge and Inquiſition of the true Sence, and that in no wiſe they ſtiffely or egerly contende, or ſtrive with one another about the ſame, but referre the Declaration of thoſe Places that be in Controverſie, to the Judgement of them that be better Learned.

Item, I decree and ordeyne that all Monaſteries, Collegiate Churches, and al Perſons to whom any Benefyces be impropried within my Dioceſe, ſhal from henceforth Four Times in the Year at the leaſte, that is, One Tyme every Quarter, cauſe One Sermon to be preached, purely,

purely, ſincerely, and according to the true Scripture of God, in al ſuch Churches where they, or any of them, receive any Profytes or Commodities, upon Peyne of Sequeſtration of theyr Fruites.

Item, I require and exhorte you, in our Soveraigne Lordes Name, and as his Gracis Myniſter, I ſtraitly charge and commaunde you, to declare and publiſhe every *Sondaye* in the Pulpet at High Maſſe Tymes, the *Pater Noſter*, *Ave*, and *Crede* in *Engliſhe*, diſtinctely, and in ſuche wyſe as the People maye lerne the ſame. And that Four Tymes in the Quarter ye declare to your Paryſhoners, the Seven deedly Sinns, and the Ten Commaundments, ſo as the People therby may not only lerne how to Honour God, their Prince, and Parentes; but alſo how they ſhall avoide Sinne and Vice, and to lyve Vertuouſely, folowinge Goddes Lawes and his Commaundements.

Item, That ye bothe in your Preachinges, Secret Confeſſions, and al other Workes and Doings, ſhall excite and move your Pariſhioners unto ſuch Works as are commaunded expreſſely of God: For the whiche God ſhall demaunde of them a ſtrayte reckeninge; as the Articles of the Fayth, and the Ten Commandments, and all other Workes which Men do of their own Will or Devotion, to teache and inſtruct your Pariſhioners, that they are not to be eſtemed, in Compariſon of the other. And that for the not doinge of any wilfull Workes, God wyll not aſke any Accompte.

Item, That ye, nor any of you, ſufre no Fryer or other Religious Man, to have any Cure or Servyce within your Churches or Cures, excepte they be lawfully diſpenſed withal, or licenſed by the Ordinary.

Item, That ye, and every one of you, doo your Dyligence, and endevour your ſelfes to your beſt Induſtries and Labour, to inſtructe and teache aſwell Chyldren as all other your People, both Men and Women, of that your Pariſhe, the *Pater Noſter*, *Ave*, and *Crede*, and the Ten Commaundments in *Engliſhe*, and that ye or any of you do admyt no Man nor Woman to receyve the Sacrament of the Aultare, untyl that ye have harde them recite and declare at the leaſt, the ſame *Pater Noſter*, *Ave*, and *Crede* in *Engliſhe*, without Boke.

Item, That ye, and every of you, ſhal Two Tymes in a Quarter declare to your Pariſhoners the Bande of Matrimony, and what great Daunger it is to al Men, that uſe theyr Bodies, but with ſuche Perſonnes as they lawfully may by the Lawe of God; and to exhorte in the ſaid Tymes your Pariſhoners, that they make no privye Contractes of Matrimonie, but that they call Two Honeſt Menne at the leaſte to recorde the ſame, as they wyll avoide the Extreme Payne of the Lawes uſed within the Kinges Realme by his Gracis Auctoritie.

Item, Where ſome frowarde Perſons, partly for Malice and Diſdaine, neglecte theyr Curates, and ſuch as have the Cure and Charge of their Soules, and partly to cloke and hyde their lewde and naughtie Livinge, as they have uſed all the Yere before, uſe at Lent to go to be confeſſed to the Fryers, and ſuch other Religious Houſes. Therefore I Wyl you to declare, and ſhew to your Pariſhoners that no Teſtimoniall, brought from any of them, ſhall ſtande in any Effect:

Effect: Nor any ſuch Perſones ſhall be admitted to Goddis Bourde, unto they ſubmit themſelves to be confeſſed to their owne Curates, onleiſe for certayne arduate and urgent Conſiderations of Conſcyence, they be, or ſhall be otherwiſe Laufullye diſpenſed or lycenſed withall, either by me or my Deputies.

Item, Whereas Unyverſally reigneth this abhominable, deteſtable, and dyveliſhe Uſe and Cuſtome, that upon the Holy Dayes, in the Tyme of Divine Servyce and Preachyng, that Youthe and other Unthriftes, reſorteth to Ale-Houſes, and there uſe unlawfull Games, Blaſphemie, Dronkenneſs, with other Enormities; ſo that good People therat be offended, and no Punyſhment hadde as yet: Therefore I Wil and Commaude you to declare to ſuche that kepe Alehouſes or Taverns within your Pariſhes, that at ſuche they ſuffre no more ſuch unlawfull and ungodly Aſſemblies; nor to receive ſuche Perſons to Bollynge and Drynkinge at ſuch Seaſons in their Houſes, under Peine of the Kinges High Diſpleaſure, and to be puniſhed for ſo doinge.

Item, ye ſhall teache and inſtructe your Paryſhoners, at the leaſt 12 Tymes in the Yere, the Eſſential Maner and Forme of Chriſteninges in *Engliſhe*, and that the Mydwife may uſe it in Tyme of Neceſſitie: Commaundinge the Women, when the Tyme of Birthe draweth nere, to have at all Seaſons a Veſſell of cleane Water for the ſame Purpoſe.

Item, Where I am credibly informed, that certain Prieſtes in my Dioceſſe, go in Habite diſſimuled more liker of the Temporaltie than of the Clergie, whiche may and dothe miniſter Occaſion to ſuche light Perſons whan they come in Places, and to Perſons not knowen, to be more Licentious, bothe of their Comunication and Actes, to the great Sclaunder of the Clergie: Therfore frome hensforthe I Charge and Commande, that in Cities, Towns, and Villages, and in al other Places, they weare mete, convenient, and decent Apparrell, wherby they may be knowen of the Clergie; as they and every one of them will avoide the Penaltie of the Lawes.

Item, I deſire, require, and exhorte you and every of you, in the Name of God, that he firmely do obſerve and kepe theſe all and ſingular mine Injunctions. And that ye and every one of you that are Prieſtes, having Cure or not Cure, as well Benefyced, as not Benefyced within my Dioceſſe, do gette a Copie of theſe Injunctions, to the Intente ye maye obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved the Contentes of the ſame.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Londini in Ædibus Thomae Bertheleti Regii Impreſſoris Excuſ. Anno M. D. XXXVIII. *Cum Privilegio.*

Number

Number 59.

Injunctions given by the Byſhop of Salysbury, *throughout his Dioces.*

INjunctions made by me *Nycolas Shaxton*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, at mine ordinarie Viſitacion, done in tharchdeaconry of *Dorſet*, in the Yere of our Lord God 1538, and in the 30th Yere of the Reign of our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *Englande* and of *France*, Defender of the Faythe, Lord of *Treland*, and Supreme Hede here in Erth, next under God, of the Church of *England*. All which and ſinguler Injunctions, by thauctorite given to me of God and the Kinge, I exhorte, and alſo commaunde all Parſons, Vicares, Curates, Chauntry Preſtes, and other of the Clergy whatſoever they be, to obſerve, kepe and perform, as concerneth every one of them, upon Pain of Inobedience, and alſo of all ſuch Laws and Statutes as may be laid againſt them, for Breaking or Violating of the ſame at any Time hereafter.

Fyrſt, Whereas Beneficed Men, having and taking Cure of Souls at the Byſhop's Hands, do abſent themſelfs from their ſaid Cures without Licence or Counſell of the ſaid Byſhop, not leavinge there able Curates to diſcharge the ſaid Cures: I monyſhe all ſuch peremptorily, either to be perſonally upon their ſaid Cures, by *Myghelmas* nexte cumminge, or els to preſent unto me, or my Deputies, ſuch Curates, as upon myne Examinacion, ſhall be abled and admitted to ſerve and diſcharge the ſaid Cures, in thabſence of the ſaid Beneficed Men. And that neither any *French*, or *Iriſh* Preeſt, which cannot perfitly ſpeke the *Englyſh* Tonge, ſerve no Cure in this Dyoceſſe, after the Terme before ſpecified.

Item, That all ſuch having Cures, do every *Sonday* and Holidaye continually, recite, and ſincerely declare in the Pulpet, at the Highe Maſſe Tyme, in the *Engliſhe* Tonge, both the Epyſtle and Goſpell of the ſame Daye, (if ther be Time therto) or elles the one of them at the leeſt; and alſo to ſet forthe the King's Regall Power to be Supreme Heade, and Higheſt Power, under God, in Erthe, of the Churche and Realme of *Englande*: and to abolyſhe the Byſhope of *Rome*'s Uſurped Power. And furthermore, to declare openly and diſtinctly the Ten Commaundements, the Articles of our Beleve, the *Pater-Noſter*; and finally, bydde the Beades, according to the King's Ordinaunce, and none otherwyſe.

Item, That everie Prebendary, or Proprietary of any Paryſhe-Churche, whoſe Annuall Fruytes extendeth to 20 *l.* ſhall make, or cauſe for to be made foure Times in the Yere, (that is to ſaye, every Quarter) one Sermon there. And if the Fruites be 15 *l.* Three Sermons; if but 10 *l.* Two Sermons; and if it be under that, he ſhall make one Sermon at the leeſt, over and beſydes the gyving of

Diſtribu-

Diſtribucions, Almes, or other Comfortable and Bodily, or Charitable Socour amonge the Poore Parochians there, accordinge to theire Appropriacions, or Rate of their Prebends.

Item, That ye ſuffre no Man to Preache, excepte he be eſpecially licenced by his Ordinary, or els the King's Highnes Auctorite: Nor that ye permit any Friere, or other weairing a Religiouſe Habyte, to have any Service in your Churches, neither to ſerve Chauntry, nor Trentall, neither any Brothered Service; and that no Preeſte ſaye Two Maſſes upon One Daye, excepte *Chryſtmas* Daye only.

Item, That everie Benefyced Man, whoſe Benefice is taxed at Ten Pounde, or above, have (before *Whytſontide* next) the Holie Bible; and all other Preeſtes, Beneficed or not Beneficed, at the leeſt have the New Teſtament, both in *Laten* and in *Engliſhe*; and that everie one of them rede over and ſtudye everie Daye one Chapiter at the leeſt, by Order as they ſtande in the Boke unto the Ende, conferringe the *Engliſhe* and *Latyn* together. And if, by Occaſion of a Lawfull Let, it be undone one Daye, be it ſupplied with Two Chapiters the nexte Day, *&c.* So that one Daye with another, he faile not to ſtudy one Chapiter.

Item, That every one of you procure diligentlie before *Myghelmas* nexte, to have Copies of the King's Injunctions made in his laſt Viſitation; and then to kepe and obſerve them effectually, upon Paine therin mencioned.

Item, That every one having Cure of Souls, Parſon, Vicar or Curate, admitted, do perfitly con without Boke the Two whole Goſpells of *Matheu* and *Johun*, and the Epiſtles of *Paule* to the *Romayns*, *Corinthians*, *Galathians*, and other as they ſtande, with the *Actes of the Apoſtles*, and the Canonical Piſtles, after the Rate; to con every Fournyghte one Chapiter without the Boke, and the ſame to kepe ſtill in Memory; over and beſides, to rede and ſtudie everi Day one Chapiter within the Boke, as is above expreſſed. And that the 28th Chapiter of *Deuteronomie* be openly red in the Church every Quarter, in ſtede of the General Sentence.

Item, That everie Curat, the Firſt *Sonday* of every Moneth in the Yere, do openly (in the Pulpet) exhorte and charge his Parochians, in no wiſe to make any prevye or ſecrete Contract of Matrimony; but that they utterly deferre it, untill ſuch Time as they may have Two or Three Honeſt Men, to hear and record the Words and Maner of their Contract, as they will avoide thextreme Paine of the Lawe, if they do the contrarye.

Item, That none of you diſcorage any Perſon from Reding of Holy Scripture, but rather animate and encorage them therto; ſo that it be done of them without Braging or Arrogancy, but onelie to lerne therby to live vertuouſly, folowing the Lawes of God, and giving good Examples and holſome Counſell to other that be ignorant.

Item, That not only ſuch as have Cure of Soules, but alſo Chauntry Preeſtes, do hensforth theire true Diligence to inſtruct and teach Children, until they can reade *Englyſhe*; taking moderatly, for ther Labours, of their Frendes that be able to paye, which ſhall ſo put them to Lerning.

Item, That Yonge People be taught theire *Pater Noſter*, Crede, and Tenne Commandments in *Englyſhe*; ſo that none of them be admitted to Receive the Sacrament of the Aulter, untill He or She can, and do perfictly ſay and reherſe in *Englyſhe* unto the Curate, the *Pater Noſter*, Crede, and Tenne Commaundementes, diſtinctly, whereſoever they be ſhryven, either at their Pariſhe-Churche, or els where. And in caſe any of them be obſtinate to do, as is aforeſaide, let them be detect immediatly after *Eſter*, unto theire Ordinary.

Item, That Preaching be not lefte off for any other maner of Obſervaunces in the Churche, as Proceſſions, or Exequies of the Deade.

Item, That at your Prechinge Time, ye diligentlie ſee that youre Parochians be preſent, and take hede therunto; and that none preſume to be at Alehouſe, Tavern, or els where, at the Preachinge-Time, but onelie at the Churche attentyfly hearing, as becometh good Chriſten People. And if any be diſobedient, let them be firſt warned to amend; and afterward, if they amende not, detect them to their Ordinarye.

Item, That ye ſuffre no Night-Watches in your Churches or Chapells, neither Decking of Ymages with Gold, Silver, Clothes, Lights, or Herbs; nor the People knele to them, nor worſhip them, nor offre Candles, Otes, Cake-breed, Cheſe, Wolle, or any ſuch other Thinges to them: But he ſhall inſtruct and teach them, how they ought and may uſe them; that is to ſay, only to beholde, or loke upon them, as one loketh upon a Boke; wherby Mens Mindes be ſtirred and kenled ſome times to Vertue and Conſtancy, in Faithe and Love towardes God, and ſomtimes to lament for their Sinnes or Offences. For otherwiſe there might be Peril of Ydolatrie, eſpecially of ignorant Lay-People, if they either in Hert, or outward Geſture worſhip them, or give Honour to them, which ought onlie to be given to God, the Lorde of all Saintes.

Item, Ye ſhall inſtruct your Parochians, not to be envious aboute Workes invented by their own foliſhe Devocion; as to go about in idle Pylgrimage, and ſay with vain Confidence this Prayer, and that Prayer, with other Superſticious Obſervacions, in Faſtings, Prayeng, and Kepinge of olde folyſh Cuſtoms, which be not found commaunded or counſeled, in any Parte of Holy Scripture. But ye ſhall inſtruct them, and exhorte them, to know and do all ſuch Thinges, as be commaunded or commended in the Holy Scripture to be done; that is to ſay, to Know and Believe all the Articles of our Faithe, conteined in the Crede, to kepe inviolably the Tenne Commaundementes, to performe the Workes of Mercy, after every Mannes Power and Habilite, to be in Love and Charite eche with other, and one to beare with an other in his Weaknes or Infirmite, and not to be vengeable for any Offence.

Item, That every Curate do at all times his beſt Diligence, to reduce ſuch as be at Diſcord, to Peace, Love and Charite, and one to forgive an other, how often ſo ever they be offended.

Item, That every Curate, not only in his Preaching, but alſo at all other Times neceſſary, do perſwade, exhorte, and warn the People, whatſoever they be, to beware of Swering, and Blaſphemy of the Holy Name of God, or any Part of Chriſt's precious Body or Blode. And alſo to beware and abſtaine from Curſing or Banning, Chidinge, Skoldinge, Bakbiting, Slaundering, Lyinge; and from Adultry, Fornicacion, Glotony, Dronkenſhip, Sorcere, Witchcrafte: And if they be notoriouſly fauty in any of theſe, then to detect them, that they may be corrected in Example of other.

Item, That every Curat inſtruct his Parochians, and eſpecially the Midwives, the eſſencial Maner and Forme how to Chriſten a Child in Time of Nede; commaunding the Women, when the Time of Byrthe draweth nere, to have a Veſſel of clene Water redy for the ſame Purpoſe: Charging alſo the ſaid Midwives, to beware that they cauſe not the Woman, being in Travaile, to make any foliſhe Vowe, to go in Pilgrimage to this Ymage, or that Ymage, after her Deliveraunce, but only to call on God for Helpe. Nor to uſe any Girdels, Purſes, Meſures of our Lady, or ſuch other Superſtitious Things, to be occupied about the Woman while She laboureth, to make her beleve to have the better Spede by it.

Item, That none of you do magnifie and extol, praiſe, maintaine, or otherwiſe ſet forth, the ſuperfluous Holidayes abrogated by the Kinge, with the Adviſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Convocacion.

And finally, Foraſmoch as all Chriſten Men ought erneſtly to coveit and deſiere their Soules Helthe, and the very Meane therof is to obtein the true Knowledge of God's Worde, which is the Fedyng of the Soul: I exhort, deſier, and, aſmoche as I may I require, that in every Honeſt Paryſhe-Churche within my Dioceſſe of *Sarum*, either of theire Church-Boxe, or of Stockes given for Mainteining of Lightes before Ymages, (with the which I diſpence for this better Uſe) or els by waye of Collection among themſelfes, there be ordeined and bought an *Engliſhe* Bible before *Whitſondaye* nexte, to be chained to a Deske in the Body of the Church; where he that is Letteryd may rede, and other Unlerned may hear, holſome Doctrine and Comfort to their Soules, and avoid Idelnes and other Inconveniences, whereunto the fraile Diſpoſicion of Man is ſone inclined.

Foraſmoche as intollerable Superſticion, and alſo abhominable Ydolatrie, have no ſmall Time ben uſed in this my Dioceſſe, by the Occaſion of ſuch Thinges as be ſet forth and commended unto the ignorant People, under the Name of Holy Reliques, being in veray dede vaine Thinges, as I my ſelf of certaine, which be alredie comen to myne Handes, have perfite Knowledge: Namely, of ſtinking Bootes, mucky Combes, ragged Rochettes, rotten Girdles, pyl'd Purſes, great Bullocks Horns, Lockes of Heere, and filthy Ragges, Gobbetts of Wodde, under the Name of Parcells of the Holy Croſs, and ſuch Pelfrie, beyond Eſtimacion; over and beſides the ſhamfull Abuſe of ſuch as peradventure be true Reliques in dede, whereof nevertheles certain Profe is none, but only that ſo they have bene taken, judged and eſtemed, ye and ſo called without Monumentes had

had of them in any Autentyke Forme of Writing. Therefore in Remedy herof, I hertely praie you all and ſingular my ſaid Brethren of the Clergie in my ſaid Dioceſe; and nevertheleſs by thauctorite that I have under God and the Kynges Highnes, and in their Names I commaunde you, and everyche of you, that you ſend al ſuche your Relyques (as they be called) one and other unto me at myne Houſe at *Rameſbury*, or other where, togyther with ſuch Wrytings as ye have of the ſame, to thintent that I and my Counſel may explore and try them what they be, and thoſe that be eſtemed and judged to be undoubtedly true Reliques, ye ſhal not fayle at convenable Tyme to have againe with certayne Inſtruction how they ought to be uſed; that is to ſay, as Memorials of them whoſe Reliques they be, in whom and by whom Almighty God did Worke all that ever they vertuouſly wrought; and therefore onely he ought in them all to be glorifyed, lauded, and prayſed; ſo that he which rejoyceth may in the Lorde rejoyſe; to whom be all Honour and Glorye, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Item, That the Bell called the Pardon, or *Ave* Bell, whiche of longe Tyme hathe been uſed to be tolled Three Tymes after, or before Divine Service, be not hereafter in any Parte of my Dioceſſe any more tollyd.

I exhorte, deſire, require, and alſo (as ferre as I maye) commaunde you all and every of you to provide you Copies of theſe Injunctions, and firmely to obſerve and performe them, and every of them, as ferre as they concerne you, and that for your Welthe and my Diſcharge to God and the Kynge, of whom I have min Auctorite in this Behalf.

GOD SAVE THE KYNGE.

Imprinted at London *in* Fleteſtrete, *at the Sygne of the* Sonne, *by* John Byddell, *and are to Sell at the* Cloſe Yate *in* Salyſbury.

Number 60.

An Omiſſion in the Injunctions ſet forth by Cromwell *in the King's Name, in the 1ſt Vol. Hiſt. Refor. Coll. of Rec. P.* 160.

This comes in after the Line 30, *Page* 161.

ITEM, That every Parſon, or Proprietary of any Pariſh Church within this Realm, ſhall on this ſide the Feaſt of St. *Peter ad Vincula* next coming, provyde a Book of the whole Bible, both in

Latin, and alſo in *Engliſh*, and lay the ſame in the Quire, for every Man that will to read and look therein, and ſhall diſcourage no Man from the Reading any Part of the Bible, either in *Latin* or in *Engliſh*; but rather comfort, exhort, and admoniſh every Man to read the ſame as the very Word of God, and the Spiritual Food of Man's Soul, whereby they may the better know the Dutys to God, to their Sovereign Lord the King, and their Neighbour: Ever gently and charitably exhorting that uſing a ſober and a modeſt Haviour in the Reading and Inquiſition of the true Senſe of the ſame; they do in no wiſe ſtifly or eagerly contend or ſtrive one with another about the ſame, but refer the Declaration of thoſe Places that be in Controverſy to the Judgment of them that be better Learned.

An Omiſſion in Boner's *Injunctions; the Lines that are ſcored here ought to be put* 1 *Vol. Hiſt. Ref. Coll. Rec.* P. 252.

This comes in Page 255, *Line* 35.

ITEM, That no Parſons, Vicars, ne Curates, permit or ſuffer any manner of Common-Plays, Games, or Interludes to be play'd, ſet forth, or declared within their Churches, or Chappels, *where the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is, or any other Sacrament miniſtred, or Divine Service ſaid or ſung; becauſe they be Places conſtitute and ordained to well diſpoſed People for Godly Prayer, and wholeſom Conſolation. And if there be any of your Pariſhoners, or any other Perſon or Parſons, that will obſtinately, or violently, inforce any ſuch Plays, Interludes, or Games to be declared, ſet forth, or played in your Churches, or Chappels*, contrary to this our Forbidding and Commandment, that then you, or either of you, in whoſe Churches, or Chappels, any ſuch Games, Plays, or Interludes, ſhall be ſo uſed, ſhall immediately thereupon make relation of the Name of the Perſon, or Perſons, ſo obſtinately and diſobediently uſing themſelves, unto me, my Chancellor, or other my Officers, to the Intent that they may be therefore reformed and puniſhed according to the Laws.

Number

Number 61.

The Petition of Greſham, *Lord-Mayor of* London, *to the King, for the City Hoſpitals.*

MOST redowted, puyſant, and noble Prince. My moſt dradd, beloved, and naturall Soveraigne Lorde, I your poore humble, and moſt obedient Servaint, dailly conſidering, and ever more and more perceivyng by your Vertuous Begynninge, and Charitable Proceedings in all your Cauſes, your Perſone, and Majeſtie Royall, to be the Elected and Choſen Veſſel of God, by whom not only the very and true Worde of God, is, and ſhall be ſett forth, and according to the trewgh and verytie of the ſame; But alſo to be he whom God hath conſtituted and ordeyned, both to redreſſe and reforme all Crimes, Offences, and Enormities, beyng repugnant to his Doctrine, or to the Detryment of the Common Welth, and Hurt of the Poor People beyng your Natural Subjects; and farther to forſee, and vigilantly to provide for the Charitable Reformation of the ſame. Which thynk hath, and yet doth encourage me, and alſo my bounden Dewtie obligeth me, in eſpeciall beyng moſt unworthy your Levetenant, and Mayer of your Cytie Royall of *London*, to enforme and advertiſe your moſt Gracious Highnes of one Thing in eſpeciall, for the Ayde and Comfort of the Poor, Syke, Blynde, Aged, and Impotent Perſones beyng not able to help themſelffs, nor having no Place certen where they may be refreſhed, or lodged at, tyll they be holpen and cured of their Diſeaſes and Sicknes. So it is moſt Gracious Lorde, that nere, and withyn the Cytie of *London*, be iij Hoſpitalls, or Spytells, commonly called Seynt *Georges* Spytell, Seynt *Barthilmewes* Spytell, and Seynt *Thomas* Spytell, and the New Abbey of *Tower-Hill*, founded of Good Devotion by Auncient Fathers, and endowed with great Poſſeſſions and Rents, only for the Releffe, Comforte, and Helping of the Poor, and Impotent People, not beyng able to help themſelffes, and not to the Mayntenance of Chanons, Prieſts, and Monks, to live in Pleaſure, nothing regarding the Miſerable People liyng in every Street, offendyng every clene Perſone paſſyng by the Way, with theyre fylthy and naſty Savours. Wherefore may it pleaſe your Merciful Goodneſs enclyned to Pytie and Compaſſion, for the Reliffe of Chriſts very Images, created to his own Similitude, to Order by your High Authorite, as Supreme Head of this Church of *England*, or otherwiſe by your Sage Diſcrecion, that your *Mayor* of your Cytie of *London*, and his Brethren the Aldermen for the Tyme being, ſhall and may from henceforth, have the Order, Diſpoſicion, Rule, and Governaunce, both of all the Lands, Tenements, and Revenewes Apperteynyng, and belongyn to the ſaid Hoſpitalls, Governours of theym, and of the Miniſters which be, or ſhall be withyn any of them: And then your Grace ſhall facilie perceyve, that where

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4. P. 222.

now a ſmall Number of Chanons, Preeſts, and Monkes, be founde for theyr own Profitt only, and not for the Common Utilitie of the Realme, a great Number of Poore, Needy, Syke, and Indugent Perſones ſhall be refreſhed, maynteyned, and comforted, and alſo healed and cured of their Infirmities, frankly and freely by Phyſicions, Surgeons, and Potycaries, which ſhall have Stipende and Salarie only for that Purpoſe; ſo that all Impotent Perſons not able to labour ſhall be releved, and all Sturdy Beggars not willing to labour ſhall be puniſhed: For the which doyng, your Grace ſhall not alonely merit highly towards God, but ſhewe your ſelffe to be more Charitable to the Poor, then your Noble Progenitor Kyng *Edgar*, Foundour of ſo many Monaſteries. Or Kyng *Henry* the Thyrde, Renewer of *Weſtmynſter*: Or Kyng *Edwarde* the Thirde, Foundor of the New Abbey: Or Kyng *Henry* the Fifte, Foundor of *Syon* and *Shene*; but alſo ſhall have the Name of Conſervator, Protectour, and Defendour of the Poor People, with their contynuall Prayer for your Health, Welthe, and Proſperitie long to endure.

Your Humble, and moſt

Obedient Servant,

Rychard Greſham.

Number 62.

A Part of a Proclamation, chiefly concerning Becket.

Cotton Libr. *Titus*, B 1.

AND whereas his moſt Royall Majeſtie, heretofore moſt prudently conſidering, as well the great and manifold Superſticions and Abuſes which have crept in the Harte and Stomake of many his true Simple and Unlerned Subjects, for lack of the ſincere and true Application, and the Declaring of the true Meaning and Underſtanding of Holy Scriptures, Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies; as alſo the ſondry Strifes and Contentions, which have and may growe amonges many of his ſaide Loving Subjects, for Lacke of the very perfect Knowledge of the true Entent and Meaning of the ſame; hath divers times moſt ſtraitly commanded all and ſinguler his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Miniſters of the Clergie of this his Noble Realme, in their Sermons and Preaching, plainly, purely, ſincerely, and with all their poſſible Diligence, to ſet forth firſt to the Glorie of God, and Trouthe of his moſt Bleſſed Word; and after, the true Meaning and End of the ſaid Sacramentalls and Ceremonies;

to the intent that all Superſticious Abuſes and Idolatries being avoided, the ſame Sacramentalls, Rites and Ceremonies, might be quietly uſed, for ſuch only Intent and Conſideration, as they were firſt inſtituted and meant. His Majeſtie having Knowledge, that this his moſt Godly and moſt Vertuouſe Commandment, hath not ben executed according to his Truſt and Expectation; therefore ſtraitly eftſones chargeth and commandeth, all his ſaid Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this his Realme, not only in their own Perſons, with more Diligence to preach, teach, open and ſet forth, to his People and Loving Subjects within their Cures, committed to them by his Highnes for that Purpoſe, as often as they conveniently maie, the Word of God ſincerely and purely; declaring ſuch Difference between Thinges commanded by God, and the Rites and Ceremonies aforeſaid, and the Uſe of them, in ſuch wiſe, as his People, being under their Cures by his Highnes to them committed, maie be brought to the true Knowledge of their Lively Faith to God, and Obedience to his Highnes, with their Love and Charity alſo to their Neighbours: But alſo his Highnes ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, all Archdeacons, Deans, Provoſts, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and other Miniſters, and every of them, in their own Perſons, within their Cures, truly and diligently to do the ſame. And further, in all their ſaid Sermons and Collations, to ſtirre and exhort the People to Charitie, Love and Obedience; and alſo to rede and heare with Simplicite, and without any Arrogancie, the very Goſpell and Holie Scripture, and to conforme, by earneſt Deeds, their Mindes and Willes unto the ſame; avoiding all manner of Contencion, Strife and Occaſions, upon Pain not only to incurre his Majeſties Indignacion, but alſo for their Slackneſſe and Negligence in the Executing of their Cures and Charges committed unto them by his Highnes, to be impriſoned and puniſhed at his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

Item, Foraſmuch as it appeareth clearly, that *Thomas Becket*, ſometime Archbiſhope of *Canterbury*, ſtubbornely to withſtand the Holſome Lawes eſtabliſhed againſt the Enormities of the Clergy, by the King's Highnes moſt Noble Progenitor, King *Henry* the Second, for the Common Welth, Reſt, and Tranquillity of this Realme; of his froward Mind, fled the Realme into *France*, and to the Biſhop of *Rome*, Maintenour of thoſe Enormities, to procure the Abrogation of the ſaid Lawes, whereby aroſe much Trouble in this ſaid Realm. And that his Death, which they untruly called Martirdome, happen'd upon a Reſkewe by him made: And that, as it is written, he gave opprobrious Wordes, to the Gentlemen which then counſailed him to leave his Stubbornes, and to avoide the Commotion of the People, riſen up for that Reſkewe. And he not only called the one of them Bawde, but alſo toke *Tracy* by the Boſome, and violently ſhoke and plucked him in ſuch manner, as he had almoſt overthrone him to the Pavement of the Church. So that uppon this Fray, one of their Company perceiving the ſame, ſtruck him, and ſo in the Throng *Becket* was ſlain. And further, that his Canonization was made only by the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe he had been a Champion to mainteine his Uſurped Authority, and a Bearer of the Iniqui-

Iniquitie of the Clergie. For theſe, and for other great and urgent Cauſes long to recite, the King's Majeſtie, by the Advice of his Counſell, hath thought expedient to declare to his Loving Subjects, that notwithſtanding the ſaid Canonization, there appeareth nothing in this Life and exteriour Converſation, whereby he ſhould be called a Saint, but rather eſteemed to have been a Rebel and Traitor to his Prince. Therefor his Grace ſtraightly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the ſaid *Thomas Becket* ſhall not be eſteemed, named, reputed, nor called a Saint; but Biſhop *Becket*: And that his Images and Pictures, through the hole Realme, ſhall be put down and avoided, out of all Churches, Chappelles, and other Places. And that from henceforth, the Days uſed to be Feſtivall in his Name, ſhall not be obſerved; nor the Service, Office, Antiphones, Collettes, and Praiers in his Name redde, but raſed and put out of all the Bookes. And that all other Feſtivall Daies already abrogate, ſhall be in no wiſe ſolemniſed, but his Grace's Ordenance and Injunctions thereupon, obſerved; to the intent his Grace's Loving Subjects ſhall be no longer blindly led, and abuſed, to committ Idolatrie, as they have done in Times paſſed; upon Paine of his Majeſties Indignacion, and Impriſonemente at his Grace's Pleaſure.

Finallie, His Majeſtie willeth, and chargeth all his ſaid True, Loving, and Obedient Subjects, that they, and every of them for his Parte, ſhall keepe and obſerve all and ſinguler the Injunctions made by his Majeſtie, upon the Paine therein conteined, and further to be puniſhed at his Gracis Pleaſure.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Weſtm' xvj. Novembris, *Anno Regni Regis* Henrici *Octavi* xxx.

Number 63.

An Original Letter of the King's, much to the ſame Purpoſe.

By the King.

HENRY R.

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 224.

TRuſty and Welbeloved, we grete you well. And whereas we, chiefly and principally regarding and tendring the Quiet, Reſt, Proſperite and Tranquillite of our Nobles and Commons, and ther

ther Conſervacion no leſs than our own, directed lately our Letters unto you, and other Juſtices of our Peace throughout this our Realme, conteining our Admonition and gentil Warening, to have ſuch ſpeciall Regard to the Dewties of your Office, according to the Truſt we have repoſed in you, that not only for thimportance it is both unto us and our Commonwelthe, ye ſhuld ſee our Dignitie of Supremacie of our Church (wherwith it hath pleaſed Almighty God, by his moſt certain and undoubted Word, to endowe and adorn our Auctorite and Crown Imperiall of this our Realme) to be ſet forth, and impreſſed in all our Subjects Herts and Mindes; and forſee, that the Mayntenors of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Uſurped and Fayned Auctorite, with all his Papiſtical Superſticions and Abuſes, with which he hath in Times paſt abuſed the Multitude of our Subjects; of whoſe Yoke, Tyranny and ſkornfull Illuſion, we have, by God's Providance, deliver'd this our Realm, and other his Satellyts, which ſecretly did uphold his Faction, ſhuld be by you diligently ſerched, enquired and tried out, and ſo brought to our Juſtice, to receive Condign Puniſhment, according to their Demerits; but alſo that Tale-tellers about the Cuntries, and Spreders of Rumors, and falſe Inventors of News, to put our People in Fears, and to ſtyrre them to Sedicion, ſhould be apprehended and puniſhed, to the terrible Example of others. Alſo, that Vagabonds, and valyant Beggers, ſhall be avoided, and have worthy Correction: And for the ſame Purpos, to keep Watches, and to ſee commun Juſtice with Indifferencie, and without Corruption, to be obſerved and miniſtred unto all our Subjects; like as by the Purport and Contents of our ſaid Letters, ye may more amply perceive. We have been credibly informed, that ſundrie of you have for a Time ſo well done your Dewties, and endevored your ſelfs fulfilling our ſaid Admonicions, and cauſing the Evil-doers to be puniſhed according to ther Demerits, that our Loving Subjects have not been diſquieted of a long Seaſon, untill now of late, that ſome ungracious, cankred, and malicioufe Perſons, have taken Boldnes tattempt with ſundry diveliſh Perſuaſions, to move and ſeduce our true Subjects; uſing falſe Lyes, and moſt untrewe Rumors. And amongſt them, we underſtand, ſundry Parſons, Vicars and Curates of this our Realme, to be Cheef; which (to bring our People to Darkneſs) of their own perverſe Minde, not only to blinde our Commons, do rede ſo confuſely, hemmyng and hacking the Word of God, and ſuch our Injunctions as we have lately ſet forth, that almoſt no Man can underſtande the trewe Meanyng of the ſaid Injunctions, and alſo ſecretly have ſuborned certain Spreders of Rumors and falſe Tales in Corners, which do interpretat and wraſt our trewe Meanyng and Intencion of our ſaid Injnnctions, to an untrewe Senſe: For wheras we have ordayned by our ſaid Injunctions, for the avoiding of ſundry Strives, Proceſſis and Contentions, riſing upon Aege, Lyneall Deſcents, Title of Inheritance, Legitimation, or Baſtardy, and for Knowledge whether any Perſon is our Subject born or no: Alſo for ſundry other Cauſes, that the Names of all Children chriſten'd from henceforth, with their Birth, their Fathers and Mothers Names; and likewiſe all Marryages and Burials, with the Time and Date therof, ſhould be regi-

ſtred from Tyme to Tyme in a Booke, in every Pariſh-Church, ſafely and ſurely to be kept. They have brutid and blowen abrode, moſt falſely and untreuly, that we do intend to make ſum new Examinations, at all Chriſtnyngs, Weddings and Buryalls; the which in no wiſe we never meanyd, or thought upon. Alledging, for to fortefy and colour their falſe and manyfeſt Lyes, that therein we go about to take away the Liberties of our Realm; for Conſervation whereof, they fayne, that Biſhop *Becket* of *Canterbury*, which they have tofore called Saint *Thomas*, dyed for: where in deede ther was never ſuch Thyng don nor ment in that Tyme, nor ſince: For the ſaid *Becket* never ſwarved nor contended with our Progenitor, King *Henry* the Second; but only to let, that thoſe of the Clergie ſhuld not be puniſhed for their Offences, nor juſtefied by the Courts and Lawes of this Realm; but only at the Biſhop's Pleaſure, and after the Decrees of *Rome*. And the Cauſes why he dyed, were upon a wyllfull Reſkew and Fraye, by him made and begon at *Canterbury*; which was nevertheles afterward alledged to be for ſuch Liberties of the Church, which he contended for, during his Life, with the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; yea, and in caſe he ſhould be abſent, or fugitive out of the Realme, the King ſhuld not be crowned by any other, but conſtrayned tabyde his Retorne. Theſe, and ſuch other deteſtable and unlawfull Liberties, nothing concerning the Commun Wele, but only the Partie of the Clergie, the ſaid *Thomas Becket* moſt arrogantly deſired, and traytorouſly ſewed, to have contrary to the Lawes of this our Realme. To the which moſt falſe Interpretations, and wraſting of our trewe Meanyng, they have joyned ſuch myſchevouſe Lyes, and falſe Tales, for Marking of Catalls, and others lyke ſedyciouſe Deviſes, whereupon our People were lately ſtyrred to Sedicion and Inſurrection, to their utter Ruyne and Deſtruction, onles Allmighty God, who by his Divine Providence gave unto us habundance of Force, (as he allwayes doth unto Rightfull Prynces) had ſo with Clemencie illumyned us, that whereas we, with the Edge of the Sword, and by our Lawes might have overthrowen and deſtroyed them, their Wives, Children, and Poſterite for ever; We nevertheles, as ye can right well remember, extended upon them at that Time our benygn and mercifull Pardon. Thoſe miſerable, and Papiſtical, Superſtitiouſe Wreteches, nothing regarding the ſame, nor caryng what Daunger and Myſcheef our People ſhuld incurre, have both rayſed the ſaid old Rumors, and forged newe ſedicioufe Tales, intending (as much as in them lyeth) a newe Commocion, and all to ſatisfye their Cankered Herts. Wherfore, and for the immynent Daunger to you, and to all our good Subjects, and Trouble that might enſews, onles good and erneſt Proviſion to repreſs them be taken thereupon: We deſire and pray you, and nevertheleſs ſtraitly charge and command you, that within the Precynct and Lymyt of your Charge, ye ſhall not only endevour your ſelfs, and imploy your moſt Diligence, to inquire and fynde out ſuch Canker'd Parſons, Vicars and Curats, which do not truely and ſubſtantially declare our ſaid Injunctions, and the very Word of God, but momble confuſely, ſaying that they be compelled to rede them,

them, and byd their Pariſhioners nevertheles to do as they did in Tymes paſt, to live as their Fathers, and that the Old Faſhion is the beſt, and other Carftie Sedicioufe Parables; but alſo with your moſt effectual Vigillancie do inſerche and try out ſuch Sedicioufe Tale-Tellers, and Spreders abroade of ſuch Bruts, Tydings, and Rumours, touching us in Honour, or Suretie, the State of our Realm, or any Mutation of the Lawes, or Cuſtomes thereof, or any other Thing which might Cauſe any Sedition, and the ſame with their Setters-forth, Mayntenors, Counſaylers, Fautors, and Adherers with all Diligence to apprehend and commytte to Ward, or Priſon, without bayl or mynpriſe till Evidence to be given againſt them, at the Arrival of our Juſtice in that Country, or otherwiſe upon your Advertiſement to us, or to our Counſell, to be given, to our further Pleaſure known, they may be puniſhed for their Sedicioufe Demerits according to the Lawe, to the fearful Example of all others: Imploying and Indevoring your ſelf therunto, ſo erneſtly, and with ſuch dexteritie as we may have Cauſe to think that ye be the Men which above all Thing deſire the Puniſhment of Evil Doers and Offenders, and that will let for no travail to ſet forth all Things for the Common Peas, Quiet, and Tranquility of this our Realme: And like as the Daunger is Immynent no les to your Self and your Neighbours then to other, ſo ye of your own Mind ſhuld procure and ſee with Celeritie our Injunctions, Laws, and Proclamations, as well touching the *Sacramentaries* and *Anabaptiſts*, as others, to be ſet forth to the Good Inſtruction, and Conſervation of our People, and to the Confuſion of thoſe which would ſo Craftely undermind our Common Wealth, and at the laſt deſtroy both you, and all other our Loving Subjects, although we ſhould give unto you no ſuch Admoniſhion: Therefore fayle ye not to follow the Effect, Admoniſhion and Commandment both in our ſaid Letters, and in theſe Preſents, and to Communicate the Whole tainour of theſe, to and with ſuch Juſtices of our Peas, your Neighbours, and other in that Diſtrict, and to give unto them the trew Copie therof, exhorting them likeas by theſe we deſire and pray, and nevertheles ſtraitly Charge and Command you, and every of you, that you will ſhew your Diligence, Towardnes, and Good Inclination to ſee every Thing for his Parte, put in Execution accordingly, as ye and they tender our Pleaſure, and will deſerve our Condigne Thanks, given under our Signet at our Manner of *Hampton-Court*, the Day of *December*, in the 30th Year of your Reign.

Number 65.

The Design for the Endowment of Christ-Church *in* Canterbury.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 301.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
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Item, 12 Prebendaryes, each of them at 40 *l.* by the Year	480	00	00
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Item, 1 Under Butler, his Wages and Diett	003	06	08
Item, a Cater to Buye their Diett, for his Wages, Diett, and making of his Books	006	13	04
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Item,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Item, for Yearly Reparations	100	00	00
Item, 6 be emplpyed Yearly, for making and mending of High Wayes	40	00	00
Item, a Stuard of the Lands	006	13	04
Item, an Auditor	10	00	00
Item, for the Provoſt's Expences, and receyving the Rents, and Surveying the Lands, by the Year	006	13	04

Number 65.

A Letter of Thomas *Lord Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *to* Cromwell, *upon the New Foundation at* Canterbury.

An Original.

MY very ſingular Good Lord, after my moſt hartie Commendations, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe your Lordſhippe, that I have received your Letters, dated the 27th Day of *November*: And therewith a Bill concerning the Diviſe for the New Eſtabliſhment to be made in the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*; by which your Lordſhippe requireth my Advice thereupon by Writing, for our Mutual Conſents. Surely my Lord, as touching the Books drawn, and the Order of the ſame, I think that it will be a very Subſtantial and Godly Foundation; nevertheleſs, in my Opinion, the Prebendaries, which will be allow'd 40 *l.* a Peece Yearly, might be altred to a more Expedient Uſe: And this is my Conſideration, for having Experience, both in Tymes paſt, and alſo in our Daies, how the ſaid Secte of Prebandaries have not only ſpent their Time in much Idleneſs, and their Subſtaince in ſuperfluous Belly Chere, I think it not to be a convenient State, or Degree, to be mainteyned and eſtabliſhed: Conſidering Firſte, that commonly a Prebendarie is neither a Learner, nor Teacher, but a Good Viander. Then by the ſame Name they look to be Chief, and to bere all the hole Rule and Preheminence, in the College where they be Reſident: By means whereof, the Younger of their own Nature, given more to Pleaſure, Good Chere, and Paſtime, then to Abſtynance, Studye, and Lerning, ſhall eaſily be brought from their Books to follow the Appetite and Example of the ſaid Prebandaries being their Hedds and Rulers. And the State of Prebandaries hath been ſo exceſſively abuſed, that when Learned Men hath been admitted unto ſuch Room, many Times they have deſiſted from their Good and Godlie Studies, and all other Vertuous Exerciſe of Preaching and Teaching: Wherefore if it may ſo ſtand with the King's Gracious Pleaſure, I would wiſh that not only the Name of a Prebendarie were exiled his Graces Foundations, but alſo the ſuperfluous Conditiones of ſuch Perſons. I cannot deny

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* F. 1.

but that the Beginning of Prebendaries, was no leſſe purpoſed for the Maintenance of Good Learning, and Good Converſation of Living, than Religious Men were: But for as much as both be gone from their Firſt Eſtate and Order, and the one is found like Offendour with the other, it maketh no great Matter if they periſh both together: For to ſay the Truth, it is an Eſtate which St. *Paule*, reckoning up the Degrees and Eſtates alowed in his Time, could not find in the Church of Chriſt. And I aſſure you my Lord, that it will better ſtand with the Maintenance of Chriſtian Religion, that in the ſtede of the ſaid Prebendaries, were 20 Divines at 10*l.* a Peece, like as it is appointed to be at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; and 20 Students in the Tongues and *French*, to have 10 Marks a Peece; for if ſuch a Number be not there Reſident, to what intent ſhould ſo many Reders be there. And ſurely it were great petie that ſo many good Lectures ſhould be there redde in vain: For as for your Prebendaries, they cannot attend to applie Lectures for making of good Chere. And as for your 20 Children in Grammar, their Maſter and their Huſsher be daily otherwiſe occupied in the Rudiments of Grammer, then that they have Space and Time to hear the Lectures. So that to theſe good Lectures is prepared no convenient Auditorie. And therefore my Lord, I pray you let it be conſidered what a great Loſſe it will be, to have ſo many good Lectures Redde without Profitte to any, ſaving to the 6 Preachers; farther, as concerning the Reader of Divinitie and Humanitie, it will not agree well, that one Man ſhould be Reader of both Lectures. For he that ſtudieth in Divinitie muſt leave the Reading of Profane Authors, and ſhall have as much to doe as he can to prepare his Lecture to be ſubſtantially redde. And in like manner he that redeth in Humanitie, had not need to alter his Studie, if he ſhould make an Erudite Lecture. And therefore in mine Opinion, it would be Office for ii ſundry Learned Men. Now concerning the Dean, aud others, to be elected into the College, I ſhall make a Bill of all them that I can here of in *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, or elſewhere, mete to be put into the ſaid College, after my Judgment: And then of the hole Number, the King's Highneſs may chooſe the moſt Excellente, aſſuring you my Lord, that I know no Man more mete for the Dean's Room in *England*, then Doctor *Crome*, who by his Sincere Learning, Godly Converſation, and Good Example of Living, with his Great Soberneſs, hath done unto the King's Majeſtie as good Service, I dare ſay, as any Prieſt in *England*. And yet his Grace daily remembreth all others that doth him Service, this Man only except, who never had yet, beſides his Gracious Favour, any Promotion at his Highneſs Hands. Wherefore if it will pleaſe his Majeſtie to put him in the Dean's Room, I do not doubt but that he ſhould ſhew Light to all the Deans, and Miniſters of Colleges in this Realm. For I know that when he was but Preſident of a College in *Cambridge*, his Houſe was better ordered than all the Houſes in *Cambridge* beſides. And thus my Lord you have my finale Advice concerning the Premiſſes, which I referr unto the Kinges Graces Judgment, to be allowed or diſſallowed at his Highneſs Pleaſure. Sending unto your Lordſhipp herewithall the Bill

again

again, according to your Requeſt. Thus, my Lord, moſt hartely fare you well.

At Croyden, *the* xxix*th*
Day of November.

Your own ever aſſured

T. Cantuarien'

Number 66.

A Part of a Letter concerning the Debates of the Six Articles in the Houſe of Lords.

AND alſo Newes here; I aſſure you, never Prince ſhew'd himſelf ſo Wiſe a Man, ſo well Lerned and ſo Catholick, as the Kinge hath done in this Parlyment. With my Penne I cannot expreſſe his marvelous Goodnes; which is come to ſuch effecte, that we ſhall have an Acte of Parliament, ſo ſpirituall, that I think none ſhall dare ſaye, in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Aulter, doth remayne eyther Bred or Wyne after the Conſecration; nor that a Priſt may have a Wife; nor that it is neceſſarie to Receive our Maker *ſub utraque Specie*; nor that private Maſſes ſhould not be uſed as they have be; nor that it is not neceſſarie to have Auriculer Confeſſion. And notwithſtanding my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Lord of *Ely*, my Lord of *Salisburie*, my Lord of *Worceſter*, *Roceſter*, and Saint *Davyds* defended the contrary longe tyme, yet finally his Highnes confounded them all with Goddes Lerning. *Yorke*, *Durant*, *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwiche*, and *Carlile*, have ſhewed themſelfs honeſt and well Learned Men. We of the Temporaltie have been all of one Opynyon, and my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Privye Seale, as good as we can deviſe. My Lord of *Cant'* and all theis Biſhopes have given ther Opinion, and came into us, ſave *Salisburie*, who yet contynueth a lewed Fole. Fynally, all *England* have cauſe to thank God, and moſt hertelie to rejoyſe of the King's moſt Godlie Proceedings. *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. P. 129.

Number

Number 67.

A Letter of the Viſitor's, ſent to Examine the Abbot of Glaſſenbury.

Ex MSS. D. Tanner.

PLeaſe hyt Your Lordſhip to be advertiſed, that we came to *Glaſtenbury* on *Fryday* laſt paſt, about Tenn of the Clock in the Forenoone: And for that the Abbot was then at *Sharpham*, a Place of hys, a Myle and ſomewhat more from thabbey, We, without any delay, went unto the ſame Place; and there, after certain Communication, declaring unto him theffect of our coming, examined him upon certain Articles. And for that his Anſwer was not then to our Purpoſe, we adviſed him to call to his Remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and ſo declare the Truth. And then came with him the ſame Day to the Abbey; and there of new proceeded that Night to ſearch his Study for Letters and Books: and found in his Study ſecretly laid, aſwell a written Book of Arguments, againſt the Divorce of his King's Majeſtie, and the Lady Dowager: Which we take to be a great Matter. As alſo divers Pardons, Copies of Bulls, and the Counterfit Lyfe of *Thomas Bequet* in Print. But we could not find any Letter that was materiall. And ſo we proceeded again to his Examination, concerning the Articles we received from your Lordſhip, in the Anſwers whereof, as we take it, ſhall appear his Canker'd and Traiterous Heart and Mind againſt the King's Majeſtie, and his Succeſſion; as by the ſame Anſwers, ſyned with his Hand, and ſent to your Lordſhip by this Bearer, more plainly ſhall appear. And ſo, with as fair Words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence into the *Tower*, being but a very weak Man, and ſickly. And as yet we have neither diſcharged Servant nor *Monk*; but now the Abbot being gone, we will, with as much Celerity as we may, proceed to the diſpatching of them. We have in Money, 300 *l.* and above; but the Certainty of Plate, and other Stuffe there, as yet we know not, for we have not had Opportunity for the ſame, but ſhortly we intend (God willing) to proceed to the ſame; whereof we ſhall aſcertain your Lordſhip, ſo ſhortly as we may. This is alſo to advertiſe your Lordſhip, that we have found a fair Chalice of Gold, and divers other Parcels of Plate, which the Abbot had hid ſecretly from all ſuch Commiſſioners, as have bine there in Times paſt; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the ſame: Whereby we think, that he thought to make his Hand, by his Untruth to his King's Majeſty. It may pleaſe your Lordſhip, to advertiſe us of the King's Pleaſure, by this Bearer, to whom we ſhall deliver the Cuſtody and Keeping of the Houſe, with ſuch Stuff as we intend to leave there, convenient to the King's Uſe. We aſſure your Lordſhip, it is the goodlieſt Houſe of that Sort, that ever we have ſeen. We wold that your Lordſhip did know it, as we do; then

then we doubt not, but your Lordſhip would judge it a Houſe mete for the King's Majeſty, and for no Man elſe: Which is to our great Comfort; and we truſt verily, that there ſhall never come any Double Hood within that Houſe again. Alſo this is to advertiſe your Lordſhip, that there is never a one Doctor within that Houſe; but there be Three Batchelors of Divinity, which be but meanly Learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preſerve your Good Lordſhip.

From Glaſtenbury, *the* 22*d Day of* September.

Yours to Command,

Richard Pollard.
Thomas Moyle.
Richard Layton.

To the Ryght Honorable, and their Syngular good Lord, my Lord Pryvye Seal, thys be dd.

This agrees with the Original, in the Poſſeſſion of

THOM. TANNER.

Number 68.

Cromwell's *Letter to the King, when he was committed to the* Tower.

MOſt Gracyous King, and moſt Mercyfull Soverayng, your moſt humble, moſt obbeyſand, and moſt bounden Subject, and moſt lamentable Servant and Pryſoner, proſtrate at the Feet of your moſt Excellent Majeſtye, have herd your Pleaſure by the Mouth of your Comptroller; which was, that I ſhould wrytte to your moſt Excellent Highnes ſuche Things as I thought mete to be wryttyn, conſideryng my moſt myſerable State and Condicyon. For the which your moſt haboundant Goodnes, Benignite and Lycens, the Immortall God, Three and One, rewarde your Majeſtye. And now, moſt Gracyous Prynce, to the Matter. Fyrſt, Wher I have been accuſed to your Majeſtye of Treaſon, to that I ſaye, I never in all my Lyfe thought willinglye to do that Thing that might or ſhould diſpleaſe your Majeſtye, and much leſs to doe or ſaye that Thing, which of it ſelf is ſo highe and abominable Offence, as God knoweth, who, I doubt not, ſhall reveale the Trewthe to your Highnes. Myne Accuſers your Grace knoweth: God forgive them. For as I *Cotton* Libr. *Titus*, B 1.

ever have had Love to your Honour's Perſon, Lyfe, Proſperite, Health, Wealth, Joye and Comfort, and alſo your moſt Dear and moſt entyerly beloved Son, the Prynce his Grace, and your Proceedings. God ſo helpe me in this myne Adverſyte, and confound me, yf ever I thought the contrarye. What Labours, Paynes, and Travailes I have taken, according to my moſt bounden Deutie, God alſo knoweth. For if it were in my Power, as it is God's, to make your Majeſtye to live ever yong and proſperous, God knoweth, I would, yf it had been, or were in my Power, to make you ſo riche as ye myght enriche all Men, God helpe me, as I would do it yf it had been, or were in my Power, to make your Majeſty ſo puiſſaint, as all the Worlde ſhould be compellyd to obbey you, Chriſt he knowyth I woulde; for ſo am I of all other moſt bounde; for your Majeſty hath been the moſt Bountiful Prince to me, that ever was King to his Subjects: ye, and more like a Dear Father, your Majeſty not offended, then a Maſter. Such hathe been your moſt Grave and Godly Councyles towards me at ſundrye Tymes: in that I have offended I ask your Mercy. Should I now for ſuche exceeding Goodnes, Benignite, Liberalite and Bountye, be your Traytor, nay then the greateſt Paynes were too lityll for me. Should any Faction, or any Affection to any Poynt, make me a Trayter to your Majeſtye, then all the Devylls in Hell confounde me, and the Vengeance of God light appon me, yf I ſhould ons have thought it. Moſt Gracyous, Soverayng Lord, to my Remembrance, I never ſpake with the Chancellor of the Augmentations and *Throgmorton* together, at one Tyme. But yf I did, I am ſure, I ſpake never of any ſuch Matyer; and your Grace knoweth, what maner of Man *Throgmorton* hath ever been towards your Grace Proceedings: And what Maſter Channceler hath been towards me, God and he beſt knoweth. I will ne can accuſe hym. What I have been towards hym, your Majeſtye right well knoweth. I would to Chriſt I hadd obeyed your often moſt gracious, grave Counſayles and Advertiſments, then it had not been with me as now it is: Yet our Lorde, if it be his Will, can do with me, as he did with *Suſan*, who was falſly accuſed. Unto the which God, I have onlye commytted my Soule, and Bodye and Goods at your Majeſties Pleaſure, in whoſe Mercye and Pyete I do hollye repoſe me: For other Hope than in God and your Majeſtye, I have not. Syr, As to your Common Welth, I have, after my Wytt, Power and Knowledge, travayled therin, having had no Reſpect to Perſons, (your Majeſtie onlye except, and my Duty to the ſame) but that I have done any Injuſtice or Wrong willfully, I truſt God ſhall be my Witneſs, and the World not able juſtlye to accuſe me: And yet I have not done my Duty in all Things, as I was bounde. Wherefore I aske Mercy. That I have herde of any Combinations, Conventicles, or ſuch as were Offenders of your Laws, I have (though not as I ſhould have done) for the moſt parte revealed them, and alſo cauſed them to be puniſhed; not of Maliſe, as God ſhall judge me. Nevertheleſs, Sir, I have medelled in ſo many Matiers under your Highnes, that I am not able to anſwer them all. But one Thing I am well aſſured of, that wittingly and willingly, I have not had Will to offend your High-

Highnes. But harde it is for me, or any other medling as I have done, to live under your Grace, and your Lawes, but we muſt dailye offende: And wher I have offended, I moſt humbly aske Mercy and Pardone at your Gracious Will and Pleaſure. Amongſt other Things moſt Gracious Soveraigne, Maſter Comptroler ſhewed me, that your Grace ſhewed hym that within theſe 14 Days ye committed a Matter of great Secrecye, which I did reveal contrary to your Expectacyon: Syr, I do remember well the Matter, which I never revelid to any Creature: But this I did, Sir, after your Grace hade opened the Matter, fyrſt to me in your Chamber, and declared your lamentable Fate, declaring the Things wich your Highnes myſlyked in the Queen; at which Time I ſhewed your Grace that ſhe often deſired to ſpeak with me, but I durſt not: And ye ſaid why ſhould I not, alleging that I might do much good in goeing to her, and to be plain with her in declaring my Mind: I theruppon taking Opertunyte, not being little greyved, ſpake prevely with her Lord Chamberlayn, for which I aſke your Grace Mercie, deſiryng him, not naming your Grace to him, to finde ſome Means that the Queen might be inducid to order your Grace pleſantlie in her Behaveour towards you, thinking therbie for to have hade ſome Faults amended to your Majeſties Comfort; and after that by general Words, the ſaid Lord Chamberlain, and other of the Queens Counſayle being with me in my Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, for Lycens for the Departure of the ſtrange Maydens, I then required them to Counſayle thair Miſtreſſe to uſe all Pleſauntnes to your Highnes: the which Things undoutedly were bothe ſpoken before your Majeſty commited the Secret Matter unto me, onlie of Purpoſe that ſhe might have been induced to ſuch Pleaſant and Honorable Faſſyons, as might have been to your Graces Comfort, which above all Things, as God knoweth, I did moſt covit and deſire: but that I opened my Mouth to any Creature after your Majeſtie committed the Secreſie thereof to me, other than onlye to my Lord Admyrall, which I did by your Graces Commandment, which was uppon *Sunday* laſt in the Morning, whom I then founde as willing and glad to ſeek Remedye ffor your Comfort and Reſolution, and ſaw by him that he did as much lament your Highnes Fate as ever did Man, and was wonderfullye grieved to ſee your Highnes ſo troubled, wiſhing greatly your Comfort, for the attaining whereof, he ſaid your Honour ſalvyd, he would ſpend the beſt Blood in his Body, and if I would not do the like, ye, and willingly Die, for your Comfort, I would I were in Hell, and I would I ſhould receyve a Thouſand Deths. Sir, this is all that I have done in that Matter, and if I have offended your Majeſtie therin, proſtrate at your Majeſty's Feet, I moſt lowlye aſke Mercy and Pardon of your Highnes. Sir, ther was alſo laide unto my Charge at mine Examinacion, that I had Retained contrarye to your Lawes; and what Expoſycion may be made uppon Retaynours, I know not, but this will I ſaye, if ever I retayned any Man, but ſuch onlye as were my Howſhold Servants, but againſt my Will, God Confound me. Moſt Gracious Soveraign I have been ſo called on and ſewyd to by them that ſaid they were my Friends, that conſtrained therunto I retayned thayr Chyldren and Friends, not as Re-

tayners, for their Fathers and Parents did Promiſe me to finde them, and ſo toke I them, not as Retayners, to my great Charge, and for none Evil, as God beſt knoweth, interpret to the contery who will. Moſt humbley beſeeching your Majeſtie of Pardon, if I have offended therin ; and I do knowledge my ſelf to have been a moſt miſerable and wretched Siner ; and that I have not towards God and your Highnes behaved my ſelf as I ought and ſhould have done ; for the which mine Offence to God, whiles I live I ſhall contynually call for his Mercy, and for mine Offences to your Grace, which God knoweth wer never malicious, nor willfull: And that I never thought Treſon to your Highnes, your Realme, or Poſterite : So God helpe me, either in Word, or Dede ; nevertheles, proſtrate at your Majeſty's Feet in what Thing ſoever I have offended ; I appell to your Highnes for Mercy, Grace, Pardon, in ſuch wiſe as ſhall be your Pleaſure ; beſeeching the Allmightie Maker, and Redeemer of this World, to ſend your Majeſty continuall and long Helth, Welthe, and Proſperitie, with *Neſtor*'s Yeres to Reigne, and your moſt Dear Son, the Princes Grace, to proſper alwayes, and contenew after you: and they that would contrarye, ſhort Life, Shame, and Confuſion: Writin with the quaking Hand, and moſt ſorrowfull Harte, of your moſt ſorrowful Subject, and moſt humble Servant, and Priſoner, this *Satyrday* at the *Tour* of *London*,

Thomas Crumwell.

Number 69.

Queſtions concerning the Sacraments.

The Firſt Queſtion

WHAT a Sacrament is by the Scripture ?

The Second Queſtion.

What a Sacrament is by the Antient Authors ?

The Third Queſtion.

How many Sacraments there be by the Scriptures ?

The Fourth Queſtion.

How many Sacraments there be by the Antient Authors ?

The Fifth Queſtion.

Whither this Word Sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the Seven only? And whither the Seven Sacraments be found in any of the Old Authors?

The Sixth Queſtion.

Whither the Determinate Number of Seven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the Old Authors, and ſo to be taught?

The Seventh Queſtion.

What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Vertue of ſuch as we call the Seven Sacraments; ſo as although the Name be not there, yet whether the Thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wiſe ſpoken of?

The Eighth Queſtion.

Whether Confirmation, *cum Chriſmate*, of them that be Baptized, be found in Scripture?

The Ninth Queſtion.

Whether the Apoſtles lacking a Higher Power, as in not having a Chriſtian King among them, made Biſhops by that Neceſſity, or by Authority given by God?

The Tenth Queſtion.

Whether Biſhops, or Prieſts, were Firſt? And if the Prieſts were Firſt, than the Prieſt made the Biſhop.

The Eleventh Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop hath Authority to make a Prieſt by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other, but only a Biſhop, may make a Prieſt?

The Twelfth Queſtion.

Whether in the New Neſtament be required any Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt, or only appointing to the Office be ſufficient?

The

The Thirteenth Queſtion.

Whether (if it fortuned a Chriſtian Prince Learned, to Conquer certain Dominions of *Infidels*, having none but Temporal Learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he, and they, ſhould Preach and Teach the Word of God there, or no? And alſo make and conſtitute Prieſts, or no?

The Fourteenth Queſtion.

Whether it be forefended by God's Law, that (if it ſo Fortune that all the Biſhops and Prieſts of a Region were Dead, and that the Word of God ſhould remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and others unminiſtred,) that the King of that Region ſhould make Biſhops and Prieſts to ſupply the ſame, or no?

The Fifteenth Queſtion.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (*Quorum Remiſeritis*) and ſuch like, to confeſs his Secret Deadly Sins to a Prieſt, if he may have him, or no?

The Sixteenth Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop, or a Prieſt, may Excommunicate, and for what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate by God's Law?

The Seventeenth Queſtion.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now uſed, be ſpoken of in the Scripture, or in any Antient Authors?

Number

Number 70.

An Anſwer to the former Queries ; *with ſome Remarks on them, in the King's Hand written on the Margin : Together with ſome Perſons Names ; but theſe are not written by the King.*

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

1. SCripture uſeth the Worde ; but it defineth it not.

Why then ſhould we call them ſo?

2. In them is founde no proper Definition, but a general Declaration of the Worde, as a Token of an Holly Thinge.

3. So named only Matrimony ; in Effects moo ; and at the leſt 7, as we finde in the Scripture expounded.

4. Auctors uſe the Word *Sacrament*, to ſignifie any Myſterye in the Old and New Teſtament ; but ſpiritually benote Baptiſme, Euckariſt, Matrimonie, Chriſme, *Impoſitio Manuum, Ordo.*

Why theſe Seven to have the Name, more then the reſt?

5. The Worde, bycauſe it is General, is attribute to other thenne the Seven ; but whether it ought ſpecially to be applied to the One only, God knoweth, and hath not fully revealed it ſoe as it hath been received.

Arch-Bp. *Cant.* St. *David's.*

Why then hath the Church ſo long erred, to take upon them ſo to name them ?

6. The Thing of al is found, but not named al Sacraments, as afore.

7. The Doctrine of Scripture is to teach the Thinge, without Numbring or Namyng the Name *Sacrament*, ſaving only the Matrimony.

Old Auctors Number not preciſely.

Arch-Bp. *Cant.*

Then Pennance is changed to a New Name, the Abſolution of Pennance. I read that without it we cannot be ſaved after Relapſe, but not ſo of Abſolution : And Pennance to Sinners is commanded, but Abſolution of open Crimes is left free to the Askers.

8. Scripture ſpeaketh,

(1.) Of Baptiſme manifeſtly.

(2.) Of the Holy Communion manifeſtly.

(3.) Of Matrimony manifeſtly.

(4.) Of Abſolution manifeſtly.

(5.) Of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, Ordred *per Impoſitionem Manuum cum Oratione*, expreſſely.

6. Laying of the Hands of the Biſhop after Baptiſme, which is a Parte of that is done in Confirmation, is grounded in Scripture.

Laying on of Hands being an old Ceremony, is but a ſmall Proof of Confirmation.

7. Unction of the Sick, with Prayer, is grounded in Scripture.

Arch. *Cant. S. David's, Cox.*

Then ſhew where.

The Thing of Confirmation is found in Scripture ; the Name *Confirmation* is not there.

Arch-Bp. *Cant. S. David's.*

The Anſwer is not direct, and yet it proveth nither of the Two Parts to be grounded in Scripture.

Of *Chriſma* Scripture ſpeaketh not expreſsly ; but it hath been had in High Veneration, and obſerved ſynnes the Beginning.

Where is this Diſtinction? Now, ſince you confeſs that the Apoſtles did occupate the one Part, which you now confeſs belongeth to Princes, how can you prove that Ordering is only committed to you Biſhops?

Ubi hoc?

Arch-Bp. *Cant.* · S. *David's*, *Cox.*

9. The Calling, Naming, Appointment, and Preferment of one before an other, to be Biſhop or Prieſt, had a Neceſſite to be don in that Sort, a Prince wanting. The Ordering appereth taught by the Holy Goſt in the Scripture, *per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione.*

10. Biſhops, or not after.

Arch. *Cant.* B. *David's.*

11. Scripture warranteth a Biſhop (obeying High Powers as his Prince Chriſtianed) to Order a Prieſt, *per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione*: And ſo it hath been from the Beginning.

12. Of other, Scriptures ſpeaketh not.

Manuum Impoſitio cum Oratione, is required, which is a Conſecration; ſo as only Appointing is not ſufficient.

13. It is to be thought, that God in ſuch Care aſſiſting the Perfection of ſuch an Enterprize, would further teach and inſpire the Conſcience of ſuch a Prince, what he ſhould and might doe, more then is yet openly taught by the Scripture: which, in that Caſe, were a good Warrent to folow. For a ſecret Vocation ſupplieth, where an open wanteth.

14. Sinnes the Beginning of Chriſtes Churche, wherin Chriſt himſelf made Diſtinction of Miniſters, the Order hath had a Derivation from one to another, *per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione.* How it ſhould begin again of an other Face, where it faileth by a Caſe, Scripture telleth not; no Doctor writte of it, that I have rede.

Arch. *Cant.*

15. Bounde ordinarely.

Arch. *Cant.* Bp. S. *David's.*

16. They may, being before of their Prince auctoriſed to Miniſter for open, publike, dedly Synne.

Of Excommunication by others, we rede not in the New Teſtament.

Arch. *Cant.* B. S. *David's.*

17. The Thing is in Scripture, and in auncient Authors, according wherunto the Uſe ſhould be: How it is in dede uſed, is a Matter of Fact, and not of Lernyng.

Againſt the 15th Article, theſe Names are ſet down.

Yorke.	*Curwen.*	*Edgworth.*
Dureſme.	*Simon.*	*Day.*
Carliſle.	*Oglethorp.*	*Redman.*
Wincheſter.		*Robinſon.*

And a little below.

Canterbury.	*Laton.*
Hereford.	*Treſham.*
Rocheſter.	*Cox.*
Weſtminſter.	*Crayford.*
S. *David's.*	

But theſe Liſts are not in the King's Hand.

Number 71.

Anſwers to theſe Queries.

1. SCripture ſheweth not what it is: but uſeth the Worde *Sacrament* in *Latyn*, for the Worde *Miſterium* in *Greek*. *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

2. *Sacrament*, by the Authours is called, *Sacri Rei Signum*, or *Viſibile Signaculum*, *Sacroſanctum Signaculum*, *Viſibile Verbum*, *Viſibilis Forma Inviſibilis Gratiæ*; and perfytt Diffinition we fynde noone.

3. In Scripture, we fynde no Determynate Number of Sacraments.

4. There be very many in the moſt general Signification; and there is no preciſe, or determinate Number of Sacraments in the Ancyent Authours.

5. Not only to the Seven; but to many more. We fynde in the Olde Auctours, Matrymony, the Holly Communyon, Baptiſme, Confirmation, Ordre, Pennance, and Extrem Unction. In Pennance, it is doubted of the Name of *Sacrament*.

6. As touching the determinate Numbre of Seven only, we fynd neyther in the Scripture, nor Auncient Auctours, any ſuch Doctrine that ther ſhulde be Seven onely.

7. Of *Baptiſme*, Scripture ſpeaketh, that by it Synnes be remitted.

Of *Euchariſtia*; That we be united by it to Chriſte, and receive thereby Spirituall Nurriſhment, to the Comforte of our Soulles, and Remiſſion of our Synnes.

Of *Matrymony*; That the Acte of it is made Lawfull, and without Synne; and Grace given, wherby to directe ordinately of the Luſtes and Appetites of the Fleſhe.

Of *Pennance*; That by it we be reſtored again to the Favour of God; from which we did fall by Synne.

Of *Ordre*; That by it, Grace is given to myniſtre effectually in Preachinge the Worde of God, and Miniſtration of the Sacramentes.

Of *Confirmation*, (which is conteyned in Scripture, ſpeaking *de Impoſitione Manuum poſt Baptiſma*) it appeareth by Scripture, how thereby Encreaſe of Grace is given.

Of *Inunction of the Sick*, Scripture ſpeaketh, that by Unction of the Sick, and Prayer of the Prieſtes, Comforte is given to the Sicke, and Synnes be forgeven him.

8. *Impoſitionem Manuum poſt Baptiſma*, which we call Confirmation, we reade in the Scripture: But that it was don *Chriſmate*, we fynde not in the Scripture expreſſed. But in the Old Auctours, we fynde, that *Chriſma* hath been uſed in the ſayd Confirmation.

9. *Making of Biſhops* hath Two Partes; Appointment, and Ordering. Appointment; whiche the Apoſtles, by Neceſſity, made by Common Election, and ſometyme by their own ſeverall Aſſignement, could not then be don by Chriſten Princes; becauſe at that Tyme they were not: And now, at theſe Dayes, apperteineth to Chriſtian Princes and Rulers. But, in the Ordering, wherein Grace is conferred, as afore the Apoſtells did folowe the Rule taught by the Holly Ghoſte, *Per Manuum Impoſitionem, cum Oratione & Jejunio.*

10. Chriſte made his Apoſtles firſt, which were of his Making bothe Preſtes and Biſhops; but whether at one Time, ſome doubt.

After that, the Apoſtells made bothe Biſhops and Preſtes: The Names wherof in the Scripture be confounded.

11. A Biſhop having Auctorite of his Chriſtian Prince to give Orders, maye, by his Miniſterye geven to him of God in Scripture, ordeyne a Preſte. And we rede not, that any other, not being a Biſhope, hathe, ſence the Beginning of Chriſt's Churche, ordered a Preſte.

12. Onely Appointment is not ſufficient, but Conſecration, that is to ſaye, Impoſition of Handes, with Faſting and Prayour, is alſo required. For ſo the Apoſtles uſed to order them that were appointed; and ſo have been uſed continually: And we have not rede the contrary.

13. In that Neceſſite, the Prince and his Lerned Men ſhulde Preache and Teache the Worde of God, and Baptize. But as for Making and Conſtituting Preſtes, the Prince ſhall and may thenne do, as God ſhall thenne by Inſpiration teache him: Which God hath promiſed to do allwayes to his Church, in Revling and Teaching every neceſſary Knowledge, where any Doubt requiring Diſcuſſion dothe arryſe.

14. The Aunſwer to the other Queſtion next before, diſſolveth this.

15. He that knoweth himſelf gylty of any ſecrete deadly Synns, muſt, if he will obteine the Benefite of Abſolucion miniſtred by the Preſte, confeſſe the ſame ſecrete Synnes unto him.

Abſolution to be miniſtred by a Preſte, if a convenient Preſte may be had, is neceſſarie.

Abſolution by a Preſte, is the ſureſt waye, if he may be conveniently had.

16. Biſhopes and Preſtes auctoriſed by the Prince, may Excommunicate, by Godes Lawe, for publique and open Crimes: But that other thenne Biſhopes or Preſtes may Excommunicate, we have not rede in Scripture. Some Scolemen ſaye, that other thenne Preſtes, or Biſhopes deputed therunto by the Churche, maye Excommunicate; becauſe it is an Acte *Juriſdictionis*, and not *Ordinis*.

17. We fynde it ſpoken of in Scripture, and in Olde Authors.

Number

Number 72.

The Examination of Q. Katherine Howard.

BEing again examined by my Lord of *Canterbury* of Contracts and Communications of Marriage betweem *Deerham* and me : I ſhall here anſwer faithfully and truely, as I ſhall make Anſwer at the laſt Day of Judgment ; and by the Promiſe that I made in Baptiſm, and the Sacrament that I received upon *Allhallowes*-Day laſt paſt. Firſt, I do ſay, that *Deram* hath many Times moved unto me the Queſtion of Matrimony ; wherunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than before I have confeſſed : And as for theſe Words, *I promiſe you, I do Love you with all my Heart*, I do not remember that ever I ſpake them. But as concerning the other Words, that I ſhould Promiſe him by my Faith and Troth, that I would never other Huſband but him, I am ſure I never ſpake them.

Examined what Tokens and Gifts I gave to *Deram*, and he to me : I gave him a Band and Sleeves for a Shirt. And he gave me a Heart's-Eaſe of Silk for a New-Years-Gift, and an Old Shirt of Fine *Holland* or *Cambricke*, that was my Lord *Thomas* Shirt, and my Lady did give it him. And more than this, to my Remembrance, I never gave him, nor he to me, ſaving this Sommer Ten Pounds about the Beginning of the Progreſſe.

Examined whether I did give him a ſmall Ring of Gold upon this Condition, that he ſhould never give it away. To my Knowledge I never gave him no ſuch Ring, but I am aſſured upon no ſuch Condition.

Examined whether the Shirt, Band, and Sleeves were of my own Work. They were not of my Work ; but, as I Remember, *Clifton*'s Wife of *Lambeth* wrought them.

And as for the Bracelet of Silkwork, I never gave him none ; and if he have any of mine, he took it from me.

As for any Ruby, I never gave him none to ſet in Ring, nor for other Purpoſe. As for the *French Fenel*, *Deram* did not give it me, but he ſaid there was a little Woman in *London* with a crooked Back, who was very cunning in making all Manner of Flowers. And I deſired him to cauſe her to make a *French Fenel* for me, and I would pay him again when I had Money. And when I was Firſt come into Court, I paid him as well for that, as for diverſe other Things, to the Value of Five or Six Pound. And Truth it is, that I durſt not wear the ſaid *French Fenel*, until I had deſired my Lady *Breerton* to ſay that ſhe gave it me.

As for a ſmall Ring with a Stone, I never loſt none of his, nor he never gave me none.

As for Velvet and Satten for Billyments, a Cap of Velvet with a Feather, a quilted Capp of Sarcenet and Money, he did not give me, but at my Deſire he laid out Money for them to be paid again. For

all which Things I paid him, when I came into the Court. And yet he bought not for me the quilted Cap, but only the Sarcenet to make it of. And I delivered the ſame to a little Fellow in my Lady's Houſe, as I Remember, his Name was *Roſe*, an Embroiderer, to make it what Work he thought beſt, and not appointing him to make it with *Freer*'s Knots, as he can teſtify, if he be a true Man. Nevertheleſſe, when it was made, *Deram* ſaid, What Wife here be *Freer*'s Knots for *Fraunce*.

As for the Indenture and Obligation of an Hundred Pound, he left them in my Cuſtody, ſaying, that if he never came again, he gave them clearly unto me. And when I aſked him whether he went, he ſaid he would not tell me untill his Return.

Examined whether I called him Huſband, and he me Wife. I do Anſwer, that there was Communication in the Houſe that we Two ſhould Marry together; and ſome of his Enemies had Envy thereat, wherefore, he deſired me to give him Leave to call me Wife, and that I would call him Huſband. And I ſaid I was content. And ſo after that, commonly he called me Wife, and many Times I called him Huſband. And he uſed many Times to Kiſs me, and ſo he did to many other commonly in the Houſe. And, I ſuppoſe, that this be true, that at one Time when he Kiſſed me very often, ſome ſaid that were preſent, *they trowed that he would never have Kiſſed me enough.* Whereto he anſwered, *Who ſhould Lett him to Kiſs his own Wife?* Then ſaid one of them, *I trowe this Matter will come to paſſe as the Common Saying is. What is that, quoth he. Marry*, ſaid the other, *That Mr.* Deram *ſhall have Mrs.* Katherine Howard. *By St.* John, ſaid *Deram, you may gueſſe Twice, and gueſſe worſe.* But that I ſhould Wink upon him, and ſay ſecretly, *What and this ſhould come to my Lady's Ear?* I ſuppoſe verily there was no ſuch Thing.

As for Carnall Knowledge, I confeſs as I did before, that diverſe Times he hath lyen with me, ſometime in his Doublet and Hoſe, and Two or Thre Times naked: But not ſo naked that he had nothing upon him, for he had alwayes at the leaſt his Doublet, and as I do think, his Hoſe alſo, but I mean naked when his Hoſe were putt down. And diverſe Times he would bring Wine, Strawberryes, Apples, and other Things to make good Chear, after my Lady was gone to Bed. But that he made any ſpecial Banquet, that by Appointment between him and me, he ſhould tarry after the Keyes were delivered to my Lady, that is utterly untrue. Nor I never did ſteale the Keyes my ſelf, nor deſired any Perſon to ſteal them, to that Intent and Purpoſe to lett in *Deram*, but for many other Cauſes the Doores have been opened, ſometime over Night, and ſometime early in the Morning, as well at the Requeſt of me, as of other. And ſometime *Deram* hath come in early in the Morning, and ordered him very lewdly, but never at my Requeſt, nor Conſent.

And that *Wilks* and *Baſkervile* ſhould ſay, what Shifts ſhould we make, if my Lady ſhould come in ſuddenly. And I ſhould Anſwer, that he ſhould go into the Little Gallery. I never ſaid that if my Lady came, he ſhould go into the Gallery, but he hath ſaid ſo himſelf, and ſo he hath done indeed.

As for the Communication of my going to the Court, I remember that he ſaid to me, that if I were gone, he would not tarry long in the Houſe. And I ſaid again, that he might do as he liſt. And further Communication of that Matter, I remember not. But that I ſhould ſay, it grieved me as much as it did him, or that he ſhould never Live to ſay thou haſt ſwerved, or that the Teares ſhould trickle down by my Cheeks, none of them be true. For all that knew me, and kept my Company, knew how glad and deſirous I was to come to the Court.

As for the Communication after his coming out of *Ireland*, is untrue. But as far as I remember, he then aſked me, if I ſhould be Married to Mr. *Culpepper*, for ſo he ſaid he heard reported. Then I made Anſwer, What ſhould you trouble me therewith, for you know I will not have you; and if you heard ſuch Report, you heard more than I do know.

Katherine Howard.

Number 73.

A Letter of Sir W. Paget's, *of his Treating with the Admiral of* France.

An Original.

PLeaſe it your moſt Excellent Majeſtie to be advertiſed that the 16th of this Preſent, I received Letters from my Lordes, and others of your Majeſties Privey Counſail, conteyning ſuch ſeveral Conferences as your Majeſtie, and certain of your ſaid Counſail, have had with the *French* Ambaſſader there ſithens my laſt Diſpeche. And Yeſterday having the Furſt Opertunitie to ſpeke with the Admiral, I ſaid unto him, that albeit it was likelyhode that the King, his Maſter's Ambaſſader then in *England*, did from Time to Time advertiſe them of the Proceſſe of the Matier now in Treatie; yet your Majeſtie reputing him to be a Man of Honor and ſingular Vertue, and ſuch a one, as with Right Judgment doth conſyder the hole State of his Maſter's Cauſes, with the Circumſtances; and therefore conceiving no little Affection towards him, had commanded me to ſignifie unto him, to the Intent he might knowe certainly the Plainnes of every Thing, what Communication had now laſt been had with their Ambaſſodor there. For the which, riſing from his Seate, and making a gret and humble Reverence; after that he had given Thanks unto your Majeſtie, and with Two or Three Great Othes declared his Affection

Affection towards you ; I entred the Accompliſhment of your Majeſties Commandment. And when I had declared unto him from Point to Point at length, and Word by Word (for it was a Leſſon meet to be learned without Book) as is conteyned in the ſaid Letter, aſwel the Communicacion had with your Counſail at the Furſt Congreſſe, and ſuch Kingly and Philoſophicall Conference as your Majeſtie had with him your ſelf ; as alſo the Seven Points uttered by your Majeſties Counſail at their laſt Aſſemblies ; and finally, the Epiloge of all together pronounced of your ſaid Counſail as of themſelfs ; which he herd all together, not without Twenty Sighes, and caſting up his Eyes, for I marked him when he was not ware of it, accroſſing himſelf, and gyving a gret Sigh, he ſaide, As for the Amytie which ought to be between our Maſters, how much I have travailed, and do travaile for the Confirmation of it, God is my Judge ; and almoſt all the World knoweth that I am an *Engliſh-French* Man, and that next after my Maſter, I eſteem the King your Maſter's Finger, more than I do any Prince's Body in all the World, and would be glad to give all the Goods I have in the World, that this Matter went through between them ; for I perceive by my Maſter that he will not lyve alone, and yet I am ſure he will ſeek no new Friendſhip, nor accept none offred, until the King your Maſter have refuſed this. As touching this Matter, I knowe they be two Princes of ſuch Honour, and of Wiſe Conduct in all their Things ; that though this Marriage had never been ſpoken of, they would have continued Friends according to their Treaties, and this Overture was never opened, neither for Confirmation, nor for encreaſe of Amitie between them ; for greater cannot be, but Marriage and Commiction of Blood with Blood, doth unite and knit Generation to Generation, and Poſteritie ; the Benefit whereof how great it will be ; how many Inconveniencies may therby be avoided by Proceſſe of Time ; the Wiſeſt Man may ſoner think then be able to expreſs. But, alas, ſaid he, what is Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns to give in Marriage with ſo great a King's Daughter to Monſieur *Dorleans*. Four Hundred, Five Hundred Thouſand is nothing to him ; Monſieur *Dorleans* is a Prince of great Courage ; Monſieur *Dorleans* doth aſpire to Great Things, and ſuch is his Fortune, or els I am wonderfully deceyved. It will grieve my Maſter much when he ſhall here of this baſſe Offer, as we have not herd yet from our Ambaſſador ; I marvail therof not a little ; nay to tell you plainly, as one Friend ſhuld tell another, there is farre gretter Offers, if we would herken unto them, we might have in redy Money with the Daughter of *Portugall*, Foure Hundred Thouſand Ducates, with the Increaſe that hath grown of it ſithens her Father's Departure, which will amount to aſmuch and more. At the Furſt breaking of this Matter, it was ſaid the Man muſt deſyre the Woman ; now that we have deſired her, you will give nothing with her ; for what is Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and herewithall giving a great Sigh, ſtayed. And I becauſe I perceived his Tale, ſuch as was meet to be anſwered, ſaid unto him, Monſieur L' Admiral I have no more to ſay unto you on my Maſter's Behalf, then I have ſaid unto you allready. But for becauſe you have made a long Diſcourſe as

it were ſumewhat replying to that that I have reaported; if it ſhall like you to give me Leave to ſay myn own Fantaſye, as a Man that would this Thing ſhuld take effect, if it may be equally done, I woll ſaye it. Yes, quoth he, with all my Hart: Why ſhuld not we talke together friendly, as Two that be Servants to Two great Friends; and I neither to take your Words to be ſpoken as of an Ambaſſader, nor you to take my Words to be ſpoken of him that holdeth the Place about his Maſter that I do? Sir, quoth I, as touching the Benevolence you bear unto my Maſter, you may think it well employed; as well for that my Maſter (I think) conceirneth like Opinion of you in that Parte, as alſo for that you have proved my Maſter alwayes to be a perfaict Friend unto your Maſter. And to ſaye to you frankelly myn Opinion: Albeit I am no Man at Home, neither of great Place, nor of great Counſaile, yet have I beene of Court: And Men, you knowe, of like Sorte, whenne they mete together, will be oftentymes talking of Matiers that they have litle to do in, and bable of Hereſayes. And I being one of that Sorte, have many tymes herd, that my Maſter hath been allwayes much affected unto your Maſter, and hath ſhewed towards him great Kindnes, when that if he would have taken Offers for the contrary, he might have had ineſtimable Benefites. Yea, and that he hath been ſo well mynded unto your Maſter, that neither the Maner of your Truce taken with the Emperor, nor your Strangenes at the Emperor's being here, nor *Pole*'s Paſſage, nor the Conveying of *Brancester*, nor the Reteyning of the Hoſyer that called himſelf *Blancheroſe*, nor *Cowbridge*, nor nothing els could alienate him from you, ſuch hath been his Friendſhip towardes you. And therfore, (I ſaid) if you love him, *vous aves Raiſon*. And if you have ſet furth this Mariage for Love, let it appere. Is not Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns a Faire Offer? I graunt you well, that Monſieur *D'orleanns* aſpireth to Gret Things, and is of great Courage: And Reaſon it is, for he is a Great King's Sonne; and ſuch a King, as both may and muſt, if he will have his Courage mainteyned, give him wherwithall. It is not Reaſon, that my Maſter ſhuld mainteyn his Courage. My Maſter hath a Sonne of his owne, whom I truſt he ſhall live to ſee a Man of Courage, and will, I doubt not, provide him therafter. And as for his Daughter, he doth conſyder her as Reaſon requyreth. Had King *Lowys* any more with one of my Maſter's Syſters, than Three Hundred Thouſand Crownes; and the King of *Scotts*, with another, any more than One Hundred Thouſand? If our Friendſhip be adviſable unto you, (for that was his Terme) as you ſay it is, ſeke it by reaſonable Meane, I doubt not but you ſhall obteine it; and ask reaſonably with her, and it ſhall be granted you to. By my truth, quoth he, and ſo we doe. Doe you ſo; quoth I? I have allwayes noted you a Man of Reaſone, and ſo reaported you: Turne the Caſe, quoth I. Would you remitt Eight Hundred Thouſand Crownes, diſcharge an Hundred Thouſand a Year, for the Mariage of your Daughter? Yea, by my trouth, would I; quoth he. For the Eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns I compte nothing: And as for the Penſion, She ſhuld have redubled here in *France*; and we would

would be Amys to Amys, and Enemies to Enemies: I meane, *pour la Defence de noſtre Eſtats*, quoth he. *Par noſtre Dame*, quoth I, you ſhall not be myn Auditour. Here is all the Matier, quoth I. You take a wrong Pathe: You compte theſe Eight Hundred Thouſand Crownes nothing; and we, if it were wayed in an indifferent Ballance, think they ſhould waye down Tenne Hundred Thouſand. We have a Saying in *England*, *A Penny at a time is worth a Pound.* He that ſhould lend me Three or Four Hundred Crowns at my Nede, ſhuld do me even more Pleaſure, then to offer me Tenne Hundred when I neded not: So much eſteme I Money lent at ſuch a tyme. Conſyder our Parte, quoth he, and we muſt knowledge it great: Conſyder your Parte, quoth he, it is nothing. The Payn is paſt, and not to be reckened upon. You ſay not much amiſs, quoth I, if we had an Evil Debter; but our Debter is Riche ynough, and a good Debter. And though he have been bold of a long Reſpite with his Friend, yet he will pay it, quoth I. I doubt not, quoth he, but the Princes will obſerve their Treaties. My Maſter hath, and will, I am ſure, quoth I; and ſo I think will yours. I wot not what to ſay, quoth he. Marrye, quoth I, do that that I have ſaid heretofore: Aske reaſonably for the Dote, and make a Recyproque for the reſt, if you would be eaſed of it. Marke this, for it is to be embraced, and a great Mariage to Monſieur *D'orleanns*. By my Trouth, quoth he, the Dote you have offered is nothing: And if I wer as King *Lewys* and the King of *Scotts* wer, I would rather take your Daughter in her Kyrtel, and more Honour wer it for me, then, being Monſieur *D'orleanns*, to take her with Eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns. But I wote not what you meane by that Reciproque. Mary, quoth I, it is to do ſomthing again of like Goodnes to the Thing, that you deſire to have done unto you. As, quoth I, you deſire to have our Daughter, and for her you will give your Sonne: There is one for an other. Your Sonne is the Reciproque of our Daughter. You would have Two Hundred Thouſand Crownes with her; the Reciproque of that muſt be a like Jointer. Here is Sonne for Daughter, Dowery for Dote. Now, if you will be diſcharged of 600000 Crowns; what other Thing, that is as good, ſhall we have for that, and alſo for our Pencion? Deviſe a Reciproque. O Monſieur *L' Ambaſſedeur*, quoth he, I underſtand your Reciproque well. The King your Maſter is a Gentle Prince, and a Great Prince; and what Grive ſhuld it be to him, to lett paſſe Eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and ywys we be not able to pay them. In Faith, quoth I, ſeing he hath borne ſo long with you for all, he will be contented to bear with you ſumwhat longer for ſum: And if you will give ſome in Hand, I think he will give you Terms for the reſt. Ah Monſieur *L' Ambaſſadeur*, quoth he! and ſhoke his Head. As for the Penſion, quoth he, you ſhall have a Reciproque here, a Dowery mete for it. Nay, quoth I, your Relative agreeth with a wrong Antecedent. My Maſter is the Antecedent, and the Reciproque muſt be to him, and not to Monſieur *D'orleans*, for he ſhould have the Benefite by it. Nay, quoth he, it is your Maſter's Daughter, and it is no more but for your Maſter to give from

from himſelf to his Daughter. Ywys, the Queen of *Navarre*'s Daughter is a greatter Mariage. And as for the Eight Hundred Thouſand, if I were a right Man, and able to give, I would paye a great Pece of it my ſelf, er it ſhuld ſtick. What the Queen of *Navarre*'s Daughter is, I know not, quoth I: But if you might have my Maſter's Daughter upon theſe Conditions, you might ſay, you had ſuch a Mariage as was never herd of. And here we ſtay'd both. At the laſt, quoth he, ſudenly, When it was told me Yeſternight, that you ſent to ſpeke with me, I thought it was for theſe Matiers: And all this Night I have turned and toſſed, and thought upon them. I would God it had never been ſpoken of, if it take not effect. And evyn now cummyth into my Head the Overture that the King your Maſter made ones unto me. What Overture was that, quoth I? Mary, quoth he, the Overture of the Mariage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Daughter; you to have had Recompence for the perpetuel Pencion upon Monſieur *de Vandome*'s Lands: And for the Pencion Vyager, to have bene converted to a Eſtate. Without any other Recompence, quoth I? Yes, quoth he. We ſhuld have bene Enemys to Enemys, and left the Biſhop of *Rome*. That was ſumwhat, quoth I; and yet not a Reciproque; becauſe you ſhuld not have given as good as you tooke. But then, was none Arrerage, quoth I? And here he pauſed again. I will tell you my Fantaſy, quoth he; but you ſhall promiſe me by your Faith, that I ſhall never heare of it again. I woll ſpeke it unto you, as a Friende to a Friende; and peradventure neither of both Parties will like it. Sir, quoth I, you ſhall never take Diſhonour by Things you ſhall ſay to me. What, quoth he, if the Overture ſhuld take effect in one Parte? As how, quoth I? Mary, quoth he, the Arrerage to be remitted, for the Mariage of your Daughter. And becauſe you think it great, we to becum Friends to Friends, and Enemys to Enemys, and ſo to enter Warre together: And of that, that ſhuld be conquered by commyn Expenſes, to lay out firſt a Recompence for your Penſion Viager, and the perpetuel Pencion to be ſupplied, as the King your Maſter deviſed. How like you this Deviſe, quoth he? Mary, ſaid I, if you will heare a Fool's Anſwer, I like it not: For what need we to fight for that we have allready? Mary, quoth he, then you ſhuld have it *in perpetuum*. What if you deſyred this for a Reciproque? Mary, quoth I, peradventure my Maſter might purchaſe more Land another waye than that might coſt him. Why ſhuld we deſire Warre, quoth I; we have no Quarrell? It is true, quoth he; but we would be the Authors. And if you covenanted to be Enemye to Enemye, would you not joyne Warre with us? By my Trouth, Sir, quoth I, you be entred now into a Deep Matier, which paſſeth my Capacitie. It is a great Matier indeed, quoth he: But I talk with you privement, neither becauſe I would have you to declare this to your Maſter, nor for that I will declare it to myne: And yet both you and I may uſe Meanes to the ſame Ende. Well, quoth I, I ſee you make Curſey at the Matier, and would have a great Commodity, and yet are loth to offer for it. But I ſay unto you as a Friend, Aske, and offer reaſonably, and go roundly to worke, and make an ende of it. For, I fear, I may ſay to you,

if you will not, others will. Yea, quoth he, we knowe the Emperor practiſeth with you, as he doth with us; and that the Biſhop of *London* hath brought him Three fayre Palfreys from the King your Maſter, for a Preſent. I name no Man, quoth I: But whether the Emperor practiſeth with you, I reaport me to his Offers and his Demands. I think, he practiſeth with us both, quoth he, onely to diſſever us: For with your Maſter he will not joyne, onles he will returne again unto the Pope. For ſo his Nuntio told the Chancelor, and the Chancelour told the Queen of *Navarre*; who fell out with him upon the Occaſion of that Conference, and told him, he was ill ynough before, but now ſithens he hath gotten the Marke of the Beaſt, (for ſo She called it, becauſe he was lately made Prieſt) he was worſe and worſe. But to my Purpoſe, quoth he: I think the Emperor practiſeth with us both; he ſeeketh nothing els, but to diſſever us. You ſpeake of his Offers and his Demaunds, quoth he; knowe you what they be? No, quoth I. And yet, indeed, I did cume by the Knowledge of them within 24 Howres before. Mary, quoth he, he would make the Duke of *Orleains* King of *Naples*, and give us the Seigneurye of *Flanders*. They be faire Offers, quoth I: But what be his Demands? Wherat he ſmiled. By my Trouth, quoth he, I will tell you. He deſireth a Renunciation of the Title of *Milan* and *Navarre*, and the Reſtitution of *Piedmount* and *Savoy*. What ſay you to it, quoth I? The King, my Maſter, will none of it, quoth he; for he thinketh, that the next War that ſhuld fall, being ſo great Diſtance between the Father and the Sonne, the Emperor would ſend the Duke of *Orleains* to his Father, *une Baton blanche*. I have herd ſaye, quoth I, the Duke of *Cleves* alſo laboureth now ſore to have his Wife Home, and ſinyled therwith. Why, quoth he, heare you any thing? Yea, mary, quoth I; I hear ſaye, the Emperor is in great Practiſe with the Duke of *Cleves*; and that he hath made him Half a Promiſe, that for to have *Gelders* quietly, he and his Wife will renounce the Title of *Navarre*. Which indeed I had never herd. But muſing upon the Word before, it came into my Head at that Time, and chauncyng then to ſpeake it, I ſtrucke the Admirall into a great Dumpe. Wherin, when he had pawſed a great while, I ſaid, Sir, I deſeaſe you. No, no, Monſieur *L' Ambaſſadeur*, quoth he: She is too young and ſickly, to go out of this Country. When Monſieur *de Cleves*, quoth he, hath done the King ſume good Service, and declared himſelf to all the World to be *pour Le Roy*, then ſhall he have his Wife. You know what you have to do, Sir, quoth I: But ſeeing you ſee the World ſo full of Practiſes, it is good Dealing with them that meane plainly. Yo ſay Trouth, quoth he; and ſo it is. We knowe, the Emperor doth nothing but practiſe with us, as he doth with your Maſter: And we knowe, how he offereth your Maſter, to accord hym with the Pope, without Breache of his Honour; and that it ſhall be at the Pope's Suite. I am privye, quoth I, of no ſuche Mattiers; but if the Emperor deſyre my Maſter's Friendſhip, I cannot greately blame him, conſyderinge he knoweth partely by his own Experience, and partely by evident Tokens towards

towards other Men, my Maſter is a Friendly Friend. And as for the Biſhop of *Rome*, quoth I, if he ſue to be reſtored to my Maſter's Favour again; I think it will be herd for him to obteyn it, for Vertue and Vice cannot ſtand together in one Predicament. Call you him Vice, quoth he, he is the very Divel. I truſt once to ſee his Confuſion. I have begune to pick him a little, I truſt to pick him better. Every Thing muſt have a Tyme and a Beginning. But when begin you, quoth I; I think, quoth he, er it be ought long. The King, my Maſter, will converte all the Abbeis of his Realme, into the Poſſeſſion of his Laye Gentlemen, and ſo go furth by little and little, (if you will join with us) to overthrow him alltogether; why may not we have a *Patriark* here in *France*? Which Purpoſe, I think, he doth perceive, and his Legate therfore, now in *Almayn*, offred that for a Reformation there ſhould be a Council called, and appointed the Place either *Mantua*, *Verona*, or *Cambray*: He had as lief be hanged, quoth he, as have a General Council; and even then will that be his Sentence. I would fayne ſee you ones begyne ſomewhat, quoth I. A Monſieur *Le Ambaſſadeur*, quoth he, I am ſherewdely matched. Why ſo, quoth I, is not your Maſter a King, and if he mynde that you ſpeak of, who can match you? He ſavoreth Woundrous well, quoth he, but every Thing I ſaye muſt have a Tyme: who was a greater Champyon for the Pope then was your Maſter, now who is more contrary? If they might ones, quoth he, ſpeke together, I think it will be one of the gretteſt Benifites that ever came to *Chriſendome*, but that cannot well be, untill theſe Matiers cum to ſome nerer Point. The Faulte is not in us, quoth I, that it is not at a nerer Point. Nor it ſhall not be long of us, quoth he; but paradventure ſum of your Maſter's Counſail moveth him more to the Emperor's Friendſhip. And what is that Friendſhip in compariſon of this Friendſhip. *England* is a Kingdome perpetuel, and ſo is *France*. Our Maſters, their Children, their Succeſſion, maye joyne for ever. We be under one Clyme, and of one Complexion: We be at Hande one to another. The Emperor is but one, and when he is Dead, ſum *Almayn* may be Emperor, I wot not who. Truth it is, *Spayne* is a Kingdome, but what is that alone: As for *Flanders*, it ſhall be our Friend if we joyne together. And as for *Italy*, when the Emperor is Dead, who ſhall be Maſter trowe you. And if the Emperor might live allways, what is his Friendſhip. He careth not if Friend, Father, and all together ſhuld ſinke, ſo as his inſatiable Deſyre to Reign might be ſatisfied: Did he not ſuffer Two of his Brethren-in-Lawe to periſhe for lack of Fifty Thouſand Crowns; furſt the King of *Hungarye*, and after the King of *Denmark*, whom he might have reſtored with Ten Thouſand Crowns. He is a Covetous Man, ſaving the Honour of a Prince, and yet he is now baſe ynough, and therefore let us take him while he is Lowe, before he take his Breth. Sir, quoth I, you are a Man of a great Trade, and knowe to Diſcourſe of Things better then I am able to conceyve. If you eſteem the Effect of this Matier ſo neceſſary for you, and the Emperor's Friendſhip ſuch as you ſpeke of; take then a direct waye for the compaſſing of it. And if you have any Thing in your Stomachs, that you would have uttered, but not to many, let your Ambaſſadour

utter it to ſum one, and lett him utter it not coldly, but frankly; and that is the next waye to make an Ende. Would God Monſieur *Le Ambaſſadeur*, quoth he, it lay in my Hande, it ſhuld then be ſone at an Ende. Put to your Good Will, quoth I, in an Honeſt Cauſe, God will help you: I marvaile much, quoth he, we here not from our Ambaſſader there; ſo do I, quoth I, by lykelyhod he is ill at eaſe, or his Man is ſike by the Way, or ſome other like Matier. When ſend you into *England*, quoth he: I have no great Matiers to write of, quoth I; and yet I am determined within a day or two to ſend into *England*; for I have appointed my Bank to be made at *Paris*, but now I muſt ſende to have it changed to *Lyons*; becauſe I here ſaye the King goeth thither. I pray you, quoth he, conveye a Lettre to our Ambaſſadeur in *England*, which I will ſend to you to morrow, which I promiſed him. And brake our Communication, and ſo ready to depart, and ſtanding, I asked him whither the Ambaſſadeur was come to the King out of *Almayn*, or no? He asked me which Ambaſſadeur? I told him for Aid againſt the *Turk*. No, no, quoth he; Thinketh Men my Maſter is ſo unwiſe to aid the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* for the Defence of *Hungarye*, their private Dominion? Should my Maſter mainteyn their State at his Diſpens, which keep his State from him? Not but if it wer to defend *Almayn*, my Maſter would help the beſt he could. What doth the King your Maſter? Gyveth he any Ayde? I know not, quoth I, that any hath been yet asked. If any be, I think his Majeſty will make a reaſonable Anſwer; and thus we departed.

Sir, your Majeſtie hath heard truely reported, the diverſe Communication and Varietie of Matier that hath paſſed between the Admirall and me: Wherin when I conſyder myn accuſtomed Proteſtations me thinketh, he ſhuld take none Advantage of me; and on the other ſide, when I remember the Simplenes of my Wit with the Scarcitie of myn Experience, joynyng therewithall their Proceeding with other your Majeſties Ambaſſadeurs heretofore, whoſe Saing they reaporte at Will for their Purpoſes; I cannot but tremble, fearing that ſumthing may have paſſed me to hotely, ſum what to coldly, ſumthing ſpoken more then neded, or ſumthing left out that ſhuld have been ſpoken. But ſure you ar my Sayntuary, and my Truſt is only in your Equanimitie; whom I beſeech moſt humbly of your gracious and favourable Interpretation, and of your Benignitie, to conſyder that this is the furſt time that ever I came *in arenam*; and he with whom I am matched, is an old Player; nevertheleſs, if I had Experience, or Wit to judge a Man, I would think him by his Words and Countenance to be none Imperiall, and an utter Enemye to *Rome*; and yet I muſt note a Practiſe in him, for that he hath promiſed me twiſe one ſhuld be ſent over, and none is yet ſent. And beſides that, whereas he hath told me heretofore, that no Man knewe of this laſt Treatye, but he and Madame *Deſtampes*, adding yeſterday the Queen of *Navarre*. I know of the Demands the Ambaſſadeur hath made there, by other Meanes then by your Majeſties Signification: But your Majeſtie knoweth him farre better I am ſure, than my fooliſhe Wit can comprehend. And therefore I leave to your moſt Excellent Wiſdom the Judgment of his Proceedings,

ings, the Circumſtance whereof your Majeſtie knoweth without Addition or Diminucion of any thing, as nere as I could carye it away.

As touchinge the Occurrents of this Court, it may pleaſe your Majeſtie to be advertiſed, that the Emperor's Grand Eſcuyer paſſed by *Paris* Eight Days agone into *Flanders*, and came not att the Court.

It is ſaid here that the Emperor is in great Practiſe, with your Majeſtie, for the Marriage of the Lady *Mary*, your Majeſties Daughter, which they think here the rather to be true, for that you have ſent the Biſhop of *London* to be Ambaſſador there, whom they note here to be an Imperial, Saing commonly that the Marriage between *France* and *England* is daſhed.

Certain Merchants of *Lyons*, and Monſieur *Langey*, a Partener with them, have Sentence for them of Threeſcore and Tenne Thouſand Crowns againſt the State of *Florence*, and Repriſalls out for Execution.

Salmaiti and *Antenori*, Two *Florentynes*, having their Houſes in *Lyons*, who wer *fideinſſores de ſoluendo indicato*, be fled into the Emperor's Dominion, into *Breſſe*.

The *Florentynes* take the Matier greviouſly, and think there is no Juſtice in *France*, for they had moved theyr Caſe before in all the Univerſities and Courts of *Italy*, and thinking it out of Doubt, offred to put it to the Judgement of *France*, wherof now they repent them, and will in no wiſe ſtand to it. And to advertiſe your Majeſty of the Caſe briefly; the State of *Florence* bought of certain Marchants of *Lyons* a Quantitie of Wheat to ſuch a Sume, to be delivered at *Florence* before ſuch a Day. The Wheat arryved not before Eight Daies after the Tyme appointed. The *Florentines*, conſtreyned by Neceſſity, provided themſelves other ways, and ſay the Bargain is voyde. The *Lyonnois* alledge *tempeſtatem* for the Lett, and ſay that *emptio* is *contractus bonæ fidei*, and that therefore the *Florentynes* muſt fullfill their Bargayn; and ſo leaving their Wheate there, went there wayes.

Error is founde in the Admirall's Proceſſe, and the Sentence revoked; wherby the Application of his Lands to the Crown, and the *Amende Pecuniaire* that he ſhuld have made to diverſe Townes here in *Bourgoyn* is adnichilated, and he *reſtitutus in integrum*.

I thinke your Majeſtie heareth from your Agent at *Venice* that *James Bey*, ſumtyme a Chriſtian Man, is cuming from the *Turcque* in Ambaſſade to *Venice*; and, as I think, by this Time arryved there, if the Empereur have not intercepted him, who hath layed waye for him in *Raguſa*: His cuming is nothing pleaſant to the *Venycians*; the Cauſe therof being as the *Venycians* conjecture, the ſame that I have written to your Majeſtie before; that is to ſaye, Paſſage through their Cuntrey, or to be Enemyes to Enemyes, or to redeem the ſame with ſum great Sumes of Money, if nothing els be aſked.

Seignior *Horacio* being heretofore accuſtomed to be lodged at the Court, or near as the Place required, is lodged now Four Leaggs of, and yet the King lyeth in a great Town; wherof the Nuntio's Secretarye complayning to the Admirall, the Admirall anſwered him in Coler, he had one gyven him, and he refuſed it. We cannot give

him here a Palais as though he were at *Paris*, and turned his Back, and would talk no longer with the Secretary.

I ſende unto your Majeſtie herewith an other Charte of *Algiere*, ſet furth after a ſorte, with the Emperor's Aſſiege before it; the Plate wherof varieth from the other I ſent your Majeſtie before: And yett I truſt your Majeſtie will take the ſame in good Parte; for as they came to my Hands, being ſent to ſuch Perſonages as they wer; thone to the *French* King, and this to the Duke of *Ferrare*; I thought it my Duety to ſende both unto your Majeſtie, leaving unto your Excellent Wiſedome the Judgment, whither this, or the other be true, or neither of them bothe.

I ſende alſo unto your Majeſtie a little Book, both printed here in *Paris*, conteyning the Concluſion of their Dyet in *Almayn* againſt the *Turk*; whither the ſame be true, or no, I doubt not but your Majeſtie knoweth by ſuch Advertiſements as you have out of thoſe Partes. And thus having nothing els to writte unto your Majeſtie at this Time, I beſeche God to ſend you moſt proſperouſly and long to Reigne. From *Chabliz* in *Bourgoyn*, the 19th of *April*.

Your Majeſties

Moſt Humble, Faithful, and

Obedient Subject, Servant,

And Daily Oratour,

William Pagett.

POSTSCRIPT.

AFter I had Written to your Majeſtie this Letter redy to ſend the ſame furthwith; and defferring the Diſpeche onely uppon Attendance of the Admirall's Letter, to be conveyed into *England*; becauſe the ſame came not, I ſent the ſame Night one to the Courte, which is Four long Leaggs hens to the Admirall to know his Minde therin; which Meſſenger he returned to me with this Letter herincloced, written and defaced as your Majeſtie ſeith the ſame; upon Motion wherof, I was at his Lodging the next Day, by Eight in the Morning, but I found him not there. At my cumming a Letter was delivered me from certain of your Majeſties Privy Counſail, the Tenor wherof, both before and ſithens I have obſerved as far as my Wit can extend, like as your Majeſtie rather by your great Judement, and gracious Interpretation of my Diſcourſes, then by my ſimple

Writtings may gather. Anone cummeth Monſieur *Admirall*, accompaigned with Monſieur *Longeville*, Governour to the Duke of *Orleans*, and with more Solemnitie than was wont to be, took me with them to the Church, to paſſe the Tyme (they ſaid) untill the King wer up. Monſieur *Longevile* left the Admirall and me walking, and entring Communication after this Sorte. Monſieur *Le Ambaſſadeur*, I have been bold to put you to this great Payne this Morning; but this Matier troubleth me ſo ſore, that I am at my Wittes Ende: By —— —— I could not ſleep for it all this Night. *An Oath.* We have received Letters from our Ambaſſadeur in *England*, conteyning the ſame Diſcourſes that you have declared, which my Maſter is ſorye to heare; mervailing that the King, his good Brother, would offer that Summe to his Sonne with his Daughter, that ſome of his Gentlemen would not accept. The Pope offred to Monſieur *de Guyſes* Sonne, with his Nepce, Two Hundred Thouſand Crownes, and he refuſed it. To ſee us ſo farre aſunder, after ſo long a Traitye, by —, it greveth me. *An Oath.* For you muſt underſtand, that all which be of Counſaile about my Maſter, be not of one Opinion. And upon the Receipte of our laſt Lettres, it was ſaid to me, We told you wherto the Enterpriſe of this Matier would cum at length: But ſurely I have never repented me, nor myn Affection can never diminiſhe, for the Friendſhip that hath been ſhowed on your Parte, aſwell in commyn, as to my particuler. And as for the Pope's and the Emperor's Lyes and Falſetes, we know well ynough. Wherfore, for the Love of God, let us growe to ſome Friendly Point. After I had declared unto him for ſome Recompence of his Affection, what good Affection I beare to *France*; I ſaid unto him, Monſieur *L' Admirall*, you knowe, we commun now privately, and therefore you ſhall hear my private Opinion. Seing that you knowe other Men's Proceedings with you to have been ſo indirect as you ſpeake of, and (as your ſelf hath confeſſed unto me oftentymes) that the King's Majeſtie, my Maſter, hath been ſo perfaict and ſincere a Friende unto you at all Tymes; embrace this Frendſhip; conſyder this Friend; and think that he is to be deſyred rather with One Hundred, than any other with Tenne Hundred. You ſaid, your Maſter will not live alone. Ywys, my Maſter may have Company enough, if he would ſlippe out of the Couple from you. Yea, quoth he, I know; but ſo will not every Man of this Counſaile knowe, their Faulſeties. True it is, quoth he, your Friendſhip hath been much, and we do recogniſe it, and think our ſelfs in Obligation to requite it. But we can do no more than we can do. But to come to a Point; the Matier conſiſteth in theſe Termes. Within theſe Two Yeres, we ſhall owe you a Million; after the which Tyme, we muſt pay you during the King your Maſter's Life (God grant it to be long) a Hundred Thouſand Crownes yearly, and afterward Fyfty Thouſande perpetually, you ſaye. As for the Pencions, quoth he, there may be ſumwhat ſayde for Things that ſhuld be done by Treaties: For our Defence, Things ſhuld have been done; Shipps and Men, and I wot not what. And here he began to hack and to hume. Monſieur *Le Admirall*, quoth I, ſpeke out plainly: for if you have any thing

to

to ſay in that Parte, I can anſwer. Well, well, quoth he, let thoſe Things paſſe: You can clayme no Pencion yet theſe Two Yeres. And herewithall the King ſent for him. With whom, after Maſſe, he went to the Standing in a Foreſt hereby; promiſing me to return ymedyately after Dyner, and praying me hartely to tary his Return. Monſieur *Le Admirall*, quoth I, in his Eare, if you talk with the King your Maſter of this Matier, deduce him to ſome Conformitie. I ſpeake for the Affection I beare unto you: For I may ſay to you, there be others that woee harder thenne you, and yet hitherto we have not given like Eare. But you know, a Man may droppe Water ſo long upon a Stone, that it may ſooke in. And herewith, Monſieur *Longevile* tooke me at his Hand by and by, and had me to Monſieur *D'orleans* Lodging, where I had an exceeding gret Feaſt and Chere. About Two of the Clock the Admirall ſent for me; and after our Meting, every Man avoided out of the Chamber. Monſieur *Le Ambaſſadeur*, quoth he, let us deviſe ſome good Meane, to joyne theſe Two Princes together. Then muſt you, quoth I, go another way to work. Devide your Treatye into Two Partes: Treate a Mariage, and treate the Redemption of the reſt you deſyre. Well, be it, quoth he: But I underſtand not yet very well your Reciproque; (and here he began to be plaiſant in his Countenance, and to ſet his Wordes merily:) And yet, quoth he, our Ambaſſador writteth of the ſame Terme, but I wot not what. You will not, quoth I, underſtande it: But you muſt learne it; for els I feare (wherof I would be wondrous ſorye) that this Matier will not go forwarde. Let me hear again, quoth he. I told him even the ſame Leſſon, that is declared in the former Parte of this Letter. It is not, quoth he, a Hundred Thouſand Crownes, or Two Hundred Thouſand, that can enriche my Maſter, or impoveriſhe yours: And therfore, for the Love of God, quoth he, let us go roundly together. We aſke your Daughter, quoth he: For her, you ſhall have our Sonne, a gentye Prince, quoth he, and ſet him out to Sale. We aſke you a Dote with her; and for that after the Som you will give, She ſhall have an Aſſignment after the Cuſtome of the Country here. And as for the reſt, quoth he, what Reciproque demande you? What will you, that we do for you? As for the reſt of the Money, quoth I, take Order for the Payment of it; and for the Pencions, deviſe a Reciproque. Deviſe you, quoth he, what you will have us to do for it. Nay, quoth I, offer you furſt, for it paſſeth my Capacitye: And Reaſon is ſo; for the firſt Commodity ſhall be yours. It is no Mattier, quoth he; we will offer furſt, and you ſhall aſke next: Or you ſhall offer furſt, and we ſhall aſke nexte: All is one. But I will now, as I did laſte Daye, ſpeke unto you after myn own Paſſion, after myn own Affection; for I would all the World knew I am not Imperial. And here, with many Qualifications and Termes, he ſet forth his Paſſion and Affections. You will give us your Daughter, and a Summe with her, (it maketh no Matier what); howbeit, I truſt, your gentle Prince will aſke no Money of us: And as for the Reciproque of the reſt, and therewith ſtayed. Well, quoth he, to ſpeake frankly

to you myn Affection; will you enter the Warre with us againſt the Emperor? and be Enemye to Enemye, for the Defence of all ſuch States as we have at this preſent, and of ſuch as we ſhall Conquere together; or of ſuch as ſhall be compriſed in Treaty: The King your Maſter to ſett upon Land in *Flanders*, Tenne Thouſand *Engliſhmen*, and we Tenne Thouſand *Frenchmen*; Pay the Wages of Five Thouſand *Almayns*, and we of aſmany; Finde Two Thouſand Horſemen, and we Three Thouſand; Finde a certain Numbet of Shipps, and we as many. And yett ſhall the King my Maſter chaffe the Emperor in other Places, he was never ſo chaffed: and ſpende a Hundred, yea Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns a Month other wayes. And of ſuch Lands as ſhall be conquered, the Pencion furſt to be redoubled, and the reſt to be devided equally. What a Thing will it be to your Maſter, to have *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, *Burburg*, and all thoſe Quarters joining to his *Calais*? Mary, quoth I, all the Craft is in the Catching. And here I put him a fooliſh Queſtion; What if you ſpent your Money, and conquered Nothing? Mary, quoth he, then ſhould the Pencion ſtand ſtill as it ſtandeth. Monſieur *Le Admirall*, quoth I, theſe Matiers you talk of, be of too great Importance for my Witt; and I have alſo no Commiſſion to medle in them. But to ſaye my Fantaſye, I knowe of no Quarrel that my Maſter hath againſt the Emperor. —— quoth he, why ſay you ſo? Doth he not owe your Maſter Money? Hath he not broken his Leages with him in 6co Points? Did he not provoke us, and the Pope alſo, to joine for the Taking of your Realme from you, in Preye for Diſobedience? And hath he not cauſed even now the Pope, to offer a Council at *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Cambray* or *Metz*; (which Place he added now laſt) the Chief Cauſe wherof, is to pick you? A Peſtilence take him, fauſe Diſſembler, quoth he: Saving my Dutie to the Majeſtie of a King. If he had you at ſuch an Advantage, as you maye now have him, you ſhuld well knowe it at his Hande. And here he went furth at large againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the Emperor; diſcourſing what Commoditie ſhuld enſue of this Warre; and that he would have it in any wiſe beginne this Yere, now that the Emperor wer ſo lowe; and had, as he ſaithe, for all his Millions, never a *Sols*. And that he would the Matier ſhould take effect ſhortely; for the Yere goith awaye: reckening how many Moneths wer now loſt mete for the Warre: And how the Conqueſts ſhould be fortified in the Winter; and the Warre recommenced in the Sommer. And that their Chiefe Points reſolved, his Maſter ſhuld (if your Majeſtie would) turne into *Picardy*, to Entervieu. And a great Diſcourſe, Sir, paſſing min Experience, ſhewing themſelfs by his Wordes and Countenance wonderfully gredy of preſant Warre: which when he had ended; what ſay you, Monſieur *Le Ambaſſadeur*, quoth he? Will you ſaye nothing to me in this Matier? Sir, quoth I, and told him Trueth, I wote not what to ſaye. Why do you not, quoth he? Open the Bottom of your Stomack to the King my Maſter, quoth I, by your Ambaſſadour there, by whom you have begun and treated this Matier. And alſo I noted in our other Conference, that you would not have theſe

An Oath.

Diſcourſes reaported again of your Mouth. Monſieur, quoth he, this is indeed but my Deviſe. Howbeit, to ſpeake frankly to youe, I have ſpoken nothing therin, but I think to perſwade my Maſter to it: And write ſo to the King your Maſter, quoth he, and alſo the hole Deviſe. That ſhall be as you will, quoth I. Nay, quoth he, I pray you to write, ſo as you write as deviſed of me; and repeted the Overture hole together, as is before expreſſed. Sir, quoth I, ſeing you require me, I will write it, ſo that you will promiſe me to confirme my Tale by your Ambaſſador there. Yes, quoth he; and clapt his Hande in mine. But I pray you, quoth he, ſend one in Diligence, that no Tyme be loſt. Will you not write, quoth I? Yes, quoth he: But your Poſt will be there before ours. And ſo deperted.

Sir, I beſeeche your Majeſtie moſt humblie on my Knees, graciouſly to accept my Good Will, albeit my Witt be not able to ſerve you in ſo great an Affaire; and to pardon me, of your moſt Gracious Goodnes, if any Thing have been ſaid, more or leſs thenne was meet to have been ſpoken for the Advancement of your Purpoſes: Of my Faulte wherin, if it ſhould pleaſe your Majeſtie to adviſe me of, I ſhould have the more Witt another Time, and take the better Hede in a ſemblable Caſe: For ſurely, Sir, I have an exceeding Good Will to ſerve you; and if my Witt wer as good, I am aſſured I ſhould ſerve well, and that knoweth God: To whom I pray daily, for your proſperous and long Continuance. From *Chabliz*, the 22d of *April*.

Your Majeſties

Moſt Humble, Faithful, and

Obedient Subject, Servant,

And Daily Oratour,

William Pagett.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſtie.

1542.

Number

Number 73.

Biſhop Thirleby's *Letter concerning the Duke of* Norfolk *and his Son.*

An Original.

I Would write unto you my Harte (if I coulde) againſt thoſe Two Ungracious, Ingrate, and Inhumane *non Homines*, the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Sonne. The Elder of whom, I confeſs that I did Love, for that I ever ſuppoſed hym a true Servant to his Maſter; like as both his Allegiance, and the manifold Benefits of the King's Majeſtie bounde him to have been; but nowe when I ſholde begyn to wright to you herin, before God I am ſo amaſed at the Matter, that I know not what to ſay; therefore I ſhall leave them to receyve for their Deads, as they have worthily deſervyd; and thank God of his Grace that hath openyd this in Tyme, ſo that the King's Majeſtie may ſee that reformed: And in this Point, wher Almighty God hath not nowe alone, but often and ſondry Tymes hertofore, not only letted the Malice of ſuch as hathe imagenyd any Treaſon againſt the King's Majeſtie, the Chiefe Comforte, Wealth, and Proſperite of all good *Engliſhmen* next unto God; but hath ſo wonderfully manifeſt, that in ſuche Tyme that his Majeſties High Wiſdom myght let that Malice to take his Effecte, all good *Engliſhe* cannot therfore thanke God enough. And for our Parts, I pray God, that we may thorough his Grace, ſo contynue his Servants, that herafter we be not founde unworthy to receyve ſuche a Benefyte at his Hands. On *Chriſtmas* Even, about 10 of the Clocke after Noon here aryved *Somerſet* with the Letters of the King's Majeſties moſt Honourable Counſell, Dated the 15th of *December* at *Weſtminſter*, wherby I perceyved the Malicious Purpoſe of the ſaid Two ungracious Men: And for the Execution of the King's Majeſties Commandment declared in the ſame Letters, I ſuyd immediately for Audience to the Emperor, who entred this Town within halfe an Houer after *Somerſet* was come. The Emperor praied me of Pacience, and to declare to the Secretarie *Joyſe*, that I wolde ſaie to him. For he ſaid he had determyned to repoſe him ſelfe for 3 or 4 Days; and had therfore for that Tyme refuſed Audience to the Nuntio, the Ambaſſador of *France*, and the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, which had ſued for Audience. On *Chriſtmas*-Day on the Morning, at Nine of the Clocke, *Joyſe* came to my Lodginge, to whom I declared as well as I coulde the great Benefits theis ungracious Men had receyved at the King's Majeſties Hands, and how unkindly and traytorouſly they went abought to ſearve him, with the reſt as myn Inſtructions led me. The King's Majeſtie, my Maſter (taking the ſame Affection

Paper-Office.

to be in the Emperor, his good Brother, towards him, that his Highnes hathe to the Emperor, (*ut Amicorum omnia ſint communia, gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus,*) hath commanded me to open this Matter to the Emperor: That as naturally all Men, and much more Princes, ought to abhore Traytors, and ſpecially ſuche as had receyved ſo great Benyfites as theis Men had: So his Majeſtie might rejoyſe that the King's Highnes his good Brother had founde forthe this Matter, or the Malice coulde be brought to Execution. Secretary *Joyſe* ſaid that he would Advertiſe the Emperor herof accordingly, and after a little Talke of the Haughtineſs of the Earle of *Surrey*, and a few Salutations, he bad me fare well. When I aſked him for Monſieur *de Grandevela*, to whom I ſaid, that I wolde tell this Tale, for that I doubted not but that he, and all Honeſt Men wolde abhorre ſuch Traytors: He ſaid that he was not yet come, but he wolde this Day Advertiſe him herof by his Letters; for I wright (quoth he) daily to him. Albeit that this be the Hole, and the Effecte of that I have done in the Execution of the King's Majeſties Commandment, declared in my ſaid Lord's Letters, yet I will as my Dutie is, Anſwer a-part their ſaid Letters to the King's Majeſtie: herin I dare not wright. For, to enter the Matter, and not to deteſt that as the Cauſe requireth, I think it not convenient. And again on the other ſide, to renew the Memorie of theſe Mens Ingratitude, (wher with all Noble and Princely Harts above all others be ſore wounded) I thinke it not Wiſdome. Therefore I beſeeche you hartely, amongſt other my good Lords, there to make my moſt humble Excuſe to his Majeſtie for the ſame. This ungracious Matter that hath happened otherwiſe then ever I could have thought, hath cauſed you to have a longer Letter then ever I have bene accuſtomed to wright. Ye ſhall herwith receyve a Scedule of Courte Newis, whiche havyng lernyd while I wrote this; Secretary *Joyſe* hathe prayed me to ſende the Letter herwith encloſed to the Emperor's Ambaſſador in *England*, which I pray you to cauſe to be delivered, and hartely fare you well. From *Halebourne* the *Chriſtmas*-Day at Night, 1546.

Your aſſured Loving Friend,

Tho. Weſtm'

Herewith ye ſhall allſo receyve the Copie of my Letters of the 19th of this Mongth, ſent by *Skipperus*, &c.

Number

Number 74.

A Letter of the Duke of Norfolk's, *after he had been examined in the* Tower.

MY very good Lords, whereas at the being here with me of my Lord Great Chamberlayne, and Mr. Secretary, they examynd me of divers Thyngs, which as near as I can call to my Remembrance were the Effects as here after doth enſew. *Titus* B. 1. P. 94.

Firſt, whether ther was any Cipher betwene me, and any other Man: For Anſwer wherunto, this is the Truth, there was never Cipher between me and any Man, ſave only ſuch as I have had for the King's Majeſtie, when I was in his Service. And as God be my Judge, I do not remember that ever I wrote in Cipher, but at ſuch Time as I was in *France*. My Lord Great Maſter that now is, and my Lord of *Rochford* being in Commiſſion with me, and whether I wrote any then, or not, as God help me, I do not remember; but and I wrote any Thing, I am ſure both their Hands were at it: And the Maſter of the Horſe privy to the ſame: I do remember that after the Death of the Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Fox*, it was ſhew'd me that the ſaid Biſhop had left a Letter, which I had ſent him, amongſt his Writings, which being found by a Servant of his, that is now with Maſter *Deny*, who ſhewd the ſame to the Biſhop of *Durham* that now is, he cauſed him to throw the ſame in Fier; as I do remember, it was my ſaid Lord Biſhop of *Dureham* that adviſed him to burn it: And as I alſo do remember, the Matter that was conteyned therin, concerned Lewde Speaking of the *Northern* Men after the Time of the Comotion againſt the ſaid *Cromwell*: If there had been any Thyng concerning the King's Majeſtys Affairs, neyther the Biſhope, nor he, were he now alyve, would not have concealed the ſame; and whether any Part of that was in Cypher, or not, as I ſhall Anſwer to God, I do not remember.

Theffect of another Queſtion there aſked me, was, as near as I can call to my Remembrance, Whether anie Man had talked with me, that and ther were a Good Peace made betwene the King's Majeſtie, the Emperor and the *French* King, the Biſhope of *Rome* would brek the ſame againe by his Diſpenſation? And whether I enclined that waies, or not, to that Purpoſe? As God help me now, at my moſt Nede, I cannot call to my Remembrance, that ever I heard any Man living ſpeak like Words. And as for mine Inclinations, that the Biſhope of *Rome* ſhould ever have Aucthority to do ſuch Thing; if I had Twentie Lives, I would rather have ſpent them all againſt him, then ever he ſhould have any Power in this Realme: For no Man knoweth that better then I, by Reding of Stories, how his Uſurped Power hath increaſed from Time to Time. Nor ſuch Time as the King's Majeſtie hath found him his Enemy, no living Man

hath, both in his Harte and with his Tounge, in this Realme, in *France*, and alſo to many *Scotiſh* Jantlemen, ſpoken more ſore againſt his ſaid Uſurped Powre, then I have done, as I can prove by good Witnes.

Alſo my ſaid Lord and Mr. Secretary aſked me, whether I was ever made privy to a Letter, ſent from my Lord of *Wyncheſter* and Sir *Henry Knevet*, of any Overture made by *Grandville* to them, for a Way to be taken between his Majeſtie and the Biſhope of *Rome*; and that the ſaid Letters ſhould have come to his Majeſtie to *Dover*, I being there with him. Wherunto this is my true Anſwer: I was never at *Dover* with his Highnes ſince my Lord of *Richmond* died, but at that Time, of whoſe Death Word came to *Syttyngborne*: And as God be my Helpe, I never heard of no ſuch Overture, ſave that I do well remember, at ſuch Time as Sir *Francis Biryan* was ſore ſike, and like to have died, it was ſpoken in the Councill, that my Lord of *Wincheſter* ſhould have ſaid, He cou'd deviſe a Way, how the King's Majeſtie might have all Things upright with the ſaid Biſhope of *Rome*, and his Highnes Honour ſaved. Suche were the Words, or much like. Wherupon, as I had often ſaid in the Councill, one was ſent to the ſaid Sir *Francis*, to know, if ever he heard the ſaid Biſhope ſpeake like Words; which he denied: And as I do remember, it was Sir *Rauf Sadeler*, that was ſent to the ſaid Sir *Francis*. And to ſay that ever I heard of any ſuch Overture made by *Grandville*, or that ever I commoned with any Man conferning any ſuch Mater, other then this of the Biſhope of *Wincheſter*, as God be my Help, I never dyd; nor unto more thenne this, I was never pre-vye.

Now, my Good Lords, having made Anſwer according to the Truth of ſuch Queſtions as hath been asked me, moſt humblie I beſeeche you all to be Mediators for me to his moſt Excellent Majeſtie, to cauſe ſuch as have accuſed me (if it might be with his high Pleaſure) to come before his Majeſtie, to lay to my Charge afore me, Face to Face, what they can ſay againſt me: And I am in no dout, ſo to declare my ſelfe, that it ſhall appere I am falſly accuſed. And if his Pleaſure ſhall not be, to take the Paine in his Royall Perſon, then to give you Commandment to do the ſame. My Lords, I truſt ye think *Cromwell*'s Service and mine hath not be like; and yet my Deſire is, to have no more Favour ſhew'de to me, than was ſhew'de to him, I being preſent. He was a fals Man; and ſewerly I am a trewe poore Jantleman.

My Lords, I think ſurelie there is ſome fals Man, that have laid ſome great Cauſe to my Charge, or elſe I had not be ſent hither. And therefore, eftſonyts moſt humblie I beſeeche to finde the Names, if they and I may not be brought Face to Face, yet let me be made privy what the Cauſes are; and if I do not anſwer truely to every Point, let me not live one Howre after: For ſewerlie I would hide nothing of any Queſtions that I ſhall know, that doth concern my ſelf, nor any other Creature.

My Lords, there was never Gold tried better by Fier and Watter than I have been, nor hath had greater Enemys about my Soverayn Lord, than I have had, and yet (God be thanked) my Trouth

hath ever tried me, as I dout not it ſhall do in theis Cauſes. Suerly, if I knew any Thought I had offended his Majeſtie in, I would ſuerly have declared it to his Perſon.

Upon the *Tuyſdaye* in *Whitſonweek* laſt paſt, I broke unto his Majeſtie, moſte humbley beſeeching him to helpe, that a Mariage might be had between my Daughter and Sir *Thomas Semour*: And wheras my Son of *Surey* hath a Son and divers Daughters; that, with his Favour, a Croſſe Mariage might have been made between my Lord Great Chamberline and them. And alſo wher my Son *Thomas* hath a Son, that ſhall (be his Mother) ſpend a Thouſand Marks a Yere, that he might be in like wiſe maried to one of my ſaid Lord's Daughters. I report me to your Lordſhips, whether myn Intent was honeſt in this Motion, or not. And whereas I have written, that my Truth hath been ſeverely tried, and that I have had great Enemies. Firſt, The Cardinall did confes to me at *Aſſer*, that he had gone about Fourteen Years to have deſtroyed me; ſaying, he did the ſame by the ſetting upon of my Lord of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, and my Lord *Sands*; who ſaid often to him, that if he found not the Means to put me out of the way, at length I ſhould ſeuerly undo him.

Cromwell, at ſuch Tyme as the Marquis of *Exeter* ſuffred, examined his Wife more ſtreitly of me, then of all other Men in the Realme, as She ſent me word by her Brother, the Lord *Montjoy*. He hath ſaid to me himſelf many times, My Lord, Ye are an happy Man, that your Wife knoweth no Hurt by you; for if She did, She would undo you.

The Duke of *Buckingham* confeſſed openly at the Bar, (my Father ſitting as his Judge) that of all Men living he hated me moſt, thinking I was the Man that had hurt him moſt to the King's Majeſtie: Which now, quoth he, I perceive the contrary.

Rice, who had maried my Sifter, confeſſed, that (of all Men living) he hated me moſt; and wiſhed many times, how he might find the Meanes to thruſt his Dagger in me.

What Malice both my Neecys, that it pleaſed the King's Highnes to maarie, did bere unto me, is not unknown to ſuch Ladies as kept them in this Sute; as my Lady *Herberd*, my Lady *Tirwit*, my Lady *Kynſton*, and others, which heard what they ſaid of me. Who tried out the Falſhod of the Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, *Aſke*, and many others, for which they ſuffer'd for? But only I. Who ſhewed his Majeſtie of the Words of my Mother-in-Law, for which She was attainted of Miſpriſion? But only I. In all Times paſt unto this Time, I have ſhewed my ſelf a moſt trewe Man to my Soveraign Lord. And ſince theſe Things done in Tymes paſt, I have received more Proffight of his Highnes, then ever I did afore. Alas! who can think, that I, having been ſo long a trew Man, ſhould now be falſe to his Majeſtie? I have received more Proffight then I have deſerved: And a Poore Man, as I am, yet I am his own near Kinſman. For whoſe Sake ſhould I be an untrewe Man to them? Alas, alas, my Lords, that ever it ſhould be thought any Ontruthe to be in me.

Fynally my good Lords eftſonys moſt Humble I beſeech you to ſhew this ſcrible Letter to his Majeſtie, and all joyntle to beſeech his Highnes to grante me the Peticions that are conteyned in the ſame, and moſt eſpecyall to remyt out of his moſt Noble Gentle Hart ſuch Diſpleaſure as he hath conceyved againſt me: and I ſhall dewryng my Lyff pray for the continuence of his moſt Royall Eſtate long to endure,

By his Highnes Poor Priſoner,

T. Norfolk.

Collection of RECORDS belonging to BOOK IV, V, and VI.

Number 1.

Inſtructions given by Luther *to* Melanchthon 1534 ; *of which, one Article was erroneouſly publiſhed by me in my IId Vol. and that being complained of, the whole is now publiſhed.*

Cogitationes meæ ſunt : (*viz. Lutheri.*)

PRimo ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros antea intellexerint. Nam iſto pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri, cum nec ipſi credamus utrumque verum hoc eſſe, & alii putabunt à nobis hoc fingi, & ita magis ſuſpectam reddemus cauſam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus, cum ſit communis omnium. Et in tantis animorum turbis, & ſcrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Forſan novum. Secundo, cum hactenus diſſenſerimus, quod illi ſignum, nos Corpus Chriſti aſſeruerimus, plane contrarii in Sacramento. Nihil minus mihi videtur utile, quam ut mediam & novam ſententiam ſtatuamus : Qua & illi concedant Corpus Chriſti addeſſe verè, & nos concedamus panem ſolum manducari. Ut enim conſcientiam taceam, conſiderandum eſt certe ; Quantam hic feneſtram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi : Et orientur hic fontes quæſtionum & opinionum : Ut tutius multo ſit illos ſimpliciter manere in ſuo ſigno : Cum nec ipſi ſuam nec nos noſtram partem, multo minus utrique totum orbem pertrahemus in eam ſententiam : Sed potius irritabimus ad varias cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut ſopitum maneret diſſi-

dium in duabus iſtis Sententiis, quam ut Occaſio daretur infinitis Quæſtionibus ad Epicuriſmum profuturis.

Tertio, Cum ſtent hic pro noſtra Sententia, primum Textus ipſe apertiſſimus Evangelii, qui non ſine cauſa movet omnes Homines, non ſolum pios : Secundo, Patrum dicta quam plurima, quæ non tam facilè poſſunt ſolvi ; nec, tuta Conſcientia, aliter quam ſonant, intelligi, cum bona Grammatica textui fortiter conſentiat. Tertio, Quia periculoſum eſt ſtatuere, Eccleſiam tot annis per totum Orbem caruiſſe vero Senſu Sacramenti ; cum nos fateamur omnes, manſiſſe Sacramenta & verbum, etſi obruta multis abominationibus.

Quarto, Dicta Sancti Auguſtini de Signo, quæ contraria noſtræ Sententiæ videntur, non ſunt firma ſatis contra iſta jam tria Dicta. Maximè, cum ex Auguſtini Scriptis clarè poſſit oſtendi, & convinci, eum loqui de Signo præſentis Corporis, ut illud, contra *Adamantum*, non dubitavit Dominus appellare Corpus ſuum, cum daret Signum Corporis ſui : Vel de Signo Corporis Myſtici, in quo valdè multus eſt, præſertim in Joanne : Ubi copioſè docet, manducare Carnem Chriſti, eſſe in Corpore myſtico ; ſeu, ut ipſe dicit, in Societate, Unitate, Charitate Eccleſiæ : Iſtis enim Verbis utitur.

Quinto, Omnium eſt fortiſſimus Auguſtinus, quod dicit, Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis, &c. Et tamen Conſcientia memor apertorum Verborum Chriſti, (Hoc eſt Corpus meum) hoc dictum S. Auguſtini facilè ſic exponit : Quod de viſibili Corpore loquatur Auguſtinus, ſicut ſonant verba (Quod videtis) ita nihil pugnat Auguſtinus cum claris verbis Chriſti : Et Auguſtinus infirmior eſt, quam ut hoc uno dicto tam incerto, imo ſatis conſono, nos moveat in contrarium ſenſum.

Sexto, Ego S. Auguſtinum non intelligo aliter (ſic & ipſe Patres ante ſe forte intellexit) quam quod contra Judæos & Gentes docendum fuit, apud Chriſtianos non comedi Corpus Chriſti viſibiliter, & more corporali. Hac ratione Fidem Sacramenti defenderunt. Rurſus contra Hypocritas Chriſtianorum docendum fuit, quod Sacramentum non eſſet ſalutare accipientibus, niſi ſpiritualiter manducarent, id eſt, Eccleſiæ eſſent uniti & incorporati. Et hac ratione Charitatem in Sacramento exegerunt. Ut ex Auguſtino clarè accipi poteſt ; qui, abſque dubio, ex prioribus Patribus, & ſui Seculi uſu, iſta accepit.

Septimo, Iſtis ſalvis, nihil eſt quod à me peti poſſit. Nam & ego hoc diſſidium vellem (Teſtis eſt mihi Chriſtus meus) redemptum non uno Corpore & Sanguine meo : Sed quid faciam ? Ipſi forte Conſcientia bona capti ſunt in alteram Sententiam. Feramus igitur eos. Si ſinceri ſunt, liberabit eos Chriſtus Dominus. Ego contra captus ſum bona certè Conſcientia (niſi ipſe mihi ſim ignotus) in meam Sententiam. Ferant & me, ſi non poſſunt mihi accedere.

Si verò illi Sententiam ſuam, ſcilicet de Præſentia Corporis Chriſti cum Pane, tenere velint, & petierint nos invicem tamen tolerari ; ego planè libenter tolerabo, in ſpe futuræ Communionis. Nam interim communicare illis in Fide & Senſu non poſſum.

Deinde, Si politica Concordia quæritur, ea non impeditur diverſitate Religionis : Sicut novimus poſſe Conjugia, Commercia, aliaque politica conſtare, inter diverſæ Religionis Homines : Primo Co-

rinth. 7. Chriſtus faciat, ut perfectè conteratur Satan ſub noſtris pedibus. Amen.

Noſtra autem Sententia eſt, Corpus ita cum Pane, ſeu in Pane eſſe, ut reverà cum Pane manducetur: Et quæcunque motum vel actionem Panis habet, eandem & Corpus Chriſti. Ut Corpus Chriſti verè dicatur ferri, dari, accipi, manducari, quando Panis fertur, datur, accipitur, manducatur; id eſt, Hoc eſt Corpus meum.

Coll. Corp. Chriſti,
Febr. 4. 95-6.

We have collated this with the Original Paper of *Luther*, and find it to agree exactly. Witneſs our Hands,

John Faggard.
Rob. Moſs.
Will. Lunn.

Number 2.

The Lady Mary's *Letter to the Lord Protector, and to the reſt of the King's Majeſty's Council, upon their ſuſpecting ſome of her Houſhold had encouraged the* Devonſhire *Rebellion.*

My Lord,

Ex MS. D. G. Cooke.

I Have received Letters from you, and others of the King's Majeſty's Council, dated the 17th of this preſent, and delivered unto me the 20th of the ſame, whereby I perceive ye be informed, that certayn of my Servants ſhould be the Chief Stirrers, Procurers, and Doers in theſe Commotions; which Commotions (I aſſure you) no leſs offend me, than they do you and the reſt of the Council. And you write alſo, that a Prieſt and Chapleyn of mine, at *Sampford Courtney* in *Devonſhire*, ſhould be a Doer there. Of which Report I do not a little marvel; for, to my Knowledge, I have not one Chaplayn in thoſe Parts. And concerning *Pooly*, my Servant, which was ſometime a Receiver, I am able to anſwer, that he remayneth continually in my Houſe, and was never Doer amongſt the Commons, nor came in their Company. It is true, that I have another Servant of that Name dwelling in *Suffolk*; and whether the Commons have taken him or no, I know not, for he reſorteth ſeldom to my Houſe. But by Report, they have taken by Force many Gentlemen in theſe Quarters, and uſed them very cruelly. And as touching *Lionell* my Servant, I cannot but marvell of that Bruit, ſpeci-

ſpecially becauſe he dwelleth within Two Miles of *London*, and is not acquainted within the Shire of *Suffolk*, or *Norfolk*; nor at any Time cometh into theſe Parts, but when he waiteth upon me in my Houſe, and is now at *London* about my Buſineſſe, being no Man apt or meet for ſuch Purpoſes, but given to as much Quietneſs as any within my Houſe.

My Lord, it troubleth me to hear ſuch Reports of any of mine, and ſpecially where no Cauſe is given, truſting that my Houſhold ſhall try themſelves true Subjects to the King's Majeſty, and honeſt quiet Perſons; or elſe I would be loath to keep them. And where you charge me that my Proceedings in Matters of Religion, ſhould give no ſmall Courage to many of thoſe Men to require and do as they do: That Thing appeareth moſt evidently to be untrue, for all the Riſing about theſe Parts is touching no Point of Religion; but even as ye ungently, and without deſert charge me, ſo I, omitting ſo fully to anſwer it, as the Caſe doth require, do and will pray God, that your new Alterations, and unlawful Liberties, be not rather the Occaſion of theſe Aſſemblies, than my doings, who am (God I take to witneſſe) inquieted therewith. And as for *Devonſhire*, no indifferent Perſon can lay their Doings to my Charge; for I have neither Land, nor Acquaintance in that Country, as knoweth Almighty God, whom I humbly beſeech to ſend you all as much Plenty of his Grace, as I would wiſh to my ſelf. So with my hearty Commendations, I bid you farewel. From my Houſe at *Kennyngball* the xxth of *July*.

Your Friend to my Power,

MARY.

Number 3.

A Letter of Chriſtopher Mont *concerning the Interim.*

Chriſtophorus Montius S. D.

Wolph. Muſculo.

CUM harum Lator mihi indicaſſet ſe Dominum noſſe, nolui eum ſine meis ad te reverti literis. Cùm ego Auguſtâ diſcederem: diſceſſi autem, hujus nihil dum ibi innovatum fuit per Eccleſias, ſed optimi quique vehementer verebantur Superſtitiones inducendas propediem *Ex MS. Tigur.*

pediem Concionator ad S. Georgium mihi ſignificavit, Senatum à Concionatoribus eflagitare, ut modo in his calamitatibus civitatem non deſererent, ſed porro in ea permanerent, ſe eos maturè & in tempore certiores facturos, modo viderint ſuperſtitionem imminere, quaſi modo non in media urbe dominetur. Rogavit quoque Senatus, ut Concionatores Populo Interim quam compoſitiſſimis & coloratiſſimis verbis poſſent, proponerent, quod major pars recuſârunt, dicentes ſe hoc Scriptum laudare nulla ratione neque conſtantia poſſe, quod communi ſuffragio damnaſſent, duo tamen ſe id facturos receperunt, quod & factum audivi ad S. Crucem & Mauriciuṁ. Non dubito te audiiſſe, de eo Scripto, quod huc nuper allatum fuit ex Saxonia. Utinam Germana virtus & Conſtantia alicubi permanens emineat, ut ſi non fortiter agendo, ſaltem fortiter adverſa propter Domini gloriam ferendo, profeſſionem & officium noſtrum teſtentur. Dux Gemini pontis Auguſtâ diſceſſiſſe dicitur, ut qui *Interim* indictionem & promulgationem Dioceſano præſtandam & committendam dixerit, neque ſe neque ſuos huic executioni idoneos Miniſtros eſſe. Tamen qua conditione dimiſſus ſit, certo nondum didici. Bremenſes diſceſſiſſe audio nondum reconciliatos, nam tam graves eis conditiones præſcribi audio, ut quas omnino etiam ſi eas acceperint, præſtare non poſſint. Multi putant conſultò tam gravia præſcribi, ut ſub ſpecie contumaciæ & obſtinationis, obſidione preſſi & expugnati Friſiæ jungantur. Civitas quoque ea plurimis rebus agendis aptiſſima eſt, ut quæ ſupra Viſurgim & Albim poſita acceſſum aperiat ad Cherſoneſum totam occupandum. Qua lege Conſtantienſes redierint domum ex Domino noſſe cupio. Rogo quoque ut mihi ſignificare velis quæ concordiæ & communicationis ſpes ipſis inter ſe Helvetis ſit. Literas quas ad me perlatas voles, curâ ad D. Bucerum adferri. Bene vale. Argentinæ 18. Jul. 1548. Literas tectas exuras.

Number 4.

A Part of a Letter of Hooper's *to* Bullinger, *giving an Account of the Cruelty of the* Spaniards *in the* Netherlands.

Ex MS. Tigur.

NOS 14. Aprilis relicta Colonia, iter verſus Antwerpiam, per Campiniam Brabantinam, ſterilem ac arenoſam, inſtituimus. 18. ejuſdem, venimus omnes, Dei Gratia, ſalvi & incolumes Antwerpiam. 20. Die, Precibus Oratoris Regis noſtri, qui apud Cæſarem nunc agit, compulſus, Bruxellam me contuli, unà cum Joh. Stumphio, ut videret mollitiem ac miſerias Aulæ, præterea ſervitutem Civium Bruxellenſium, qui jam Hiſpanorum Imperium, latrocinium ac furtum, violationem Filiarum, Uxorum impudicitiam, minas denique ac plagas perditiſſimæ Gentis ferre coguntur; ut Statum ac Conditionem

tionem ſuæ Patriæ altius conſideraret, ardentius pro illo oraret, ac diligentius ſuos admoneret, ut alienis malis edoctos cautiores redderet. Cæſarem non vidimus, quòd rarò Cubiculum ſuum egreditur, nec Filium, qui Paſcha ſuum egit extra Civitatem, in Monaſterio quodam. Ducem Saxoniæ Jo. Stumphius vidit per feneſtram. Ego bis fui in Ædibus illius valdè humaniter acceptus à ſuis Germanis, qui ei adhuc inſerviunt, ad numerum 30. Voluit Dux, bis vel ter, me admittere ad Colloquium; ſed impedivit ſemper primi Capitanei Hiſpanorum præſentia. Vivit conſtanter in ſua Fide. Non valet, quantum ad Valetudinem Corporis ſpectat, de liberatione illius nulla penitus affulget ſpes, niſi quod abſit, Religionem ſuam mutet: non malè ſperat de Verbo Dei. Catus Landgravius Captivus detinetur Auldenardi, ſeptem milliaribus à Gandavo: Homo omnibus numeris miſer & inconſtans: nunc omnem Obedientiam Cæſari, ac Fidem pollicetur; Miſſam, ac cætera impia ſacra, obviis ulnis amplectitur, nunc Cæſarem, cum ſuo interdicto, execratur ac deteſtatur. Dominus miſereatur illius; miſerè affligitur, ac meritas pœnas perfidiæ ſuæ jam luit. Et vidimus, præterea Lazarum Scuendi proditorem illum, quem noſtis. De Brandeburgenſi, ac aliis Germanis, Hiſpanorum mancipiis, nihil opus eſt quod ſcriberem. Legatus Papæ, per totam Quadrageſimam, in ſua Aula eſt concionatus, quàm impiè non ſcribam. Hoc tamen pro certo ſcio, non bene convenire inter Papam & Cæſarem, nec inter Gallum ac Cæſarem. Uterque valdè ſibi timet à Cæſare: Cæſar viciſſim à fulmine Papæ maximè timet. Jam agitur ſeriò inter illos, an Concilium Generale Tridenti, an Bologniæ ſit celebrandum. Papa urget, mandat, rogat ac jubet, ut Cæſar conſentiat de Bologna: Is renuit, negat ac pernegat, omnibus modis: & potius dicit ſe omnes Amicitias cum Papa deſinere, quam illum locum, Bologniam ſcil. admittere: Quid monſtri in hoc, ex parte Papæ, lateat, facilè divinare licet. Diffidit Regno ſuo valde; nam hoc didici ab Oratore noſtro, quòd ſi Cæſaris Confeſſor eſſet mediocriter pius, eſſet maxima ſpes, quod brevi in Cognitionem Chriſti induceretur. Nam apertè mihi retulit, & Cæſarem, & Conſiliarios ſuos omnes regi, impelli, duci ac trahi, per Confeſſorem, qui omnia Papæ ſuaſu & concilio agit. Et facilè credo: Nam ante ſeptem Menſes, cum Cæſar adhuc erat in ſuperiore Germania, fuit derelictus à ſuo Confeſſore, quod crudelius voluit ſævire in pios Viros, & in integrum Papatum reſtituere. Cæſar obtulit ei Epiſcopatum in Hiſpania, ad 20. Millia Coronatorum per Annum: neglexit Cæſaris Liberalitatem, & Cæſarem ipſum hiſce Verbis, Eccleſiæ Chriſti me ſolum debeo, ſed non Tibi, non Dono tuo, niſi Eccleſiæ mavis majori ſtudio inſervire. Jam de Cæſaris animo ergo Helvetiam. Omnes in hoc conſentiunt illum veſtræ libertati hoſtiliter invidere, propterea nullum non movere lapidem, ut rumpat inter vos concordiam: ſi hac via res non ſuccedat, omnia aget pollicitationibus. Cavete igitur, ne lactet vos inani ſpe. Denique abſque dubio vos aggredietur hoſtili manu, non ut ſic vincat, vel multos ex ſuis exponat periculo, ſed ut vobis incutiat timorem. Rogo itaque ut unanimiter ac mutuò vos diligatis; Deum timete, ſanctè vivite, ſtrenuè pugnate, ac expectate Victoriam à Deo, qui procul dubio vobis aderit ac defendet. Adhuc putem vobis non imminere periculum, ſed ſitis ſemper parati: & abſit procul omnis ſecu-

ritas,

ritas, ne obruat inopinantes. Adhuc Cæſar bene ſcit, ſe non poſſe pro Voto uti rebus Germaniæ. Doluit illi ſæpius, (ut accepi à Viris fide dignis) aliquid tentâſſe in Religione: quidem ſi Germanis permiſiſſet liberam maximè fuiſſe in re illius. Aiunt Cæſarem brevi profecturum, Gandavum & à Gandavo iterum petiturum Bruxellam, vel aſcenſurum verſus Spiram. Copias militum habet prope Bremam ac civitates maritimas, ſed otioſas: Nihil proficiunt res, à civibus multum timetur, indies magis ac magis Civitates ſuas muniunt & comeatum habent ad quinque annos, non multum Cæſaris gratiam amplius ambiunt. Quam graves exactiones à ſuis Cæſar jam exigit credo ſe non ignorare. Dicam tamen triſtem ac deplorandam Orationem, quam effudit pia mulier, hoſpita noſtra in Campinia: Si inquit ferre potuerim in ſinu meo magnam ac jam nunc moleſtam turbam liberorum meorum, fugerem ac per ſtipem victum quærerem, nam Cæſare ac Reginæ exactores labores ſudores noſtri exantlant. Hac ex parte Angli etiam jam valde laborant, conceſſa eſt Regi quinta pars omnium bonorum. Sed adhuc de Helvetia unum. Heri 25. Aprilis invitatus ad prandium à quodam cive Antverpenſi, qui optimè novit Helvetiam, ac ſæpe in omnibus civitatibus Helvetiorum expoſuit merces ſuas, is mihi retulit, ſe frequenter vidiſſe in aula Cæſaris ex eo quod Cæſar ſuperiorem partem Germaniæ reliquerit, publicos Miniſtros Civitatis Lucernanæ, nam bene novit illos ex colore veſtium, metuendum eſt, ne arcana patriæ per hujuſmodi patefiant, vel aliquid majus malum lateat.

The Reſt of the Letter relates to private Concerns.

Number 5.

The Oath of Supremacy, as it was made when the Biſhops did Homage in King Henry *the VIIIth's Time. The laſt Words were ſtruck out by King* Edward *the VIth.*

Ex MSS. Rymer.

YE ſhall ſay and ſwere as foloweth, I ſhall be Faithful and True, and Faith and Trowth I ſhall bere unto your Majeſtie, and to your Heires Kings of this Realme; and with Liff and Lymme, and Erththelie Honour for to Live and Dye as your Faithful Subject, agayne all Perſons of what Degre, State, or Condition ſoever they bee: And I ſhall preferr, ſuſtayne, and mayntayne the Honour, Surtie, Right, Prehemynence, and Prerogatif of your Majeſtie, and your Heires Kings of this Realm, and Juriſdiction of your Imperiall Crowne of the ſame, afore and agaynſt all maner of Perſones, Powers, and Auctorities whatſoever they bee: And I ſhall not witlynglie do, or attempt, nor to my Power ſuffer to be done, or attempted any Thing, or Things, prively, or apartly, that may be to the Dymunytion, or Derogation of your Crowne of this Realme; or of the Lawes, Liberties, Rights, and Prerogatiffes belonging to the ſame, but put myne effectual Endevour from Tyme to Tyme, as the Caſe ſhall

ſhall requier to advance and increas the ſame to my Wit and uttermoſt of my Power: And in nowiſe herafter I ſhall accept any Othe, or make any Promiſe, Pact, or Covenant, ſecretly, or apertlye by any maner of Means, or by any Colour of Pretence to the contrary of this my Othe, or any Part therof. And I ſhall be diligentlye attendant uppon your Majeſtie, and to your Heires Kings of this Realme, in all your Commaundements, Cauſes, and Buſyneſſes. And alſo I knowledge and recognize your Majeſtie ymmediately under Almightie God to be the Chief and *Supreme Hede of the Church* of *England*, and clayme to have the *Biſhepriche of Cheſter*, Holye and allonlye of your Gift: And to have and to hold the Proffites Temporal and Spiritual of the ſame allonlye of your Majeſtie, and of your Heires Kings of this Realme, and of none other: And in that ſorte and none other, I ſhall take my Reſtitution owt of your Handes accordinglye, utterly renownſing any other Suit to be had herefore to any other Creature liffyng, or hereafter to be, except your Heires. And I ſhall to my Wit, and uttermoſt of my Power obſerve, keep, mayntayn, and defende all the Statutes of this Realme made agaynſt the Reſervations and Proviſions of the Biſhop of *Rome*, called the Pope, of any of the Archiebuſshopriches, or Buſshopriches in this Realmə, or of other your Domynions. And alſo I ſhall obſerve, fullfill, defende, mayntayn, and kepe to the uttermoſt of my Power all the hole Effects and Content of the Statute made for the Surtie of your Succeſſion of your Crowne of this Realme, and all the Cauſes and Articles mentioned and conteagned in the ſaide Statute: And alſo all other Statutes uade in conformation, or for the due Execution of the ſame. And all theis Things I ſhall do without colour, fraude, or any other undue Mean agaynſt all Perſons, Powers, and Auctorities of the World, whatſoever they be. And in one wiſe for any maner of Cauſe, Colour, or Pretence, prively, or apertlye I ſhall move, do, or attempt; nor to any Power ſuffer to be done, or attempted any Thing or Things to the contrary herof, So help me God, all Sayntes, and the Holye Evangels.

Per me Roland' Co' & Lich' Electum.

Number 6.

A Letter of Peter Martyr's *to* Bullinger *of the State of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *in the Year* 1550, June 1.

S. D. Literis tuis vir eximie mihique in Chriſto plurimum obſervande, longè antea reſpondiſſe debueram, ad quod faciendum, non ſolum inſtitutum officium inter amicos, verum etiam quod ſuaviſſimæ fuerunt & bene comitatæ aliis ſymmiſtarum epiſtolis jucundiſſimis: vehementer extimulabar ſed quando redditæ ſunt adverſa valetudine nonnihil

nihil afflictabar: & ſtatim ut convalui, ea mole negotiorum penè ſum oppreſſus, ut quod maximè cupiebam facere non licuerit, cujuſmodi autem fuerint hæ occupationes paucis expediam. Præter quotidianas Interpretationes Pauli, quod totum ferme hominem ſibi vendicat, ſi velit in eis pro dignitate verſari, acceſſit ex legibus modò latis à Regia Majeſtate, huic Academiæ novum onus. Quippe decretum eſt, ut frequenter publicæ Diſputationes de Rebus Theologicis habeantur, hoc eſt alternis hebdomadis, quibus mihi præcipitur, ut & interſim & præſim. Deinde in hoc Regio Collegio ubi dego, ſingula quaque ſeptimana, Theologicæ Diſputationes agitantur, quæ cum ad illas audiendas aditus omnibus patet, identidem publicæ dici poſſunt, hiſque ſum conſtitutus pariter, atque aliis cenſor. Eſt itaque cum adverſariis perpetuò luctandum, & quidem pertinaciſſimis, quò fit, ut velim nolim facilè cogar, alias non rarò ſeponere literas, & vocationi cui ſum obſtrictus, totum tempus mihi conceſſum tranſmittere. Verum certè ſcio boni conſules, nec in malam partem capias (quæ tua eſt humanitas) quod à contemptione profectum non eſſe animadvertes. Gaudeo quas ſcripſeram literas, abs te hilari lætoque animo fuiſſe ſuſceptas: neque vulgares ago gratias, quod tuum præſidium, ſi quid me poſſis cojuvare, tam promtè atque alacriter offers. Recompenſet Deus iſtum Animum, ut ego illum ſincerâ charitate complector! Hic verò ſcitò negotium religionis procedere non quidem eo ſucceſſu, eoque ardore quo velim, ſed tamen plus quàm noſtra peccata mereantur, & aliquantiò felicius, atque mihi ante quatuor menſes polliceri auſus eſſem. Permulta certè ſunt quæ nobis obſtant, cumprimis adverſariorum copia, concionatorum inopia, & eorum qui profitentur Evangelium craſſa vitia, & quorundam præterea humana prudentia, qui judicant religionem quidem repurgandam ſed ita vellent demutari quam minimè fieri poſſit, quod cum Animo ſint & *judicio civiles*, exiſtimant maximos motus republicæ fore perniciosos. Verum tu ipſe cernis, cùm innumeræ corruptiones, infiniti abuſus, & immenſæ ſuperſtitiones in eccleſia Chriſti paſſim inoleverint, fieri non poſſe ut juſta habeatur inſtauratio niſi quæ deflexerunt in vitium, ad ſuos genuinos ortus puriſſimos fontes & inadulterata principia revocentur. Satan aſtutè ſanctos conatus aggreditur, vellet enim hoc prætextu q. numeroſiſſimas papatus relinquere reliquias. Partim ne homines ejus facilè obliviſcerentur. partim verò ut reditus ad illum facilior maneret. At viciſſim inde Conſolationis hauſimus, quod Regem habemus verè ſanctum, qui tanto ſtudio Pietatis flagrat, ea eſt, hac ætate, prædictus Eruditione, eaque Prudentia jam nunc & Gravitate loquitur, ut omnes in admirationem ſtuporemque ſe audientes, convertat. Quamobrem, orandus eſt Deus contentiſſimis Votis, ut eum Regno & Eccleſiæ multò diutiſſimè conſervet. Sunt & complures Heroes, Regnique Proceres, bene admodum ſentientes; & aliquos Epiſcopos habemus, non peſſimos, inter quos eſt uti ſignifer Cantuarienſis. Deinde in eorum Album cooptatus eſt Hooperus, magna porrò bonorum omnium lætitia; utque audio, contigit ei Populus non malus: Me illum ſpero viſurum, quando ad ſuum Epiſcopatum iter faciet. Nam ſi Gloceſtriam ſe conferet, quæ eſt ejus Eccleſia, per nos hac tranſibit. Quo autem pacto duci potuerit, ut fieret Epiſcopus, referrem pluribus, niſi compertiſſimum haberem, illum ipſum (quæ eſt ejus in te

obſervantia) omnia fuſiſſimè ſcripturum. Eſt alius præterea Vir bonus, Michael Coverdallus, qui ſuperioribus annis agebat in Germania Parochum: Is multum in Devonia, & prædicando, & interpretando Scripturas, laborat; eum te probè nôſſe arbitror, qui Exceſtrenſis Epiſcopus fiet. Nilque poteſt commodi, ut & utilius fieri ad Religionis Repurgationem, quam ſi homines hujus farinæ ad Eccleſiæ Adminiſtrationem impellantur. Contulit etiam ſe huc Dominus Alaſco, quum ejus Phryſia Imperatorium *Interim* admiſit, utque olfacio, Londini Germanorum Eccleſiæ præerit; quod mihi vehementer placet. Degit nunc apud D. Cantuarienſem. Accepiſti jam quo loco noſtræ Res in Anglia ſint, quæ adhuc nonnihil melioris ſpei efficit; Pax iſta, cum Rege Gallorum facta, quæ videtur indies magis corroborari. Solum nonnulli verentur, ne in bonorum perniciem, quod jactitare incipiunt Papiſtæ celebretur Concilium: Verum ſi ſapuerimus & hoc genus Cogitationum, in Deum rejiciamus. Sermones quos edidiſti, fuerunt hoc tempore utiles monilares, qui ut ex mediis Scripturis ſanctis recitati ſunt, ita & grati fuerunt; & ſpero, non abſque fructu legentur. Johannem ab Ulmis, & Stumphium, quos mihi commendâſti, eâ quâ poſſum Charitate complector; atque ipſi viciſſim me colunt, & obſervant: Ad me ventitant ſæpius; & ſi quid vel ſcribendum, vel aliud agendum, mea cauſa ſit, præſtare non detrectant, ſed lubenti volentique animo faciunt; qua de cauſa, illis non parum debeo. Sed audio, Stumphium ad vos delatum eſſe, quod contra quàm veſtris Legibus liceat, neſcio quod ab Anglis Stipendium accipiat; id verò certò ſcias, falſum eſſe. Vixit hic aliquandiu in noſtro Collegio, ſed ſua pecunia; quod poſthac non illi fraudi ſit, utque ulla ſpecie mali abſtineat: Hic diſceſſit, & in Oppido, apud Civem Bibliopolam, divertit. Modò quòd ſupereſt, tuos, tuorumque Preces, quanta poſſum cum inſtantia imploro; quo progrediatur in hoc Regno Domini Opus, atque tandem Corda Patrum in Filios, & Corda Filiorum in Patres ſuos, noſtro Miniſterio revocentur. Oxonij, primâ Junij 1550. Valeas in Domino; & me, ut facias, ama.

Tuus, ex Animo,

Petrus Martyr.

Salutes, quæſo, iſthic meo Nomine, omnes bonos in Fratres; ac nominatim, D. Bibliandrum, & Doctorem Ghiſnerum.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clariſſimo, Pietate & Doctrina, Viro,
D. Henrico Bullingero, Eccleſiæ Tigurinæ Paſtori Fideliſſimo, Domino ſuo ac Fr. Colendiſſimo, Tiguri.

Number 7.

A Mandate, in K. Edward's *Name, to the Officers of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *requiring them to ſee, that the Articles of Religion ſhould be Subſcribed.*

Mandatum pro Publicatione nonnullorum Articulorum, veram proponi Fidem concernentium.

Reg. *Cranmer*, f. 65.

EDwardus Sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, & in Terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ Supremum Caput. Dilectis Sibi, Officiali Curiæ Cantuar' & Decano Decanatûs de Arcubus Londin' ac eorum Surrogatis, deputatis, aut locum tenentibus, Uni vel Pluribus, Salutem. Quoniam nuper, per Literas noſtras Regias, Signeto noſtro obſignatas, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, Conſiliario noſtro Fideliſſimo, Thomæ Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano, dederimus in Mandatis. Quatenus ipſe, ad Dei Optimi Maximi Gloriam illuſtrandam, noſtramque, & Eccleſiæ noſtræ Anglicanæ (cujus Caput Supremum, poſt Chriſtum, eſſe dignoſcimur) Honorem, & ad tollendam Opinionis Diſſenſionem, & Conſenſum veræ Religionis firmandum, nonnullos Articulos, & alia rectam Chriſti Fidem ſpirantia, Clero & Populo noſtris, ubi libet infra ſuam Juriſdictionem degentibus, pro Parte noſtra exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret & ſignificaret; prout in Literis noſtris (quarum Tenores, pro hic inſertis haberi volumus) latius continetur, & deſcribitur. Vobis igitur, & eorum cuilibet, tenore præſentium, diſtrictè præcipiendo noſtra ſublimi Regia Auctoritate, mandamus; Quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis, peremptoriè, omnes & ſingulos Rectores, Vicarios, Preſbyteros, Stipendiarios, Curatos, Plebanos, Miniſtros, Ludimagiſtros cujuſlibet Scholæ Grammatices, aut aliter vel alias Grammaticam, apertè vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem inſtituentes, Verbi Dei Prædicatores, vel Prælectores, necnon quoſcunque alios, quamcunque aliam Functionem Eccleſiaſticam, (quocunque Nomine, aut Appellatione, cenſetur, habetur, aut nuncupetur) obtinentes & habentes. Oeconimos quoque cujuſlibet Parochiæ, infra Decanatum de Arcubus prædictum, exiſtentes aut degentes, quod ipſi omnes, & eorum quilibet, per ſe compareat, & compareat perſonaliter, coram dicto Reverendiſſimo Patre Cantuar' Archiepiſcopo, in Aula Ædium ſuarum apud Lambehithe, die Veneris viceſimo tertio die præſentis Menſis Junij, inter Horas ſeptimam & nonam, ante Meridiem ejuſdem Diei. Hiſque tunc iis ex Parte noſtra fuerint ſignificanda, humiliter obtemperaturos, facturoſque ulterius & recepturos, quod conſonans fuerit Rationi, ac ſuo convenerit erga noſtram Regiam Dignitatem Officio. Mandantes quatenus, dictis Die, Loco & Horis, eundem Reverendiſſimum, de Executione hujus Regij noſtri Mandati, unà cum

Nominibus & Cognominibus, omnium & ſingulorum, per vos Monitorum, ritè, rectè, & auctenticè reddatis, certiorem, unà cum præſentibus, uti decet. Teſte Thomâ Cant' Archiepiſcopo, prædicto, decimo nono die Junii, Anno Regni noſtri Septimo.

Certificatorium factum ſuper Executione Mandati prædicti.

REverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino Domino Thomæ, Permiſſione Divina, Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano; Auctoritate Illuſtriſſimi in Chriſto Principis, & Domini noſtri Domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei Defenſoris, ac in Terrâ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ, Supremi Capitis; ſufficienti Auctoritate fulcito Johannes Gibbon Civilium Legum Profeſſor, veſtræ celcitudinis obſervantiſſimus, pariter eidem addictiſſimus decanatus veſtr' Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, de Archibus London, Commiſſarius omnem que decet Reverentiam, & Obedientiam, tanto Reverendiſſimo Patri debitam cùm Honore. Mandatum Illuſtriſſimi & Potentiſſimi Domini noſtri Regis, preſentibus annexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter & auctoritate omnes & ſingulos Rectores, Preſbiteros, &c. Dat. Viceſſimo Secundo Die Menſis Junii, Anno Domini Milleſſimo Quingenteſſimo Quinquageſſimo Tertio.

Number 8.

By the King.

The King's Mandate to the Biſhop of Norwich, *ſent with the Articles to be ſubſcribed by the Clergy.*

RIght Reverende Father in God, Right Truſtie and Well-beloved, We Grete you Well: And bicauſe it hath pleaſed Almightie God in this latter Time of the World, after long Darkenes of Knowleadge to reveale to this his Churche of *Englande*; whereof we have under Chriſt the Chief Charge in Earth; a ſincere Knowlege of the Goſpell, to the ineſtimable Benefit of Us and our People, redeemed by our Saviour Chriſt. We have thought it mete, and our Dutie for the Pure Conſervacon of the ſame Goſpell in our Church, with one Uniforme Profeſſion, Doctryne, and Preachinge, and for the avoyding of many Perilous and Vain Opinions, and Errors, to ſende unto you certayne Articles, deviſed and gathered with great Study,

and by Council, and good Advice of the greateſt learned Parte of our Byſhoppes of this Realm, and ſundry others of our Clergie ; which Articles we Wyll and Exhort your ſelf to Subſcribe, and in your Preachings, Redings, and Teachings, to obſerve and cauſe to be ſubſcribed and obſerved, of all other which do, or hereafter ſhall Preache, or Reade, within your Dioces. And if any Perſon, or Perſons, having Benefice within your Dioces, ſhall from henceforth, not only refuſe wylfully to ſett their Hands to theſe Articles, but alſo obſtinatly Exhort their Parrochians to withſtande the ſame, and Teache the People in a contrary way ; Our Pleaſure is, that beinge duly proved, ye ſhall advertiſe Us, or our Cownſaile of the hoole Mattier, fully to thintent ſuche furter Ordre may by Direction from Us, or our ſaid Cownſail, to be taken as the Caſe ſhall require, and ſhall ſtande with Juſtice, and th'Ordre of our Lawes. And further, that when, and as often as ye ſhall have any manner of Perſon preſented unto you to be admitted by yowe as the Ordinary to any Eccleſiaſtical Ordre, Miniſtry, Office, or Cure, within your Dioces, that ye ſhall before you admit him, conferre with him in every theis Articles. And finding him therto conſentinge, to cawſe him Subſcribe the ſame in one Legier Book to be fourmed for that Purpoſe, which maye remayne as a Regiſtre for a Concorde, and to let him have a Copye of the ſame Articles. And if any Men in that Caſe ſhall refuſe to conſent to any of the ſaid Articles, and to Subſcribe the ſame, then we Will and Command you, that neither ye, nor any for you, or by your Procurement in any wiſe ſhall admitt him, or allowe him as ſufficient and mete to take any Ordre, Miniſtery, or Eccleſiaſtical Cure. For whiche yower ſo doinge, we ſhall diſcharge yowe from all maner of Penalties, or Daungers of Actions, Suits, or Plees of Premonirees, *quare impedit*, or ſuch lyke. And yet our Meaning is, that if any Partie refuſe to Subſcribe any of theſe Articles, for lack of Learning and Knowledge of the Trewth, ye ſhall in that Caſe by Teachinge, Conference, and Prouf of the ſame by the Scriptures, reaſonably and diſcretely move, and perſwade him therto before yow ſhall Peremptorilye Judge him as unhable and a Recuſant. And for the Tryall of his Conformitie, ye ſhall according to your Diſcrecion prefix a Time and Space convenient to Deliberate and give his Conſent, ſo that be betwixt Three Weks and Six Weks, from the Time of his Firſt Acceſſe unto yowe. And if after Six Weks he wyll not conſent and agree wyllinglie to Subſcribe, then ye may lawfullye, and ſhall in any wyſe refuſe to admytt, or enhable him. And where there is of late ſett fourthe by our Authoritie a Cathechiſme for the Inſtruction of Younge Scolers in the Feare of God, and the Trewe Knowleage of his Holy Religion, with expreſſe Commaundyment from us to all Scole Maiſters to teache and inſtruct their Scholars the ſaide Cathechiſme, making it the Beginning and Firſt Foundacion of ther Teaching in their Scholes : Our Pleaſure is, that for the better Exequution of our ſaid Commaundyment, ye ſhall Yearely, at the leaſt once viſit, or cauſe to be viſited, every Schole within your ſaide Dioces, in which Viſitacion yt ſhall be enquired both howgh the Scole Maiſter of every ſuch Schole hath uſed himſelf in the Teaching of the ſaid Cathecciſme ; and alſo howgh the Scholars do receyve and followe the ſame, making

king playne and full Certificate of the Offendors, contrary to this our Ordre, and of their ſeverall Offences, to the Archbiſhop of that Province, within the Monethes from Tyme to Tyme after every ſuch Offence. Yeoven undre our Signet at the Manor of *Grenewich* the IXth Daye of *June*, the VIIIth Yeare of our Reign.

This is Faithfully Tranſcribed from the Beginning of a Folio MS. Book in the Principal Regiſtry of the Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*—— After which immediately follow

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinenſi, Anno Domini 1552. *ad tollendam Diſſenſionem & Conſenſu veræ Religionis, firmandum inter Epiſcopos & alios eruditos Viros, convenerat Regiâ Authoritate in lucem Editi.*

42 Articles as in the Appendix of IId Volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, N. 55. Subſcribed by about 50 Original Hands, thus:

Per me Milonem Spenſer.

Per me Johannem Barrett.

Per me Petrum Watts, *&c.*

Feb. 12, 1713.

Examined by

Thom. Tanner.

Number 9.

Ornatiſſ. Viris Dominis Sands, *ac Regentibus & Non-Regentibus Academiæ* Cantabr.

ÆQuum eſt, ut qui ſe Literarum Studiis dediderunt, & in veri Inquiſitione verſantur, illius Diſciplinæ veritatem profiteantur, quæ ad vivendum eſt utiliſſima, & ad judicandum cum Verbo Dei convenientiſſima. Cùm autem in redintigranda Religione, multum

diuque Regiæ Majeſtatis Authoritate, & bonorum atque eruditorum Virorum judiciis ſit elaboratum, & de Articulis quibuſdam in Synodo Londonenſi Anno Domini 1552. ad tollendam opinionum diſpentionem, concluſum: Æquiſſimum judicavimus, eoſdem Regiâ Authoritate promulgatos, & omnibus Epiſcopis ad meliorem Dioceſeos ſuæ Adminiſtrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare, & viſitationis noſtræ Authoritate præcipere ac Statuere de his, ad hunc modum.

Singuli Doctores & Bachallores Theologiæ, & ſinguli præterea Artium Doctores, ſolenniter & publice, ante creationem ſuam, hoc Jurejurando ſequenti ſe aſtringant, & in Commentarios Academiæ, ad id deſignatos, ſuâ ipſerum manu referant. Quod ni fecerint gradus ſui capiendi repulſam patiantus.

Ego N. N. Deo Teſte promitto ac ſpondeo, primo me veram Chriſti Religionem, omni Animo Complexurum, Scripturæ Authoritatem Hominum judicio præpoſiturum, Regulam Vitæ & ſummam Fidei, ex Verbo Dei petiturum, cætera quæ ex Verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis & non neceſſariis habiturum. Authoritatem Regiam in hominibus ſummam, & externorum Epiſcoporum Juriſdictioni minime ſubjectam æſtimaturum; & contrarias Verbo Dei Opiniones, omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum. Vera conſuetis, Scripta non Scriptis, in Religionis Causâ antehabiturum. Deinde me Articulos, de quibus in Sinodo Londenenſi Anno Domini 1553. ad tollendam Opinionum Diſſenſionem & conſenſum veræ Religionis firmandum inter Epiſcopos & alios eruditos Viros convenerat, & Regiâ Authoritate in lucem editos, pro veris & certis habiturum, & omni in loco tanquam Conſentientes cum Verbo Dei defenſurum, & contrarios Articulos in Scholis & Pulpitis vel reſpondendo vel concionando oppugnaturum. Hæc omnia in me recipio, Deoque Teſte, me Sedulo facturum promitto ac Spondeo.

An. 1553, 1 *Jun. Ex MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant.*

Tho. Ely *Canc.* Joannes Cheeke.
Gul. Meye. Tho Wendy.

Number 10.

King Edward's *Deviſe for the Succeſſion, written with his own Hand.*

FOR lack of *Iſſue Male* of my Body, *to the Iſſue Male coming of the Iſſue Female, as I have after declared.* To the ſaid *Frances* Heirs Males, if ſhe have any; for lack of ſuch Iſſue before my Death, to the ſaid *Jane* and Heirs Males; to the ſaid *Katherine*'s Heirs Males;

to

to the Lady *Mary*'s Heirs Males: To the Heirs Males of the Daughters, which She ſhall have hereafter. Then to the Lady *Marget*'s Heirs Males. For Lack of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs Males of the Lady *Jane*'s Daughters; to the Heirs Males of the Lady *Katherine*'s Daughters, and ſo forth, till you come to the Lady *Marget*'s Heirs Males.

2. If after my Death the Heir Male be entred into Eighteen Year old, then He to have the whole Rule and Governance thereof.

3. But if He be under Eighteen, then his Mother to be Governes, till He enters Eighteen Year old: But to do nothing without the Advice and Aggreement of Six Parcell of a Councill, to be pointed by my laſt Will, to the Number of 20.

4. If the Mother die before the Heir enter into Eighteen, the Realm to be governed by the Councill: Provided that after He be Fourteen Year, all Great Matters of Importance be opened to Him.

5. *If I died without Iſſue, and there were none Heir Male; then the Lady* Frances *to be Gouvernes Regent. For lack of her, her Eldeſt Daughters; and for lack of them, the Lady* Marget *to be Governes after, as is aforeſaid, till ſome Heir Male be born; and then the Mother of that Child to be Governes.*

6. *And if, during the Rule of the Gouvernes, there die Four of the Councill; then ſhall She, by her Letters, call an Aſſembly of the Councill, within One Month following, and chuſe Four more: Wherein She ſhall have Three Voices. But after her Death, the Sixteen ſhall Chuſe among themſelves, till the Heir come to Fourteen Year old; and then He, by their Advice, ſhall chuſe them.*

The laſt Two Paragraphs, and what is ſcored underneath, are daſh'd out, yet ſo as to be legible.

Number 11.

The Council's Original Subſcription, to Edward *the* VIth's *Limitation of the Crown; in theſe Words:*

EDWARD.

WE whoſe Hands are underwritten, having heretofore many times heard the King's Majeſty, our moſt Gracious Sovereign Lord's earneſt Deſire, and expreſs Commandment, touching the Limitation of the Succeſſion in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and others his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions; and having ſeen his Majeſty's own Device, touching the ſaid Succeſſion, firſt wholly written with his moſt Gracious Hand, and after Copied out in

in his Majeſties Preſence, by his moſt High Commandment, and confirmed with the Subſcription of his Majeſties own Hand; and by his Highneſs deliver'd to certain Judges, and other Learned Men, to be written in full Order: Do, by his Majeſties Speciall and Abſolute Commandment, eftſoones given us, aggree, and by theſe Preſents ſigned with our Hands, and ſealed with our Seals, promiſe by our Oaths and Honours, to obſerve fully, perform and keep, all and every Article, Clauſe, Branch and Matter, contained in the ſaid Writing delivered to the Judges and others, and ſuperſcribed with his Majeſties Hand in Six ſeveral Places: And all ſuch other Matter, as his Majeſty, by his laſt Will, ſhall appoint, declare or command, touching or concerning the Limitation of the Succeſſion of the ſaid Imperiall Crown. And we do further promiſe, by his Majeſty's ſaid Commandment, never to vary or ſwerve, during our Lives, from the ſaid Limitation of the Succeſſion; but the ſame ſhall, to the uttermoſt of our Powers, defend and maintain. And if any of us, or any other, ſhall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this Agreement, or any Part thereof; we, and every of us, do aſſent to take, uſe and repute him, for a Breaker of the Common Concord, Peace and Unity of this Realme; and to do our uttermoſt, to ſee him or them ſo varying or ſwerving, puniſhed with moſt ſharp Puniſhments, according to their Deſerts.

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc. *Wincheſter. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampton. F. Shrewſbury. F. Huntington. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. R. Ryche. T. Cheyne.*

John Gate. William Petre. John Cheek. W. Cecill. Edward Mountague. John Baker.

Edward Gryffin. John Lucas.
John Goſnald.

Number 12.

Articles and Inſtructions, annexed to the Commiſſion, for Taking the Surrender of the Cathedral of Norwich.

FIrſt, the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall repair to the Cathedral-Church of *Norwich*, declaring to the Dean and Chapter of the ſame, that the King's Majeſty's Pleaſure is, for diverſe good and reaſonable Cauſes and Conſiderations, to have the ſaid College to be ſurrendred and given up into his Majeſty's Hands; to the intent, that the ſame ſhall be altered in ſuch Good and Godly wiſe, as the King that dead

dead is, (whoſe Soul God pardon) amongſt other his Godly Purpoſes and Intents, and the King's Majeſty that now is, by the Advice of his Honourable Council, hath determined. And that they ſhall practiſe and conclude with them, for and in his Highneſs's Name, for the ſame Surrender, to be had, done and performed, in ſuch Manner and Form, as by their Diſcretions ſhall be thought moſt reaſonable and convenient.

2. And after the ſaid Surrender, and Gift made of the ſaid College, and of all Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and Poſſeſſions of the ſame, by the Dean and Chapter thereof, to the Uſe of the King's Highneſs, according to a Deed and Writing, deviſed and delivered to the ſaid Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe; The ſaid Commiſſioners to take Order, with the Dean and Prebendaries, Canons, and all other Officers and Miniſters of the ſaid Cathedral-Church, that they ſhall be, remain, continue and miniſter there, in ſuch ſort as they do, until the Alteration of the ſaid Church ſhall be made perfect. Declaring further to the ſame Dean, Prebendaries and Canons, that they, and every of them, ſhewing themſelves willing and conformable, according to the King's Majeſty's Commiſſion, ſhall, from the Time of the ſaid Surrender, have as much in Profit and Commodity, for and towards their Living, as they had before the ſame Surrender, in ſuch wiſe, as they ſhall have good Cauſe to be well ſatisfied and contented.

3. Alſo the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall make an Inventory of all the Plate and Jewels, Ornaments, Goods and Chattels of the ſaid Cathedral-Church, and deliver the ſame to the Dean and Prebendaries, by Bills indented: And the ſaid Commiſſioners are to take Order with them, that the ſame may continue, remain, and be uſed there, until the New Erection of the ſaid Church, to the Intents and Purpoſes that they were ordained for: And declaring further, that the ſame ſhall be aſſigned, and given to them, upon the New Erection and Foundation of the ſaid Cathedral-Church.

4. Alſo the ſaid Commiſſioners, calling to them the Officers and Miniſters of the ſaid Cathedral-Church, ſhall cauſe a perfect Book, Rental or Value, to be made, of all the Poſſeſſions, as well Spiritual as Temporal, of the ſame Church, with the Rents, Reſolute, and Deduction of the ſame: And alſo to note and certify the Decays thereof, if any be: And to cauſe the ſame Rentals, Book or Value, to be certified and delivered into the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Majeſty's Crown, with as convenient Speed as it may be done.

5. *Item*, The ſaid Commiſſioners are to do and execute, all ſuch other Things as they ſhall think convenient and neceſſary, to the full Accompliſhment of this Commiſſion; and to certify the Truth and Circumſtance of the ſame, together with this Commiſſion.

Vera Copia,

H. Prideaux.

Number 13.

An Original Letter of Queen Mary's *to King* Philip, *before He wrote to Her.*

MOnſieur, mon bon & perpetuel Allie: Entendant que l'Ambaſſadeur de l'Empereur, Monſeigneur & bon Pere, reſidant ches moy Depeſchoyt le Porteur de ceſtes devers voſtre Haulteſſe. Encores que ne niayes particuliezement eſcript dois, que noſtre Alliance à eſte traictee. Si eſt ce me ſentant tant obligee, de la ſincere & vray Affection que me portes, que ves confirmee, tant par les effectz que par les Lettres eſcriptes, audict Ambaſſadeur, & par la Negociation que le Sieur *d'Egmont* & aultres, & l'Ambaſſadeur de mondict Seigneur ont traicte. Je ne peu delaiſſer, vous teſmoigner le Vouloyr & Debuoyr, que jay de vous correſpondre a jamais: Et vous Mercie treſhumblement tant de bons Offices, & joynctement vous advertis, que le Parlement, qui repreſente les Eſtats du mon Royaulme, à approuve les Articles de noſtre Maryage ſans Contradiction, comme trouvant les Condicions dicelluy Honorables, Advantaigenſes, & pluſque Raiſonnables; que me mect en entiere Confidence, que voſtre Venue par deca ſera ſeure & agreable. Et eſperant de brief ſuplier le ſurplus Verbalement, je feray Fin aux preſentes; priant le Createur qui vous donnat, Monſeigneur, mon bon & perpetuel Allie, faire voſtre Voyage par deca en proſperite & ſante, me recommendant treſaffectuenſement & humblement à voſtre Haulteſſe.

A Londres, le xx.
d' April.

Voſtre Entierement,
Aſſuree,
Et plus Obligee Alliee,

MARTE.

Number 14.

Queen Mary's *Letter to the Earl of* Suſſex, *to take Care of Elections to the Parliament.*

MARY the Queen.

Ex MSS. Petyti.

RIght Truſty and Welbeloved Coſen, we greet you well. And where for diverſe Cauſes, tending principally to the Advancement of God's Glory, and the Commonwealth of this our Realme,

wee have thought Convenient to call our High Court of Parliament to the 12th of the next Moneth, as by our Writ of Summonds, ſent unto you for that Purpoſe, ye may at better length perceive; likeas for your own Part, wee doubt not but ye wil be ready to aſſiſt us with your beſt Advice and Counſail for the furtherance of our Good Purpoſe, in ſuch Matters as are to be treated of in our ſaid Parliament; ſo to the End the ſame may be more gravely debated, and circumſpectly handled, to the Honour of Almighty God, and General Comodity of our Loving Subjects, wee have thought convenient ſpecially to require and pray you to admoniſh on our Behalfe ſuch our Good and Loving Subjects, as by Order of our Writs, have the Elections of Knights, Citiſens, or Burgeſes, within our Rule, to chooſe of their Inhabitants, as being eligible, by Order of our Lawes, may be of the Wiſe, Grave, and Catholick Sort. Such, as indeed, mean the true Honour of God, with the Proſperity of the Common-Wealth. The Advancement whereof wee, and our Dear Huſband the King, doe chiefly profeſſe and intend, without Alteration of any particular Man's Poſſeſſion, as amongſt other falſe Rumours, the Hinderers of our Good Purpoſes, and Favorers of Hereſies, doe utterly report. And to the End wee may the better confer with you about theſe Matters that are to be treated of in our ſaid Parliament, our Pleaſure is, you do put your ſelf in a Readineſs to make your Repair hither, ſo as ye may be with us againſt the Feaſt of *All-Saints* at the furtheſt. Given under our Signet at our Palace of *Weſtminſter* the 6th of *October*, the IId Year of our Reigne.

Number 15.

Cardinal Pole's *Firſt Letter to Queen* Mary.

Ex MS. Penes me.

BEnedicta Manus Omnipotentis Dei, quæ non ſolum Majeſtatem tuam in alto Throno, & Poſſeſſione Regni collocavit; (quod multos Annos ad eam ſpectabat, & ab omnibus bonis optabatur, atq; inter Sacras Preces petebatur a Divina Clementia:) Sed etiam eò res deduxit, ut non modo res ipſa, verum etiam ratio ipſius rei conficiendæ omnes Amicos incredibili lætitia perfundat, & precipuè Pium Animum tuum, quia ſine ſanguine res peracta eſt, prope cum magna clades eſſet timenda propter fraudes Adverſariorum, quæ non parvis viribus erant ſuffultæ ad eam juſtiſſima Succeſſione privandam; atque cum propter longum ſpacium ſibi divinitus conceſſum ad ſuas inſidias ſubtexendas, putarant ſe ad finem optatum cum ſcelere ſuſcepti conſilii perveniſſe, ſine novis auxiliis, ſed ſolis viribus quas Spiritus Dei excitavit in Animis mortalium, effectum eſt Divinâ Providentiâ, ut Brevi momento Temporis irriti ac deluſi ſint omnes Mortalium apparatus: Ita converſi ſunt, qui Humanæ Malitiæ Militabant ad protegendum

gendum Honorem Dei, Majeſtatis tuæ incolumitatem, ac totius Regni ſalutem.

Si quis itaque miratur cur tua Majeſtas nullis externis Viribus, paucis etiam ſubditis audentibus ejus partes amplecti, potuerit Regnum ita Uſurpatum adverſus tantam Hominum malitiam & Potentiam recuperare ; aut ſiquis rogaret, quo modo factum eſt iſtud ? Res ipſa reſpondere poterit ; Spiritus Sanctus ſupervenit in corda Hominum, qui ea ratione tibi Regnum reſtituere voluit ; atque hoc uno Exemplo non ſolum veſtris Populis, ſed Univerſis Chriſtianis, & Barbaris Nationibus Manifeſtum fit, quia nullum fit Conſilium, nec Prudentia, nec Fortitudo contra Dominum Deum, & quod excelſus dominetur, in Regno Hominum, & cui voluerit, & quando voluerit dabit illud. Ejus Divinæ Providentiæ in rebus Humanis Credulitas (Præcipium noſtræ Religionis Fundamentum) ſi unquam in iſtud Regnum introduci, & confirmari debuit, per ullam Manifeſtam Experientiam ; hoc maxime tempore introduci neceſſe eſt, quo propter impiorum tam diuturnam Authoritatem, ita erat in Animis Hominum debilitata & in eorum Animis præſertim, qui prudentiores, ſapientioreſque putabantur, ut penitus videretur extincta. Cum Divinæ itaque Bonitati placuerit, ita evidentibus ſignis ſuam potentiam in tua Majeſtate extollenda, tunc cum à ſuis inimicis, & à multis aliis prorſus oppreſſa putabatur, declarare ; hoc eſt cur maximè omnes Boni, & Pii Glorientur, & quod tibi magis gratum eſſe certò ſcio, quam Regiam Dignitatem. Atque, ſi ulla fæmina debuit Deum laudare iis Verbis ſuæ Sanctiſſimæ Matris, cujus nomen refers, quibus ea uſa eſt ad exprimendam lætitiam propter Divinam Providentiam ad ſui, Humanique generis ſalutem, cum Spiritu Sancto repleta inquit, Magnificat Anima mea Dominum, cum iis quæ ſequuntur ; tua Majeſtas juſtiſſima de Cauſa eum Pſalmum canere poteſt ; cum in ſe ipſa ſentiat, quod omnes vident, ut Divina Bonitas reſpexit Humilitatem ancillæ ſuæ : Et fecit potentiam in brachio ſuo, ſtatim depoſuit Potentes de ſede & exaltavit humiles. Hoc dictum de Divina Providentia erga Majeſtatem tuam ſemper manifeſtius in Adminiſtratione cognoſcetur tua, cum increnento illo lætitiæ, quod deſideratur ad honorem & laudem Divinæ Majeſtatis. Enimvero mea erga Deum, & ſuam Eccleſiam Pietas, & erga Majeſtatem tuam me cogit ut unum tibi in memoriam revocem initio regnandi ; quod eſt cum ita ſingulare Beneficium à Deo acceperis, diligenter conſideres è quibus radicibus perturbationes pullularint, rerum adjuſtitiam pertinentium & ad veræ Religionis cultum ; quippe cum illæ indies cum tanta ruina ſuccreverint, in iſto Regno Privata & Publica, quanta non ignorantur : atque ſi hoc ita feceris ; percipies profectò Principium & Cauſam omnium malorum tunc pullulaſſe, cum perpetuus humani generis Adverſarius Patri tuo perſuaſit impurum Concilium ; ut divortium fieret Matris tuæ optimæ Reginæ, atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipſam, in te in ſeipſum injuriæ, majus additum eſt ſcelus, quod à Matre Spiritus divortium fecit omnium Chriſtianorum ; à Sancta Catholica Obedientia & ab Apoſtolica Reverentia. Ex hoc iniquo & impio ſemine tot peſtiferi fructus nati ſunt, ut ita Regnum corruperint, ut nullum neque juſtitiæ neque Religionis veſtigium apparuerit : Tanquam relegatæ ſint ambæ, quando Reverentia, & Obedientia Eccleſiæ ejecta fuit ; neque prius ſunt

redituræ, quam Divina Obedientia in Animum recepta ſit eorum, qui rebus præfuerint. Hoc facile tua Majeſtas illi ſervo ſuo poteſt credere, qui omnium viventium plura, & iſtâ, Majeſtatis veſtræ Causâ paſſus eſt : Neque ullam defendendæ Cauſæ tuæ rationem prætermiſi, ubi aliquod extaret remedium, quo toties moleſtiis ſublevarem. Quod niſi mei labores eum finem conſecuti ſint, quem ſemper deſideravi ; ſæpius vel vitam ipſam periculis exponens ; tamen nunc multo magis lætor, quam ſi ipſe adjutor fuiſſem ; cum apertiſſimè cognoverim, Divinæ Providentiæ in Majeſtatem tuam propenſam voluntatem : Nam profectò noluit Deus ulla humanâ manu te adjuvari, neque Cæſaris, neque ullius Principis : Quamvis nunquam ceſſavit Pontifex Cæſarem ad opem ferendam adhortari : Neque mea defuit diligentia, utriſque ad hoc pium opus ſollicitantibus, ſed Divinitus Res protracta eſt donec ſtatutum tempus à Deo adventarit, quo Divinâ manu ſublevareris. Interim uſus eſt Deus eadem ratione, qua erga cariſſimos & dilectiſſimos uti conſuevit, quos nutrit, & educat in omni calamitatum, ærumnarumque genere : Ut gratiæ ſuæ ſemen altiores radices in corde ipſorum poſſet extendere, meliuſque floreat, ac nobiliores fructus producat, cum viſum fuerit in priſtinam fælicitatem revocare. Iſtud nunc omnes boni expectant, atque ego in primis, cui major occaſio conceſſa eſt dotes Animi tui, quæ Divinitus tibi conceſſæ ſunt, à teneris cognoſcendi. Ea res me multò etiam magis impellit, ut Majeſtati tuæ id ſignificem dere tanta, quanta eſt Eccleſiæ Obedientia, me magis etiam ſollicitum eſſe, quàm antea, qua mente ſis erga Religionem, & quo pacto affecta : nam cum circiter trecenta millia paſſuum diſtam ab Urbe Roma, nuper ad me de rebus Britannicis eſt delatum ; per literas ſummi Pontificis certior factus ſum, te ad ſummum imperium eſſe provectam, & quod ego ſim delectus Legatus à Sancta ſede Apoſtolica ad Majeſtatem tuam & ad Cæſarem, atque ad Galliarum Regem, ut tibi gratularer pro Victoria Dei in hac Cauſa ipſius Dei : Sed quia quanti res ſit intelligo, cenſui non inutile fore, ſi Majeſtatis tuæ mentem quo pacto Deus moverit, prius percunctatus fuero: Cujus causâ præſentem nuncium cum meis literis mittto : Neque iſtud quidem, quia de optima voluntate tua ſubdubitem, quoniam te ſemper gratam, erga Deum fuiſſe cognovi, & acceptorum non immemorem, legumque divinarum obſervatiſſimam, inter quas Obedientia Apoſtolicæ ſedis continetur, cui maximè omnium favere debes. Nam certè quidem Majeſtatis tuæ Pater nullâ aliâ de Cauſa Apoſtolicam Obedientiam reliquit, niſi quia nollet Pontifex Romanus Cauſæ ſuæ favere turpi. & iniquo ejus deſiderio aſſentiri. Sed quoniam tot annos tanta facta eſt mutatio, tantáque malitia conata eſt evellere ex Animis Hominum penituſque reſtinguere hanc ipſam Obedientiam & Obſervantiam, mihi viſum eſt non abſurdum fore, ſi ex te ipſa percunctarer, quod tempus, aut quæ ratio aptior, commodiorque videretur futura ad ipſius Vicarii Chriſti Legatione perfungendum, idque ad iſtius Regni Beneficium & Conſolationem, cujus Fælicitas & Quies ſemper magis oppreſſa fuit, ex qua Sancta Obedientia expugnari cæpta eſt, coactáque ſolum vertere. Decrevi igitur prius reſponſum expectare, quod ut expectationi meæ optimæ reſpondeat, ab Omnipotente Deo ſuppliciter peto, omniumque piorum ſpei, quam habent de Majeſtate tua conceptam, idque ad confirmationem, & incrementum

Fælicitatis tuæ, & iſtius Regni. Quod ſi mihi benignam audientiam conceſſeris, ſpero futurum Dei optimi maximi Beneficio, ut intelligas in hac ipſa Obedientia Eccleſiæ conſiſtere, & collocatum eſſe fundamentum & ſtabilimentum omnium bonorum ipſius Regni. Sic igitur rogans Omnipotentem Deum, ut pro ſua infinita Miſericordia Majeſtatem tuam fortunet in ipſo imperio, in quo collocavit, finem faciam dicendi. Cænobio Megazeni Benaci. Eidus Sextilis. 1553.

Reginaldus Polus.

Number 16.

The Queen's Anſwer to it.

OPtime ſobrine Pole, in Chriſto Obſervandiſſime; accepi literas tuas, quas tuus familiaris mihi reddidit, exquibus intellexi perpetuam tuam optimam voluntatem erga hoc Regnum, Patriam tuam nimirum, & erga Legitimos Hæredes, cum ſummâ lætitiæ ſignificatione ob ea, quæ placuerunt Divinæ Clementiæ Omnipotentis Dei in oſtendenda ſua erga me vera, juſtiſſima, infinitáq; Miſericordia; propter quam me tibi etiam non parum debere ſentio, cum monitus amantiſſimos præterea in literis addideris: Quod ſi nullum naturæ vinculum inter nos intercederet, quod certè maximum intercedit; tamen vel hac unâ de Cauſa maximas tibi deberem gratias, quod me tam amenter monueris; atque ego dabo operam pro viribus, ut monitis tuis ſatisfaciam, quippe cum neq; unquam fuerim, nec ſim, neq; ut Divinæ Miſericordiæ confido unquam futura ſim Catholicæ adhortationis in tuis literis contentæ adverſaria. Quod attinet ad meam Obedientiam, & debitam Obſervantiam erga ſponſam Chriſti, & Matrem Divinam, ſuam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, harum literarum lator poterit te commodè docere: Is non poterit explanare quanta ſit Animi mei moleſtia, propterea quod non poſſim Animi mei Sententiam, in hac re prorſus patefaccre; ſed cum primum data erit facultas ſinceritatis Animi mei erga Divinum cultum explicandæ, Obedientiæq; quid Sentiam exequendæ, faciam te per literas certiorem. Quod ſpectat ad Coronationem, idem Nuncius omnia planè explicare poterit, multáq; alia quibus illum adeſſe volui; cum mirificè Omnipotentis Dei Miſericordia confidam, futurum ut hæc Comitia omnia ſtatuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujuſce Regni ſemina pollularunt. Spero autem futurum ut delictorum veniam à ſummi Pontificis Clementia obtineam, cui te rogo, ut meo nomine humillimè gratias agas pro ſua multiplici in me Bonitate, ut in eadem perſiſtat Clementia, omnemq; præteritorum commiſſorum Oblivionem concedat; hunc igitur remitto ſpe poſtulationis non irritæ futuræ operâ

operâ tuâ ; quando tantum Benevolentiæ, & fraternæ Charitatis, mihi pignus obtuliſti : Me itaque plurimum Sancto Patri, ac tibi commendans, finem facio ſcribendi.

Weſtmonaſterij, *Sexto Idus* Octobris.

Maria *Regina*.

Number 17.

Cardinal Pole's *General Powers, for Reconciling* England *to the Church of* Rome.

Julius Papa III.

Dilecte Fili noſter, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Dudum, cum chariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra, Maria Angliæ tunc Princeps, Regina declarata fuiſſet, & ſperaretur Regnum Angliæ, quod, ſæva Regum Tyrannide, ab Unione Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ ſeparatum fuerat ; ad Ovile Gregis Domini, & ejuſdem Eccleſiæ Unionem, ipſa Maria primum regnante, redire poſſe. Nos Te, præſtanti Virtute, ſingulari Pietate, ac multa Doctrina inſignem, ad eandem Mariam Reginam, & univerſum Angliæ Regnum, de Fratrum noſtrorum Conſilio, & unanimi Conſenſu, Noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ Sedis, Legatum de Latere deſtinavimus. Tibique, inter cætera, omnes & ſingulas utriuſque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Eccleſiaſticas, Seculares, & quorumvis Ordinum Regulares, Perſonas, in quibuſvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus conſtitutas, cujuſcunque Statûs, Gradûs, Conditionis & Qualitatis exiſterent, ac quacunque Eccleſiaſticâ, etiam Epiſcopali, Archiepiſcopali, & Patriarchali ; aut mundano, etiam Marchionali, Ducali, aut Regia Dignitate præfulgerent : Etiamſi Capitulum, Collegium, Univerſitas, ſeu Communitas forent : quarumcunque Hæreſium, aut novarum Sectarum, Profeſſores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel ſuſpectos, ac credentes, receptatores, & fautores eorum, etiamſi relapſæ fuiſſent, eorum Errorem cognoſcentes, & de illis dolentes, ac ad Orthodoxam Fidem recipi humiliter poſtulantes, cognita in eis, vera & non ficta, aut ſimulata Pœnitentia, ab omnibus & ſingulis per eos perpetratis, (Hæreſes, & ab eadem Fide Apoſtaſias, Blaſphemias, & alios quoſcunque Errores, etiam ſub generali Sermone non venientes, ſapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, exceſſibus & delictis ; nec non Excommunicationum, Suſpenſionum, Interdictorum, & aliis Eccleſiaſticis, ac Temporalibus etiam Corporis afflictivis, & capitalibns ſententiis, cenſuris & pœnis, in eos Præmiſſorum occaſione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis, vel promulgatis ; etiam ſi in iis viginti, & plus annis inſorduiſſent ; & eorum Abſolutio, Nobis & Divinæ Sedi, & per Literas, in die Cœnæ Domini legi conſuetas, reſervata

Ex MS. penes me.

ſervata exiſteret, in utroque, Conſcientiæ videlicet, & contentioſo foro, plenariè abſolvendi, & liberandi, ac aliorum Chriſti fidelium conſortio aggregandi : Nec non cum eis ſuper irregularitate, per eos, Præmiſſorum occaſione, etiam quia ſic ligati, Miſſas & alia divina Officia, etiam contra Ritus & Ceremonias ab Eccleſia eatenus probatas & uſitatas, celebráſſent, aut illis alias ſemiſcuiſſent. Contracta nec non Bigamia per eoſdem Eccleſiaſticos, Seculares, vel Regulares, verè aut fictè, ſeu alias qualitercunque incurſa ; (etiamſi ex eo quod Clerici in Sacris conſtituti, cum Viduis vel aliis corruptis, Matrimonium contraxiſſent, pretenderetur) rejectis & expulſis tamen prius Uxoribus, ſic de facto copulatis. Quodque Bigamia, & irregularitate ac aliis præmiſſis non obſtantibus, in eorum Ordinibus, dummodo ante eorum Lapſum in Hæreſin hujuſmodi, ritè & legitimè promoti vel ordinati fuiſſent, etiam in Altaris Miniſterio miniſtrare, ac quæcunque & qualitercunque etiam curata Beneficia, ſecularia vel regularia, ut prius, dummodo ſuper eis alteri jus quæſitum non exiſteret, retinere : Et non promoti, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratus Ordines, ab eorum Ordinariis, ſi digni & idonei reperti fuiſſent, promoveri, Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, ſi iis alias canonicè conferentur, recipere & retinere valerent, diſpenſandi & indulgendi : Ac omnem infamiæ, & inhabilitatis maculam ſive notam, ex præmiſſis quomodolibet inſurgentem, penitus & omnino abolendi ; nec non ad priſtinos Honores, Dignitates, Famam & Patriam, & bona etiam confiſcata ; in priſtinumque, & eum, in quo ante præmiſſa quomodolibet erant, Statum reſtituendi, reponendi, & reintegrandi : Ac eis, dummodo corde contriti eorum errata & exceſſus, alicui per eos eligendo Catholico Confeſſori, ſacramentaliter confiterentur, ac Pœnitentiam ſalutarem, eis per ipſum Confeſſorem propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam Confeſſionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem, & Pœnitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio ſuo moderandi, vel in totum remittendi. Nec non Communitates & Univerſitates, ac ſingulares Perſonas quaſcunque, à quibuſvis illicitis Pactionibus & Conventionibus, per eos cum Dominis aberrantibus, ſeu in eorum favorem, quomodolibet initis, & iis præſtitis Juramentis, & Homagiis, illorumque omnium obſervatione ; & ſi quem eatenus occaſione eorum incurriſſent Perjurij reatum, etiam abſolvendi, & Juramenta ipſa relaxandi. Ac quoſcunque Regulares & Religioſos, etiam in Hæreſin hujuſmodi ut prefertur lapſos, extra eorum regularia loca abſque dictæ Sedis licentia vagantes, ab Apoſtaſiæ reatu, & Excommunicationis, aliiſque Cenſuris ac Pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta ſuorum Ordinum inſtituta incurſis, pariter abſolvendi. Ac cum eis ut alicui Beneficio Eccleſiaſtico curato, de illud obtinentis conſenſu ; etiam in habitu Clerici ſecularis, habitum ſuum regularem, ſub honeſta toga Preſbyteri ſecularis deferendo, deſervire, & extra eadem regularia loca remanere, liberè & licitè poſſint, diſpenſandi. Nec non quibuſvis Perſonis, etiam Eccleſiaſticis, ut quadrageſimalibus, & aliis anni temporibus & diebus, quibus uſus ovorum & carnium eſt de jure prohibitus, butiro & caſeo, & aliis lacticiniis ; ac dictis ovis & carnibus, de utriuſque ſeu alterius, ſpiritualis, qui Catholicus exiſteret, medici Conſilio, aut ſi Locorum

corum & Perſonarum Qualitate inſpecta, ex defectu Piſcium aut Olei, vel indiſpoſitione Perſonarum earundem, ſeu alia Cauſa legitima id Tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti & veſci poſſint, indulgendi & concedendi. Nec non per Te in præteritis duntaxat Caſibus, aliquos Clericos ſeculares, tantùm Preſbyteros, Diaconos, aut Subdiaconos, qui Matrimonium cum aliquibus Virginibus, vel corruptis Secularibus, etiam Mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxiſſent, conſiderata aliqua ipſorum ſingulari qualitate, & cognita eorum vera ad Chriſti Fidem converſione, ac aliis circumſtantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis; ex quibus aliis præſertim Clericis in ſacris Ordinibus hujuſmodi conſtitutis, quibus non licet Uxores habere, ſcandalum omnino non generetur; citra tamen Altaris, ac alia Sacerdotum Miniſteria, & Titulos Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ac omni ipſorum Ordinum Exercitio ſublato, ab Excommunicationis Sententia, & aliis Reatibus propterea incurſis; injuncta inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentia ſalutari, abſolvendi ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum ſuperſtes remaneret, de cætero ſine ſpe Conjugii, quod inter ſe Matrimonium legitimè contrahere, & in eo poſtquam contractum foret, licitè remanere poſſent, Prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, miſericorditer diſpenſandi. Ac quæcunque Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, tam Secularia quam Regularia, & quæ per Rectores Catholicos poſſidebantur, de ipſorum tamen Rectorum Catholicorum conſenſu, ſeu abſque eorum præjudicio, cuicunque alteri Beneficio Eccleſiaſtico, ob ejus fructûs tenuitatem, aut Hoſpitali jam erecto vel erigendo, ſeu Studio Univerſali, vel Scholis Literariis; uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, aut fructus, reditus, & proventus, ſeu bonorum eorundem Beneficiorum dividendi, ſeparandi, & diſmembrandi; ac eorum ſic diviſorum, ſeparatorum & diſmembratorum partem aliis Beneficiis, ſeu Hoſpitalibus, vel Studiis aut Scholis, ſeu piis Uſibus, ſimiliter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi & appropriandi. *At cum Poſſeſſoribus bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum, (reſtitutis, prius ſi Tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) ſuper fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus, conſumptis, concordandi, & tranſigendi, ac eos deſuper liberandi & quietandi.* Ac quicquid Concordiis & Tranſactionibus hujuſmodi proveniret, in Eccleſia cujus eſſent bona, vel in Studiorum Univerſalium, aut Scholarum hujuſmodi, ſeu alios pios Uſus convertendi; omniaque & ſingula alia, in quæ in præmiſſis, & circa ea quomodolibet neceſſaria & opportuna eſſe cognoſceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, & exercendi. Nec non Catholicos locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Perſonas Deum timentes, Fide inſignes, & Literarum Scientia præditas, ac Gravitate Morum conſpicuas, & Ætate veneranda; de quarum Probitate & Circumſpectione, ac Charitatis Zelo plena Fiducia conſpici poſſet, ad præmiſſa omnia, cum ſimili vel limitata Poteſtate, (Abſolutione & Diſpenſatione Clericorum, circa Connubia, ac Unione Beneficiorum, ſeu eorum fructuum & bonorum ſeparatione, & applicatione, ac concordia cum Poſſeſſoribus bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum, & eorum liberatione duntaxat exceptis) ſubſtituendi & ſubdelegandi: Ac diverſas alias Facultates, per diverſas alias noſtras tam ſub plumbo quam in forma Brevis confectas literas, conceſſimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. N. B.

tur. Verum cum Tu ad Partes Flandriæ, ex quibus breviſſima ad Regnum transfreatio exiſtit, Te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus Nobis notis Cauſis inibi aliquandiu ſubſiſtere habeas, ac à nonnullis, nimium forſan ſcrupuloſis, hæſitetur ; an Tu, in Partibus hujuſmodi ſubſiſtens, prædictis ac aliis Tibi conceſſis Facultatibus, uti ac in eodem Regno locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Perſonas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas ; quæ Facultatibus per Te, juxta dictarum Literarum Continentiam pro Tempore conceſſis utantur, alias juxta earundem Literarum tenorem ſubſtituere & delegare poſſis. Nos cauſam tuæ Subſiſtentiæ in eiſdem partibus approbantes, & ſingularum Literarum prædictarum tenores, præſentibus pro ſufficienter expreſſis, ac de verbo ad verbum inſertis, habentes, Circumſpectioni tuæ, quod quamdiu in eiſdem partibus de licentia noſtra moram traxeris, Legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipſum Regnum exiſtens ; omnibus & ſingulis prædictis, & quibuſvis aliis Tibi conceſſis, & quæ per præſentes Tibi conceduntur ; Facultatibus etiam erga quoſcunque, Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, ac Abbates, alioſque, Eccleſiarum tam Secularium, quam quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, nec non Monaſteriorum, & aliorum Regularium Locorum Prelatos, non ſecus ac erga alios inferiores Clericos, uti poſſis ; nec non erga alias Perſonas, in ſingulis Literis prædictis quoviſmodo nominatas, ad Te pro Tempore recurrentes, vel mittentes ; etiam circa Ordines, quos nunquam aut malè ſuſceperunt, & Munus Conſecrationis, quod iis, ab aliis Epiſcopis vel Archiepiſcopis, etiam Hæreticis & Schiſmaticis, aut alias minus ritè & non ſervata forma Eccleſiæ conſueta impenſum fuit : Etiam ſi Ordines & Munus hujuſmodi, etiam circa Altaris Miniſterium temerè executi ſint, per Te ipſum, vel alios, ad id à Te pro Tempore deputatos, liberè uti ; ac in eodem Regno, tot quot Tibi videbuntur Locorum Ordinarios alias Perſonas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas, quæ Facultatibus per Te, eis pro tempore conceſſis (citra tamen eas quæ ſolum tibi ut præfertur conceſſæ exiſtunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujuſmodi ſubſiſtente, libere utantur ; & eas exerceant & exequantur : Alias, juxta ipſarum Literarum continentiam ac tenorem ſubſtituere & ſubdelegare. Nec non de Perſonis quorumcunque Epiſcoporum vel Archiepiſcoporum, qui Metropolitanam aut alias Cathedrales Eccleſias de manu Laicorum etiam Schiſmaticorum, & preſertim qui de Henrici Regis & Edvardi ejus nati receperunt, & eorum regimini & adminiſtratione ſe ingreſſerunt, & eorum fructus reditus & proventus etiam longiſſimo tempore, tanquam veri Archiepiſcopi aut Epiſcopi temere & de facto uſurpando, etiamſi in Hæreſin aut prefertur, inciderint, ſeu ante Hæretici fuerint, poſtquam per te unitati Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ reſtituti exſtiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos eſſe cenſueris, ſi tibi alias digni & idonei videbuntur, eiſdem Metropolitanis & aliis Cathedralibus Eccleſiis denuo, nec non quibuſvis aliis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Eccleſiis per obitum vel privationem illorum Præſulum, ſeu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de Perſonis idoneis pro quibus ipſa Maria Regina juxta conſuetudinis ipſius Regni, tibi ſupplicaverit Authoritate noſtra providere ipſaſque Perſonas eiſdem Eccleſiis in Epiſcopos aut Archiepiſcopos præficere : Ac cum iis qui Eccleſias Cathedrales

thedrales & Metropolitanas, de manu Laicorum etiam Schiſmaticorum ut prefertur, receperunt, quod eiſdem ſeu aliis ad quas eas alias ritè transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Eccleſiis, in Epiſcopos vel Archiepiſcopos præeſſe ipſaſq; Eccleſias in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus regere & gubernare ac munere Conſecrationis eis hactenus impenſo uti, vel ſi illud eis nondum impenſum extiterit, ab Epiſcopis vel Archiepiſcopis Catholicis per te nominandis ſuſcipere libere & licite poſſint. Nec non cum quibuſvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore abſolutis & rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus & exceſſibus preteritis non obſtantibus, quibuſvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis Eccleſiis in Epiſcopos & Archiepiſcopos prefici & præeſſe, illaſq; in eiſdem Spiritualibus & Temporalibus regere & gubernare: Ac ad quoſcunq; etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratos Ordines promovere, & in illis aut per eos jam licet minus rite ſuſceptis Ordinibus etiam in altaris Miniſterio Miniſtrare nec non munus Conſecrationis ſuſcipere, & illo uti libere & licite valeant; diſpenſare etiam libere & licite poſſis, plenam & liberam Apoſtolicam Authoritatem per preſentes concedimus Facultatem & Poteſtatem: Non obſtantibus Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in ſingulis Literis præteritis Voluimus non obſtare, cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, ſub Annulo Piſcatoris, Die 8. *Martis* 1554. *Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.*

Number 18.

A Letter from Cardinal Pole *to the Biſhop of* Arras, *upon King* Philip's *Arrival in* England, *and his Marriage to the Queen.*

A Monsr. d' Arras.

Mto. Illre. è Revdo. Sigre.

HAvendo à queſt' hora ricevuto particolari aviſi dopo l' arrivo del Sereniſſimo Principe nel Regno d' Inghilterra, del felice ſucceſſo del Matrimonio mi e parſo convenire al debito mio rallegrarmene con S. Majeſtà Ceſarea ſicome fo con l' alligata la quale indirizzo à V. S. per la confidenza che ho nella ſolita ſua corteſia, pregandola ſia contenta preſentarla a ſua Majeſtà col baciarle riverentemente le mani da parte mia. L' Abbate Sagante ſuo l' altr' hieri mi communico

una Lettera di V. S. che dava particolar aviſo della ritirata de Franzeſi il che mi fu di molta conſolatione. Ben ſi e viſto di quant' importanza ſia la preſenza di S. Majeſtà. Ancor non e arrivato ill meſſo mio da Roma, ma ſpero non poſſa tardar molto: ſubbito che ſarà gionto, non mancarò di darne aviſo a V. S. alla quale di cuore mi racommando e prego N. Sig^r Iddio la conſervire favoriſca a ſuo ſervitio. Di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Pole.

Number 19.

A Letter from Cardinal Pole *to the Cardinal* de Monte, *acknowledging the Pope's Favour in ſending him full Powers.*

Al Card. di Monte

Rev^mo. & Illmo. Sig^r. mio Oſs^mo.

SCriſſi a V. S. Reverendiſſima per l' ultime mie, l' aviſo dell' arrivo in Inghilterra del Sereniſſimo Principe, il qual' e poi ſtato con la Sereniſſima Regina a Vinceſtre, ove hanno celebrato il ſponſalitio il dì di San Giacomo con gran ſollennita come V. S. Reverendiſſima piacendole potra intendere dall' eſſibitor di queſta, al quale mi rimetto in quel di piu, che in tal propoſito io le poteſſi dire e bacio humil mente la mano di V. S. Reverendiſſima & Illuſtriſſima in ſuo buona gratia reccommendandomi. di Bruxelles alli 29 di luglio 1554.

In queſt' hora e giunto l' Ormaneto con l' Eſpeditione che e piacciuto darle alla Santità di noſtro Signore, tutto ſecondo quello, che ſi poteſſe deſiderare dalla pietà e benignità ſua in ſervitio di Dio, e della ſua Chieſa in queſta cauſa coſſi importante del che prego V. S. Reverendiſſima ſia contenta baciarne humilmente a nome mio i piedi a ſua Beatit^ne alla quale con la prima occaſione non mac caro di dar pieno aviſo di quanto ſarà biſogno. In vero l' arrivar dell' Ormaneto non poteva eſſer più a tempo, e ſpero che N. Signor' Iddio ci fara gratia, che le coſe s' indirizzeranno in modo che ſua Santità col ſervitio di ſua Divina Maeſtà ne reſterà conſolata. Il tempo non patiſce che per hora io poſſa eſſere più lungo, e di nuovo bacio humilmente le mani di V. S. Reverendiſſima & Illuſtriſſima.

Reginaldo Card. Polo.

Alli 29 di luglio 1554 il Signore Ormaneto arrivo a Bruxelles con l' infratta ſpeditione.

Number 20.

A Breve *impowering Cardinal* Pole *to execute his Faculties with relation to* England, *while he yet remained beyond Sea, and out of* England.

Al Card. Polo.

Julius Papa III.

Dilecte Fili noſter ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus menſibus ex diverſis tunc expreſſis cauſis te ad Chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam noſtram Mariam Angliæ Reginam Illuſtrem, & Univerſum Angliæ Regnum primò, & deinde pro conciliando inter eos pace ad Chariſſimos in Chriſto Filios noſtros Carolum Romanum Imperatorem ſemper Auguſtum, & Henricum Francorum Regem Chriſtianiſſimum, noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatum de latere de Fratrum noſtrorum Concilio deſtinavimus. Et licet te multis, & quidem ampliſſimis facultatibus, quibus etiam in partibus Flandriæ exiſtens, quoad Perſonas & Negocia Regni Angliæ hujuſmodi uti poſſes per diverſas noſtras tam ſub plumbo, quam in forma brevis confectas litteras muniverimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Quia tamen ob Schiſmata, & alios errores, quibus dictum Regnum diutius inflectum fuit, multi caſus potuerunt contingere, qui proviſione per dictam ſedem facienda indigebunt & ſub dictis facultatibus veluti infiniti, & inexcogitabiles comprehendi nequiverunt, & inſuper à nonnullis hæſitatur an tu facultatibus hujuſmodi in inſulis & Dominiis eidem Mariæ Reginæ ſubjectis uti poſſis, quibus item facultatibus apud Carolum Imperatorem & quibus apud Henricum Regem præfatos exiſtens utaris: Nos de tuis fide, pietate, religione, doctrina, & prudentia, in Domino benè confidentes, & volentes omnem in præmiſſis hæſitandi materiam amputare, circumſpectioni tuæ, ut ubicumq; fueris etiam extra partes Flandriæ Legatione tua hujuſmodi durante, omnibus & ſingulis tibi conceſſis hactenus, & in poſterum concedendis Facultatibus, quo ad Perſonas & Negotia Regni ac Inſularum & Dominiorum hujuſmodi per te vel alium vel alios juxta ipſarum Facultatum continentiam, & tenorem uti, ac omnia & ſingula quæ tibi pro Omnipotentis Dei, & noſtro ac ejuſdem ſedis honore, nec non Regni, Inſularum & Dominorum prædictorum ad Sanctæ, Catholicæ, Eccleſiæ, Communionem, reductione ac Perſonarum in illis exiſtentium Animarum ſalute expedire judicaveris & ſi ea in generali mandato & Facultatibus tibi alias conceſſis non veniant, ſed ſpecialem expreſſionem & mandatum magis ſpeciale requirant, dicere, facere, exercere, & exequi, nec non quandiù pro pace hujuſmodi tractanda, vel aliis

Negociis noſtrum, & ſedis prædictæ honorem concernentibus, apud dictum Carolum Imperatorem fueris, omnibus & ſingulis Facultatibus olim dilecto Filio Hieronimo Tituli St. Matthæi Preſbitero Cardinali tunc apud ipſum Carolum Imperatorem noſtro & præfatæ ſedis Legato de latere conceſſis, & in omnibus Provinciis, Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, & Locis, ſub illis comprehenſis. Si vero apud dictum Henricum Regem extiteris eis omnibus, que dudum dilecto Filio Hieronimo Sancti Georgii ad velum Aureum Diacono Cardinali tunc apud Henricum Regem eundem, noſtro & dictæ ſedis legato conceſſæ fuerunt, Facultatibus, & in omnibus Provinciis Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, & locis ſub illis comprehenſis uti liberè & licitè valeas, in omnibus & per omnia perinde ac ſi illæ tibi ſpecialitur & expreſſe conceſſæ fuiſſent, Apoſtolica autem tenore preſentium concedimus, & indulgemus, ac Facultates tibi conceſſas prædictas ad hæc omnia extendimus. Non obſtantibus Conſtitutionibus, & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in ſingulis Facultatibus tam tibi, quam Hieronimo Preſbitero, & Hieronimo Diacono Cardinalibus præfatis conceſſis, voluimus non obſtare cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſq; dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, ſub annulo piſcatoris Die XXVI Junii 1554, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.

Jo. Larinen'.

Number 21.

A Second Breve *containing more ſpecial Powers, relating to the Abbey-Lands.*

JULIUS Papa III.

Dilecte Fili noſter ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus menſibus oblata nobis ſpe per Dei Miſericordiam, & Chariſſimæ in Chriſto Filiæ noſtræ Mariæ Angliæ Reginæ, ſummam Religionem, & Pietatem, Nobiliſſimi illius Angliæ Regni, quod jamdiu quorundem Impietate, à reliquo Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Corpore à vulſum fuit, ad ejuſdem Catholicæ & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ unionem, extra quam nemini ſalus eſſe poteſt, reducendi ; te ad præfatum Mariam Reginam, atque Univerſum illud Regnum, noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatum de latere, tanquam Pacis & Concordiæ Angelum, de venerabilum Fratrum noſtrorum, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalium Conſilio atque unanimi aſſenſu, deſtinavimus, illiſque Facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti Negotii confectionem Neceſſarias putavimus eſſe, ſeu quommodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia

alia Circumſpectione tua, ut cum bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum Poſſeſſoribus, ſuper fructibus malè perceptis, & bonis mobilibus conſumptis, concordare & tranſigere, ac eos deſuper liberare & quietare, ubi expedire poſſet, Authoritatem conceſſimus & Facultatem, prout in Noſtris deſuper confectis Literis plenius continetur: Cum autem ex iis Principiis, quæ ejuſdem Mariæ Sedulitate & Diligentia, rectaque & conſtante in Deum Mente, tuo & in ea re cooperante Studio atque Conſilio, præfatum reductionis opus in prædicto Regno uſque ad hanc diem habetur, ejuſdemque præclari Operis perfectio indies magis ſperetur; eoque faciliores progreſſus habitura res eſſe dignoſcatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum Poſſeſſionibus, in illa ſuperiorum Temporum confuſione, per illius Provinciæ homines occupatis, Apoſtolicæ Benignitatis & Indulgentiæ ſpem oſtenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectiſſimæ Nobis in Chriſto Nationis Recuperationem, & tot Animarum pretioſo Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri Sanguine redemptarum, Salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum reſpectibus impediri; more Pij Patris, in Noſtrorum & Sanctæ Catholicæ Filiorum, poſt longum periculoſæ peregrinationis tempus, ad Nos reſpectantium & redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; Tibi, de cujus præſtanti Virtute, ſingulari Pietate, Doctrina, Sapientia, ac in Rebus gerendis Prudentia & Dexteritate, plenam in Domino Fiduciam habemus, cum quibuſcunque bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium, in præfato Regno Poſſeſſoribus, ſeu Detentoribus, pro quibus ipſa Sereniſſima Regina Maria interceſſerit, de bonis per eos indebitè detentis, Arbitrio tuo, Authoritate noſtra, tractandi, concordandi, tranſigendi, componendi, & cum eis ut præfata bona ſine ullo ſcrupulo in poſterum retinere poſſint, diſpenſandi, omniaque & ſingula alia, quæ in his, & circa ea quomodolibet neceſſaria & opportuna fuerint, concludendi & faciendi. Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem, hæc Sancta Sedes merito tibi videretur conſulenda, noſtro & præfatæ Sedis, beneplacito & confirmatione, plenam & liberam Apoſtolicam Authoritatem, tenore præſentium, & ex certa ſcientia, concedimus Facultatem. Non obſtantibus Literis, fælicis Recordationis Pauli Papæ II. Prædeceſſoris noſtri, de non alienandis bonis Eccleſiaſticis, niſi certa forma ſervata, & aliis quibuſvis Apoſtolicis, ac in Provincialibus & Synodalibus Conciliis, Edictis Generalibus, vel Specialibus Conſtitutionibus, & Ordinationibus. Nec non quarumvis Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum, ac aliorum regularium & piorum Locorum, Juramento, Confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis alia Firmitate roboratis, Fundationibus, Statutis & Conſuetudinibus, illorum Tenores pro ſufficienter expreſſis habentes contrariis quibuſcunque.

N. B.

N. B.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, ſub Annulo Piſcatoris, Die 28. Junij 1554, *Pontificatûs Noſtri Anno Quinto.*

Number

Number 22.

A Letter to Cardinal Pole, *from Cardinal* de Monte, *full of High Civilities.*

Al. Card. Polo.

Rev^mo. & Illmo. Sig^r. mio Col^mo.

RItornando à V. S. Reverendiſſima & Illuſtriſſima l' Auditor ſuo con l' Eſpeditioni, che ella vedrà, à me non occorre dirle altro ſe non ſupplicarla, che ſi degni mantenermi nella ſua bona gratia, è di non ſi ſcordare d' haver qui un Servitore che in amarla, & oſſerverla non cede à qualſivoglia altra Perſona, è che il maggior Favore, che io ſia per aſpettare ſempre da V. S. Reverendiſſima & Illuſtriſſima ſarà, che le piaccia di comandarmi in tutto queſto, che mi conoſcerà buono per ſervirla; il che ſò d' haverle ſcritto più volte, e non mi è grave di replicarlo. Sua Sanctita ſta coſſi bene della Perſona come ſia ſtata di dieci anni in qua, ringratiato Iddio: e ſaluta e benedice V. S. Reverendiſſima & Illuſtriſſima e li deſidera, e prega ogni proſperità nelle ſue Negociationi importantiſſime, a tutta la Chriſtianita, & io le bacio humilmente le Mani. Di Roma alli xv. di Luglio 1554.

H. Card. di Monte.

Number 23.

A Letter from Cardinal Morone *to Cardinal* Pole, *telling him how uneaſy the Pope was, to ſee his Going to* England *ſo long delayed; but that the Pope was reſolved not to Recal him.*

Al Card. Polo.

Rev^mo. & Illmo. Sig^r. mio Oſs^mo.

AVanti la partita mia di Roma hebbi la Lettera di V. S. Reverendiſſima delli 25 di Maggio in riſpoſta delle mie, che gli haveuo ſcritto pur alli 6 di Maggio, quando vennero li primi aviſi del Nuncio,

cio, doppo che V. S. Reverendiſſima fu ritornata alla Corte dal Viaggio di Francia, hebbi ancora l'altra di 28 del Medeſmo, con la Querela Chriſtiana, che ella fà contro di me, anzi per dir meglio con la Dottrina che V. S. Reverendiſſima con Sancta Charità querelandoſi m'inſegna, ſopra la quale non m'occorre dir altro, ſe non che ella ha gran Raggione, & che io l'ho fatto torto a ſcriverle in quel modo, di che in una parte mi pento, e ſpero che ella mi habbi perdonato; nell'altra mi allegro, havendo havuto occaſione di Guadagnar queſta ſua altra Lettera, e dato a lei occaſione di eſplicarſi in queſto modo in Lettre come ha fatto, e ne ringratio Dio prima, e poi lei ancora, che ſi ſia degnata mandarmi Lettera coſſi grata, la qual potrà ſervire a più d'un propoſito.

La prima di 21, Fù in ſumma communicata da me a Noſtro Signiore parendomi neceſſario chiarir bene ſua Sanctità, ſi per Giuſtificatione delle attioni paſſate di V. S. Reverendiſſima come per non laſciar, che ſua Sanctità ſteſſe nella diſperatione dimoſtrata gia delle coſe d'Inghilterra, e della bonta del mezzo della Perſona ſua: e Benche S. Sanctità non haveſſe patienza ſecondo l'ordinario ſuo di leggere, o di udir la Lettera, nondimeno le diſſi talmente la ſumma, che moſtrò reſtare ſatisfattiſſima, e diſſe eſſer più che certa, che quella non haveua dato cauſa ne all'Imperatore, ne ad altri d'uſar con lei termini coſi eſtravaganti. E quanto alla Revocatione di V. S. Reverendiſſima ſempre perſiſteva che non ſi poteſſe fare ſenza grand indignità ſua, e diſhonor della Sede Apoſtolica, e carico dell'Imperatore iſteſſo, e di V. S. Reverendiſſima, e gran pregiudicio del Regno d'Ingliterra: & Benche diceſſe di ſcrivere alla Cæſarea Majeſtà, nondimeno non ſi riſolveua in tutto, com anco non ſi riſolveua nella materia delli beni Eccleſiaſtici, ſopra la qual ſua Sanctità ha parlato molte volte variamente; e nel reſcrivere alla Regina d'Inghliterra, & al Prencipe di Spagna, come V. S. Reverendiſſima havera inteſo da M. Franciſco Stella, & intenderà hora dall'Ormaneto, il qual ſarà portator di queſta, e tandem vien' eſpedito in tutti li punti quaſi conformi al biſogno, & al deſiderio ſuo.

Io ſon venuto a ſtar qui a Sutrio ſin le prime acque d'Agotto, che poi piacendo a Dio ritornero a Roma. E le cauſe della partita mia V. S. Reverendiſſima hora l'intenderà dal prefato Ormaneto, non eſſendo ſtato opportuno ſcriverle prima; non ho havuto altro ſcrupulo ſe non partirmi, reſtando il Negocio, e l'Eſpeditioni dell'Ormaneto coſſi in pendente. Ma conoſcendo la ſufficienza, e la diligenza, e la buon' Introduttione, che hanno quelli Miniſtri di V. S. Reverendiſſima giudicando, non poterui far di più di quel che già più volte haveua fatto, penſai che eſſi haveriano potuto ſupplire meglio di me, come hanno di poi fatto.

Non occorre al preſente che io le ſcriva più a lungo venendo il detto M. Nicolò informato, che non e biſogno affaticarla in leggere mie Lettere. Reſta ſolo che Iddio conduca eſſo, e M. Antonio a ſalvamento eſſendo il viaggio in ogni parte da qui in Fiandra tanto pericoloſo, doppo che io preghi, che ſua Majeſtà divina proſperi e feliciti V. S. Reverendiſſima, ad Honor e Gloria ſua in quell'Attioni, che ha per le mani, come ſon certo farà, e che quella mi ami, e mi co-

mandi al ſolito, perche comme ho detto, faccio conto, s'altro non mi interviene, avanti che di quella poſſi haver riſpoſta da lei, poter' eſſer di ritorno a Roma, e con queſto faccio fine, e baciandole humilmente la mano in buona Gratia di V. S. Reverendiſſima mi raccomando. Di Sutrio, alli 13 di Luglio 1554.

Il Card. Morone.

Al Card. Polo.

Number 24.

A Letter from Ormanet *to* Priuli, *giving an Account of what paſs'd in an Audience the Biſhop of* Arras *gave him.*

A Monſieur Priuli.

Claris^mo. e M^to. Rev^do. Sig^r. mio.

QUeſta mattina aſſai per Tempo io gionſi al Campo, & ancor che io poco ſperaſſi d'haver commoda audienza da Monſieur d'Arras, ſtando ſi ſul Marchiare, nondimeno l'hebbi con la Gratia di noſtro Signiore Iddio, aſſai commoda e grata, e fui gratioſamente viſto da S. Signoria alla quale feci intendere tutto quello, che mi era ſtato commeſſo da Monſieur Illuſtriſſimo. La Riſpoſta fù che l'Imperatore haveua molto a cuore queſte coſe della Religione, e che non haverebbe mai mancaco d'aiutare queſta ſant' impreſa; come ha ſempre atto in ſimili occaſioni con pericoli fin della Vita, ma che quanto all' opportunità del tempo, la quale era ſtata il principio e fundamento del mio Raggionamento, a lui pareva, che ſi foſſe caminato alquanto proſperamente, non ſi ſapendo altro doppo la venuta del Rè d' Inghilterra, che la Celebration' e ſolennità del matrimonio, e che pur Sarebbe ſtato a propoſito, innanzi che s'andaſſe più oltre, veder che camino pigliavano le coſe del Regno, e che dovendoſi dar conto a ſua Majeſtà di quello, perche io ero ſtato mandato, eſſo giudicava neceſſario che ſi foſſe venuto più al particolare circa due coſe, la forma delle faculta d'intorno queſti beni (che gran differenza Sarebbe ſe foſſe ſtata commeſſa la coſa o al S. Cardinale, o alli Sereniſſimi Principi) e poi il modo che voleua tener ſua Sig. Reverendiſſima circa queſto affetto, e qui eſſo tocco che foſſe ſtato bene vedere la Copia delle Faculta. A la coſa del tempo io riſpoſi che per queſta opera era ſempre maturo, immò che non ſe ne doveua perderè momento per il pericolo dell' anime, oltre che dovendoſi dar principio a queſt' impreſa col far capace ogn' uno di quello, che veramente foſſe il ben ſuo, e perſuaderlo ad abbracciarlo, il qual' Officio ſpetta principalmente al Signior Legato, non ſi vede che a far queſto il tempo non ſia ſempre maturo, ſoggiongendo che S. Majeſta non doverebbe mai

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laſciar paſſer l' occaſione di queſta venuta del Principe ſuo figlivolo in dar compimento a queſta riduttione, percio che facendoſi hora, l' honor di queſta impreſa ſarebbe ſtato attribuito a lui. Quanto al particolar delle facultà, diſſi che havendo detto a S. Signoria che queſto aſſetto era ſtato commeſſa all' arbitrio di S. Signoria Illuſtriſſima mi pareva d' haver ſatisfatto aſſai, e che del modo del procedere ella non era ancora riſoluto, non ſi potendo pigliare in una coſa tale alcuna riſolutione ſe non ſul fatto, e doppo che ella foſſe ſtata preſente, per la neceſſaria informatione di molte coſe che corrono in queſta materia, circa la quale toccai alcuni altri punti, che S. Signoria Reverendiſſima intendera più lungamente alla mia venuta. La concluſione fù che eſſo non mancarebbe d' informar ſua Majeſtà del tutto, e per far ogni buon officio in queſto, e qui mi diſſe dell animo che haveva ſempre havuto d' aiutar queſte coſe della Religione, e del deſiderio che teneva di ſervir ſempre S. S. Illuſtriſſima ringratiandola che l' adoperaſſe io. Circa l' aſpetter la riſpoſta di S. Majeſtà mi diſſe che non potendo eſſo far' all' hora queſto officio per la partita del campo, io me ne veniſſi a Valentiana, dove havuta la reſolutione da S. Majeſtà mi farebbe chiamarè: e che non mi pigliaſſi altro affanno di queſto, e coſſi me ne ſon venuto quà con queſto diſegno, di dar tempo tutto dimane a S. Signoria di far queſt' officio, e poſdimane non eſſendo chiamato ritornarmene a ſollcitare l' eſpeditione. Io ho voluto dar queſto conto di quello che fin' hora e paſſato acciò che non ritornando io, a quel tempo che foſſi ſtato aſpettato, non ſi ſteſſe in qualche ſoſpenſion d' animo. Sua Majeſtà ſta gagliarda, e cavalca, e va perſonalmente vedendo l' eſſercito, e le coſe come paſſano, il qual' eſſercito hoggi innanzi mezzo giorno e partito da Dolci quattro leghe lontano di quà, & e andato ad un altro viaggio chiamato lieu S. Amando lontano da quello una legha, e più vicino al campo Franceſe, il quale queſta mattina e partito da Crevacore e venuto una legha più in quà. Baſcio la mano a Monsr. Illuſtriſſimo e mi raccomando a V. S. da Valentiano. L' ultimo di Luglio 1554.

Ser' Nicolò Ormaneta.

Number 25.

The Letter that the Biſhop of Arras *wrote to Cardinal* Pole *upon that Audience.*

Al Card. Polo.

Illmo. e Revmo. Sigr. mio Oſsmo.

TRovomi con due Lettere di V. S. Illuſtriſſima nella prima delle quali elle ſi rallegra della felice arrivata del Principe N. S. adeſſo Rè d' Inghilterra in quel Regno, e del conſumato Matrimonio,

la Lettera del medeſimo per S. Majeſtà Ceſarea ho data io medeſimo, alla quale e piacciuto ſommamente l' officio tanto amorevolmente da V. S. Illuſtriſſima: dipoi arrivò aſſai preſto il ſuo Auditore portator di queſta, venuto da Roma, dal quale ho inteſo quanto V. S. Reverendiſſima li haveva commeſſo di riferirmi ſopra le Lettere Credentiali, che egli mi ha portato, di che tutto ho fatto relatione a S. Majeſtà Ceſarea, la quale mi ha comandata riſponderle quello che eſſo ſuo Auditore le potrà riferire, non giudicando S. Majeſtà conveniente, che V. S. Reverendiſſima pigli il camino d' Inghilterra fin tanto, che conſultato il tutto con quelli Sereniſſimi Re, come fa con un corriero expreſſo partito hoggi, s' intenda da loro il ſtato preſente delle coſe di la e quello che conforme a queſto quel Regno potria al preſente comportare, accio che inteſo il tutto S. Majeſtà poſſa meglio riſolverſi alla riſpoſta che ella haverà a dare a V. S. Reverendiſſima ſu quella che di ſua parte ha propoſto il detto ſuo Auditore: non dubitando punto che come ſua Maeſtà e V. S. Illuſtriſſima hanno il zelo, che eſſe & ambidoi i Rè hanno alle coſe delle Religione, che terranno per certo, che non laſcieranno preterir punto di quello che convenghi al rimedio d' eſſe nel punto Regno: caminandovi contal moderatione, che in luogo di farvi del bene, non ſi troncaſſe per ſempre il camino al remedio. E ſenza più a V. S. Illuſtriſſima bacio humilmente la mano. Dall' exercito Ceſarea appreſſo Buchain li iij d' Agoſto 1554.

Di V. S. Reverendiſſima

Humil Ser^e il Veſcovo d' Arras.

Number 26.

Cardinal Pole's *Anſwer to the Biſhop of* Arras *his Letter.*

A Monsr. d' Arras.

Molto Illre. Revdo. Sigr.

DAlla Lettera di V. S. e dalla relatione del mio Auditore ho inteſo quanto e piaciuto a ſua Maeſtà farmi per hora ſapere della mente ſua, intorno il negocio della mia legatione in Inghilterra, riſervandoſi a darmene maggior riſolutione, quando haverà inteſo da quelli Sereniſſimi Prencipi il preſente ſtato delle coſe di la, perilche haveva ſpedito ſubbito un corriero; Io mio ſono molto rallegrato, vedendo che in mezo di tanti, & ſi urgenti negocii della guerra S. Majeſtà habbia havuto tanta cura, e ſollicitudine di queſta cauſa di Dio, la quale quando ſia ben concluſa, non dubito le porterá ſeco ogni buon ſucceſſoin tutto il reſto; ſtarò a ſpettando quello che piacerà a S. Majeſtà

jeſtà di farmi ſapere, poiche haverà havuto riſpoſta d' Inghilterra, ne altramente penſai prima mi conveniſſe fare. Et in queſto mezo pregarò la bontà d' Iddio, che coſſi faccia ben intendere a tutto il corpo di quel Regno queſto tempo, nel quale ſua Divina Maeſtà lo viſita con la gratia ſua, come ſon certo intendino beniſſimo i capi loro, acciò che non ſi habbita a dir contra di eſſi, miluus cognovit tempus ſuum, populus autem hic non cognovit tempus viſitationis ſuæ, ma havendo Iddio data gratia e quei Catholici Principi, a i quali tocca far' intendere & eſſequir' a gli altri, quello che in queſta cauſa con l' honor di S. Majeſtà ſarà di ſalute, & univerſal beneficio di tutti, ſpero che le Maeſtà loro non ſiano per mancare di far' in ciò quello, ch' ogn' uno aſpetta dalla pietà loro, eſſende maſſimamente eccitati, & aiutati, & in ciò dall' authorità e prudentia di ſua Majeſtà Ceſarea: havendo inteſo che a V. S. ſaria ſtato di ſatisfattione veder copia del Breve della facultà conceſſami da N. Sr. circa la diſpoſitione di i beni eccleſiaſtici, io glie la mando con queſta, pregandola ſia contenta farmi intendere dalla ricevuta, e molto la ringratio dell' amorevolezza ſua verſo di me, e della corteſia uſata al detto mio Auditore. Dal Monaſterio di Diligàm. alli 5 d' Agoſto 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Polo.

Number 27.

Cardinal Pole's *Letter to King* Philip.

Al Re d' Inghilterra.

Ser^me^ Rex.

CUM maximè antea lætatus eſſem, cognito ex fama ipſa, & litteris meorum optatiſſimo Majeſtis tuæ in Angliam adventu, & fæliciſſimis nuptiis, quæ cum Sereniſſima Regina noſtra ſummo omnium gaudio & gratulatione celebratæ ſunt: tamen hanc meam lætitiam magnoperè cumularunt Serenitatis tuæ litteræ a Domino Comite de Horne, cum is in caſtris apud Majeſtem Cæſaream remanſiſſet, heri miſſæ ad me per nobilem Virum D. de S^to^. Martino Majeſtis tuæ domeſticum, eumdem cui ego has ad illam perferendas dedi. Etenim expreſſam in illis imaginem vidi ejus humanitatis ac benignitatis, qua Majeſtatem tuam præter reliquas eximias virtutes excellere omnes prædicant, quæ quidem virtus ab animi verè Regii altitudine proficiſcitur. Itaq; ego Majeſtati tuæ ob hoc benevolentiæ ſignum mihi impertitum maximas ut debeo gratias, ac tametſi per alia Litteras uberius hoc ipſo officio functus ſum, tamen iterum illi de hoc fælici matrimonio divina

providentia,

providentia, ut planè perſuaſum habeo, ad iſtius Regni quietem conciliato, gratulor. Idq; eo magis quod confido brevi futurum, ut ad coram ſibi Pontificis Maximi nomine gratulandum, quemadmodum in mandatis habeo, Majeſtatis tuæ pietas aditum mihi patefaciat cum ſummo totius Eccleſiæ gaudio, & iſtius Regni ſalute. Reliquum eſt ut Majeſtati tuæ omnia obſequa, quæ illi vel pro Legationis munere publice præſtare poſſum, vel jam ut meo Principi ac Domino privatim debeo, deferam, atque pollicear. Quæ quidem in rebus omnibus, quæ ad ejus amplitudinem, laudem, honoremque pertinebunt Studioſiſſimè ſemper præſtabo. Deus Opt. Max. Majeſtatem tuam una cum Sereniſſima Reverendiſſima Regina cuſtodiat, ac diutiſſimè fælicem conſervat. Mon^tio. Diligà prope Bruxellas VII Idus Auguſti 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Polus.

Number 28.

A Letter of Cardinal Pole's *to the Pope, giving an Account of a Conference that he had with* Charles *the Vth, concerning the Church Lands.*

Beatiſſime Pater.

E Molto tempo che non havendo coſa d' importanza, non ho ſcritto a V. Santita per non moleſtarle: facendole col mezo del mio Agente intendere tutto quello che occurreva; e benche hora jo non habbia da dirle quanto deſiderarei, nondimeno mi e parſo conveniente ſcriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con Monſieur d' Arraſs & poi di quel che ho negotiato con ſua Majeſtà. Monſ. d' Arras alli ex che fu il giorno iſteſſo che ſua Majeſtà torno, eſſendomi venuto a viſitare, trovandoſi all hora meco Monſieur il Nuncio, mi diſſe, che ſua Majeſtà havea veduta la Lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l' auditor mio, e che ella era beniſſimo diſpoſta verſo queſto negotio della Religione in Inghilterra come ſi conveniva, e ſi poteva credere per la ſua Pietat, & anche per l' intereſſe, che ne ſequeria de quel Regno & de queſti Paieſi per la congiuntione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a queſta parte di diſponer ſua Majeſtà non accader far altro. Ma che era ben neceſſario, che io veniſſi a particolari, & atrattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: Sopra che ſua Mâeſta mi udiva molto volentieri, Jo riſpoſi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di ſua Maeſta,

& che io ni era ſtato ſempre perſuaſiſſimo. Na che quanto pertineva all officio mio per eſſer io ſtato mandato da V. Santita per far intender L'ottima ſua mente verſo la ſalute di quello Regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorita ſua poteſſer venire ; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito : E che ad eſſe Principi, quali ſono ful fatto, & hanno il governo in mano, le appartene-va, far intendere gli impedimenti, che fuſſero in contrario : E tornando pur eſſo Monſieur d'Arràs che biſognava che io deſcendeſſi alli particulari, io replicai che in queſta cauſa non conveniva in modo alcuno che ſi procedeſſe come ſi era fatto inquella della pace ; nella quale ciaſcuna delle parti ſtava ſopra di ſe non volendoſi ſcoprire, ma ſolo cercando di ſcoprirne, l'altra, per riſpetto de gli intereſſe particulari ; percio che queſta e una cauſa commune e nella quale V. Santita e ſua Maeſta Ceſarea, & quei Principi hanno il medeſimo fine, & noi ancora come miniſtri. Confermo cio eſſer vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia tornava a dire, che io doveſſi penſare e raggionar in particolare, con ſua Maeſta di queſt impedimenti. E Monſieur il Nuncio al hora voltatoſi a me deſſe, che in effetto era biſogno venire a queſti particolari : E coſi al fine reſtammo che ogniuno ci penſaſſe ſopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. Majeſta, Monſieur d' Arras torna a replicarmi il medeſimo ; nell audientia di S. Maeſta, nella quale ſi trovo preſente Monſieur il Nuncio, e Monſieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con ſua Maeſta, che havendo liberato queſti ſuoi paeſi della Moleſtie della Guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d' animo e di corpo fuſſe tornato piu gagliarda e meglio diſpoſita che quando ſi parti ; in che ſi videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preſervata & preſervava, a maggior coſe in honor di S. Divina Maeſta a beneficio commune. Sua Maeſta confermo ſenterſi aſſai bene, e diſſe dele indiſpoſitione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre coſe in ſimil propoſito : Entrai poi a dire della Lettera, che io haveva ſcritta a S. Maeſta della reſpoſta che Monſieur d' Arras mi haveva fatta, che era ſtata di rimeterſi al breve. Retorno di ſua Maeſta qui, e diſſi che ſe haveſſi a tratter queſto negocio con altro Principe, della Pieta del quale non fuſſi tanto perſuaſo, quanto io ſono certo di quella di ſua Maeſta, dimoſtrata da lei con tanti ſegni, e nella vita ſua privata, e nell attioni publiche, cercarei de eſſortarlo per tante vie quante ſi potria ad abbracciar, e favorir queſta coſi ſanta cauſa. Ma che non eſſendo biſogno fare queſto con S. Maeſta, e tanto piu per eſſer in queſta cauſa con honore d' Iddio, congionto anco il beneficio di S. Maeſta & del Sereniſſimo Re ſuo figlivolo, ſolo aſpettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che fuſſero in queſto negocio : i quali per quanto io poteva conſiderere ſono di duo ſorti : Uno pertinente alla Doctrina Catollica, nella quale non poteva eſſer in alcun modo indulgente, per eſſer coſa pertinente alla fide ne poteva ſanar altrimente queſto male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona Doctrina. L' altro impedimento eſſendo de i beni, gli uſurpatori di quale, ſapendo la ſeverita delle Leggi Eccleſiaſtiche, temevano per queſta cauſa di ritornar al Obedienza della Chieſa, deſſe diſſi che in queſta parte V. San-

tita

tita poteva, & era diſpoſta ad uſar la ſua benignita & indulgenza : E primo quanto alle Cenſure e pene incorſe, & alle Reſtitutione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santita haveva animo nell una nell altra di queſto due coſe d'uſar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamento il tutto : Ne penſava d'applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a ſe, ne alla Sede Apoſtolica, come multi temevano : Benche di Raggione lo poteſſe fare, per le ingiurie & damni recevuti ; ma che voleva convertir il tutto in ſevitio d'Iddio, & a Beneficio del Regno, ſeuza haver pur una minima conſideratione del ſuo privato intereſſe : Et confidandoſi nella Pieta di quei Principi, voleva far loro queſt' Honore di far per mezo del ſuo Legato, quelle gratie che pareſſero convenienti ſecondo la propoſta & interceſſione delle loro Maeſta, a quelle Perſone che eſſe giudicaſſero degne d' eſſere gratificate, & atte ad ajutar la Cauſa della Religione. Sua Maeſta reſpondendo ringratio prima molto V. Santita moſtrando di conoſcere la ſua bona mente, & con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto aſſai : Poi diſſe che per gli impedimenti & occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a queſto negocio, come faria ſtato ij ſuo deſiderio : Ma che hora gli attenderia ; & che haveva gia ſcritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in queſta parte il ſtato delle coſa, & aſpettava in breve riſpoſta : Et che biſognava ben conſiderare fin dove ſi poteſſe andare nel rimover queſto impedimento d' beni ; il quali eſſo per leſperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conoſceva eſſer il principale. Perchioche quanto alla Doctrina, diſſe, che poco ſe ne curavano queſto tali, non credendo ne all' una ne all' altra via : Diſſe anche che eſſendo ſtati queſti beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere coſi ogni coſa, a quelli che li tenevano : E che ſe bene a lei io diceſſe fin dove s'eſtendeſſe la mia faculta, non pero ſi haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri : E che ſara biſogni veder il breve della faculta, per ampliarle dove fuſſe neceſſario : Alche io riſpoſi haverlio gia fatto vedere a Monſieur d' Arras, il quale non diſſe altra : E dubitando io che queſta non fuſſe via di maggior dilatione diſſi a S. Maeſta, che devendoſi come io intendeva e come S. Maeſta doveva ſaper meglio, fare in breve il Parlamento, era d' avertire grandimente, che non ſi faceſſe ſenza Concluſione nella cauſa dell obedienza della Chieſa ; che quando altrimente ſi faceſſe, ſarebbe d' un grandiſſimo ſcandalo a tutto il Mondo, e danno alla detta cauſa : E che ſe bene la Regina a fare un coſi grande atto, haveva giudicato haver biſogno della congiuntione del Re ſuo Marito, come che non eſſe bonum Mulierem eſſe ſolam, ſe hora che Iddio ha proſperito e condotto al fine queſta ſanta congiuntione, ſi differiſſe piu l' eſſecutione di queſto effetto, che dove eſſar il Principio & il Fundamento di tutte le loro Regie attioni, non reſtarebbe via di ſatisfar a Dio, ne a gli Huomini : E dicendo S. Maeſta che biſognava anco haver grand reſpetto alla mala Diſpoſitione de gli intereſſati, e quanto univerſalmente ſia abborito queſto nome d'obedienza della Chieſa, e queſto cappel roſſo, e l' habito ancora de i Religioſi, Voltatoſi all hora a Monſieur Nuncio e in tel propoſito parlando de frati condotti di Spagnia dal Re ſuo figlivolo, che fu conſegliato far loro mutar l'habito, ſe bene cio non ſi feci, ne ſi conveniva

riva fare : con dire anco di quanto importanza fuſſe il tumulto del Popolo, & in tal propoſito toccando anche de i mali officij, che non ceſſavano di fare per ogni via i nemici eſterni. Io riſpoſi che volendo aſpettare che tutti da ſe ſi diſponeſſero, e che ceſſaſſe ogni impedimento, ſaria un non venir mai a fine, perchioche, gli intereſſali maſſimamente, altro non vorriano ſe non che ſi continuaſſe nel preſente ſtato, con tenere & godere eſſe, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluſo che ſi aſpettaſſe la ripoſta d'Inghilterra, col ritorno del Secretario Eras, che ſaria fra pochi di, e che in queſto mezzo io penſaſſi, e conferiſſi di quelle coſe con Monſieur d'Arras. V. Beatitudine puo con la ſua prudenza vedere in che ſtato ſi trovi queſta cauſa ; e come ſara neceſſario, che qui ſi trattino le difficulta ſopra queſta beni ; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza, quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. Santita ſi degnira intendere dall Agente mio, alla quale conla debita reverenza bacio i ſantiſſimi piedi pregnando il Sig. Iddio, che la conſervi longamente a Servitio della ſua Chieſa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October 1554.

Reginaldus Card. Polus.

Number 29.

A Part of Maſon's *Letter to Queen* Mary, *concerning Cardinal* Pole.

CArdinal *Poole* having been ſent to theſe Quarters for Two Purpoſes, th'one for the Meanning of a Cyvill Peas between the *French* King and the Emperor ; and the other for the helping to conclude a Spirituall Peas, as he termeth yt, in the Realme of *England* ; perceyving neither of them both to come to ſuch a paſs as his good Mynde doth deſyre, dothe begynne, as me ſemeth, to be owte of Comfort : And being in manner clerely in diſpayre of th'one, yf he receyve not ſhortlye ſome Likeliadde of the other, being wery of ſo much Tyme ſpent wythout Frute, begynneth in that caſe to talk of his Return to *Italy*. If he return without the ſeing of his Countrey, lyke as he ſhall retourne a ſorrowful Man, ſo ſhall the Realme have loſt the Fruition of ſuch a one, as for his Wyſdome, joyned with Learning, Vertue and Godlynes, all the World ſeeketh and adoureth. In whome it is to bee thought, that God hath choſen a ſpeciall Place of Habitation. Such is his Converſation, adorned with infinite Godly Qualities above the ordinary Sorte of Men. And who ſoever within the Realme lyketh him worſt, I wold he might have with him the Talke of one Half Howre : It were a right ſtony Harte, that in a ſmall Tyme he could not ſoften. If

it be his Fortune to depart, without ſhewing the Experience herof in the Realme, his going away ſhall be, in myne Opinion, like the Storye of the Goſpell, of ſuch as dwelt *in Regione Gereſenorum*, who uppon a fond Feare, deſyred Chriſte, offring himſelf unto them, *ut diſcedere a Finibus illorum.*

Thus, moſt humbly deſyring your Grace to pardone my bolde and preſumptiouſe medling in Matters paſſing my Capacitye. I commit the ſame to the Tuicion of Almighty Godde.

From *Bruxells*, the vth of *Octobre* 1554.

Your Grace's
Moſt Humble, Faithful,
and Obedient Subject,
John Maſone.

To the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſtie.

Number 30.

A Letter of Cardinal Pole's *to* Philip *the* IId, *complaining of the Delays that had been made, and deſiring a ſpeedy Admittance into* England.

Sereniſſime Rex,

JAM Annus eſt, cum iſtius Regiæ domus fores pulſare cæpi, nedum quiſquam eas mihi apperuit. Tu vero, Rex, ſi quæras, ut ſolent qui ſuas fores pulſare audiunt, quiſnam pulſet? Atque ego hoc tantum reſpondeam, me eſſe qui, ne meo aſſenſu Regia iſta domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum ſimul eam nunc tenet, paſſus ſum me Domo & Patria expelli, & exilium viginti annorum hac de cauſa perfuli. An ſi hoc dicam, non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar, cui & in Patriam reditus, & ad vos aditus detur? At ego, nec meo nomine, nec privatam Perſonam gerens pulſo, aut quidquam poſtulo, ſed ejus nomine ejuſque Perſonam referens, qui Summi Regis & Paſtoris Hominum in Terris vicem gerit. Hic eſt Petri Succeſſor; atque adeo ut non minus verè dicam, ipſe Petrus, cujus Authoritas & Poteſtas, cum antea

antea in iſto Regno maximè vigeret ac floreret, poſtquam non paſſa eſt jus Regiæ domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam poſſidet, ex eo per ſummam injuriam eſt ejecta. Is Regias per me fores jampridem pulſat, & tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulſantis ſonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus ſunt? Audierunt ſane, & quidem non minore cum admiratione Divinæ Potentiæ & Benignitatis erga Eccleſiam, quam olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum ut eſt in Actis Apoſtolorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciaſſet Petrum quem Rex in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, & pro quo Eccleſia aſſidue precabatur è carcere liberatum ante oſtium pulſantem ſtare. Ut enim hoc ei cæteriſque qui cum illa erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt eos qui Petri Authoritatem Poteſtatemq; in iſto Regno retinendam eſſe contendebant, in vincula Herodiano Imperio conjectos, & crudeliſſime interfectos fuiſſe, quin etiam Succeſſorum Petri nomina è libris omnibus ſublata in quibus precationes Eccleſiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac ſalute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad omnem Memoriam Petri Autoritatis à Chriſto traditæ penitus ex Animis Hominum delendam, qui fieri poteſt ut non maximè admirentur hoc Divinæ Benignitatis & Potentiæ pignus ac Teſtimonium: Petrum nunc quaſi iterum è carcere Herodis liberatum, ad Regiæ domus fores unde hæc omnia iniquiſſima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulſantem ſtare, & cum hoc maximè mirandum eſt, tum illud non minus mirum, à Maria Regina domum hanc teneri: Sed cur illa tamdiu foras aperire diſtulit. De ancilla quidem illud Mariæ Scriptum eſt, eam Petri Voceaudita præ nimio gaudio ſuæ quaſi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitaſſe: Rem prius, ut Mariæ aliiſq; qui cum ea erant nunciaret, accurriſſe, qui cum primo an ita eſſet dubitaſſent, mox cum Petrus pulſare pergeret aperierunt, neq; illum domo recipere ſunt veriti, etſi maximam timendi cauſam habebant, Herode ipſo vivo & regnante. Hic vero quid dicam de Maria Regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore eſſe prohibitam quominus aperuerit; preſertim cum ipſa Petri Vocem audierit, cum certo ſciat eum ad domus ſuæ januam jamdiu pulſantem ſtare: Cum admirabilem Dei in hac re potentiam agnoſcat, qui non per Angelum, ut tunc Petrum è carcere Herodis, ſed ſua manu eduxit, dejecta porta ferrea quæ viam ad Regiam ejus domum intercludebat: Scio equidem illam gaudere, ſcio etiam vero timere; neq; enim niſi timeret tam diu diſtuliſſet. Verum ſi Petri liberatione gaudet, ſi rei miraculum agnoſcit, quid impedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam lætabunda occurrerit, eumque meritas Deo gratias agens, introduxerit, Herode preſertim mortuo, omniq; ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortaſſis Divina Providentia quæ te dilectum Petri Filium & ei Virum deſtinarat, illam timore aliquo tantiſper affici permiſit, dum veniſſes, ut utriuſq; ad rem tam præclaram & ſalutarem agendam, opera atque officium conjungeretur: Equidem ſic antea hunc Mariæ Reginæ conjugis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam Scripſi ſum interpretatus: Ac propterea ad te nunc, Virum ejus, Principem Religioſiſſimum, ſcribo, & abs te ipſius Petri Chriſti Vicarii nomine poſtulo, ut illi omnes timoris cauſas prorſus excutias: Habes vero expeditiſſimam excutiendi rationem, ſi conſideres eique proponas, quam indignum ſit ſi dum te illa Corporis ſui ſponſum accerſerit, cum non deeſſent quæ

timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem ſola vicerit, nunc te tanto Principi illi conjuncto, timore prohiberi quominus aditum ad ſe aperiat ſponſæ animæ ſuæ, mecum una & cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti; qui preſertim tot & tam miris modis cuſtodem ejus ſe, defenſoremq; eſſe declaravit. Noli enim, Rex, putare, me aut ſolum ad veſtram Regiam domum, aut uno tantum Petro comitatum veniſſe; cujus rei hoc quidem tibi certum Argumentum eſſe poteſt, quod tamdiu perſevero pulſans: Nam ſive ego ſolus veniſſem, ſolus jampridem abiiſſem, querens & expoſtulans quæ aliis omnibus pateant, mihi uni occluſas eſſe fores; ſive una mecum ſolus Petrus, jampridem is quoque diſceſſiſſet, meque ſecum abduxiſſet, pulvere pedum excuſſo, quod ei preceptum fuit a Domino ut faceret quotieſcunque ejus nomine aliquo accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perſeverem, cum Petrus pulſare non deſiſtat, utrumque ſcito ab ipſo Chriſto retineri, ut ſibi ſponſo animæ utriuſque veſtrum aditus ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere, Chriſtum in hac Legatione, qua pro ejus Vicario fungor, mecum adeſſe: Quamdiu quidem mihi conſcius ero me nihil meum, me non veſtra, ſed vos ipſos toto animo omnique ſtudio quærere. Tu vero, Princeps Catholicæ, cui nunc Divina Providentia & Benignitate additum eſt alterum hoc præclarum Fidei Defenſoris cognomen, quo Reges Angliæ Apoſtolica Petri Autoritate ſunt aucti atque ornati; tecum nunc conſidera quam id tuæ Pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium Principum ad te Legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipſo cognomine adepto gratularentur, ſolum Succeſſoris Petri qui hoc dedit, Legatum, qui propterea miſſus eſt ut te in ſolio Regni Divina ſummi omnium Regis quam affert pace & gratia, confirmet, non admitti? An ſi quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quominus eum admittis non multo magis Chriſti hac in re metuanda eſſet offenſio, quod ejus Legatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores expectet, cum cæteri Homines qui multo poſt venerunt, nulla interpoſita mora, introducti auditiq; ſint & honorifice dimiſſi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, ſed idcirco conqueror, ne juſtam tuæ Majeſtati cauſam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam ſane præberem, ſi cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi Legati à Chriſti Vicario Miſſi, nobis veſtroq; Regno impendet, Reginam ſæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad Majeſtarem tuam Scriberem; quod officium cum tibi à me pro eo quo fungor munere maximè debeatur, id me ſatis perſoluturum eſſe arbitror, ſi his Literis oſtendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici poteſt, diſtuliſti Chriſtum tuum. Is autem Chriſtum differt, qui Legatum miſſum, ab ejus Vicario, ad requirendam Obedientiam Eccleſiæ, ipſi Chriſto debitam, ex quo noſtra omnium pendet ſalus, non ſtatim admittit. Differs vero, tu Princeps, ſi cum accercitus fueris, ut pro munere Regio viam ad hanc Divinam Obedientiam in tuo iſto Regno reſtituendam munias, ipſe alia agas.

Number

Number 31.

The Lord Paget's *and the Lord* Haſtings's *Letter concerning Cardinal* Pole.

An Original.

IT maie pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty to be advertiſed, that arriving here upon *Sunday* laſt in the Forenoone, we had Audience of the Emperor's Majeſtie in the Afternoone, notwithſtanding that the ſame had that Daie received the Bleſſed Sacrament, wherby we noted a great Care in him, for the Expedicion of us hence again: After dew Commendation made unto him by us, on your Majeſties Behalfe, and the Cauſes of our comyng declared unto him with ſuche Circumſtances, as by the Tenure of our Inſtructions, we have in Charge to open unto him, he rejoyced verey much to here the ſame; and firſt giving unto you both moſt harty Thanks for your Commendations, and then inquiering very diligently of your good Proſperities and Wellfares, and ſpecially (Madame) of the State of your Majeſties Perſone, he rouſed himſelf with a merry Chere, and ſaid, that among many great Benefits, for the which he thought himſelf moſt bounden unto God, this was one of the greateſt, that it had pleaſed him to hold his Bleſſed Hand over that Realme; and ſo taking occaſion to reherſe in what good Eſtate, and great Reputation, he knew the Realme of *England* had bene in the Beginning; and afterward into what Calamities the ſame fell into, much (he ſaid) to his Regret; he gave God Thanks, not only for the great Miracles, which he had ſhewed upon your Majeſtie to make you his apt Miniſter for the reſtoring of that Kingdome to the Auncient Dignite, Welth, and Renowne, but alſo for that it hath pleaſed him to give you ſo ſone, ſo certaine a Hope of Succeſſion; wherof like as he hathe Cauſe for his Parte, (he ſaid) to Rejoyce and take great Comforte, ſo hath all *England* greater Cauſe to think themſelfs moſt bounden unto God, to pleaſe him, and to ſerve him for the ſame: Theſe Tydings, he ſaid, of the State of your Majeſties Perſone (Madame) with the Reaport that we had made unto him of the great Conformite, and hole Conſent of the Noble Men, and others in their Proceedings before your Majeſties, touching the receiving of my Lord Cardinal into *England*, and their earneſt Submiſſions to the Obedience, and Union of the Catholique Church, were ſo pleaſant unto him, as if he had been half Deade, yet they ſhuld have been ynoughe to have revived him again. Theſe and many other ſuche like Wordes he uſed to declare the Joy, and Contentment of his Minde, for the good Succeſſe of this Matter. In the mayning whereof there, if any Thing (ſaid he) ſhuld fortune, wherin his Adviſe might be thought requiſite, your Majeſties ſhuld not onley find the ſame ready, but alſo in any other Thing that laie in him, which might ſerve to your Honors, and the Benefite of the Realme: To this when we for our Parts had joined ſuch Talk, as to this Purpoſe ſemed to our Poor Witts Convenient, declaring your Godly Diſpoſitiones in this Mater, how much you repoſed your ſelfs upon his great Wiſdome and Experience; what Confidence you had

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in his Fatherly Love, and Friendly Affections towards your Majeſties, and the Benefite of your Realms: We toke our leaves of his Majeſtie, and repaired furthwith unto my Lord Cardinal, whoſe Gladnes of our comyng we ſhall not need with many Words to declare unto your Majeſtie; nor yet what Speech he uſed to ſet furth, how much he was bounden unto your Majeſties for your Gracious Diſpoſitions towards him, and how much both you and he were bounden to Almighty God, for the bending of your Harts this waies, for your Majeſties ſhall and maie perceive the ſame more plainly by himſelf at his comyng unto your Preſence. This under your Majeſties Corrections we maie be bold to write unto you, that we believe verely that whenſoever he ſhall be in *England*, the ſame ſhall fare the better for him, for he is the Man of God, full of all Godlines and Vertue, ready to humble himſelf to all Facions that may do good; and therefore he is contented, not only to come into *England* in ſuch ſort as your Majeſties have appointed, not as a Legate, but as a Cardinal, and Ambaſſador to your Majeſties, but in any other ſort whatſoever it be, that your Majeſties will apoint; he aſſuring your Majeſties, that touching the Matter of Poſſeſſions, all Things ſhall come to paſſe, on the Pope's Behalfe, in ſuch ſort as every Man there ſhall have Cauſe to be contented. Yeſterday Night he toke his Leave of the Emperor, and ſo did we alſo. This Daie he repaireth onwards his Journey, to an Abbaye Two Miles hence, whither he hath uſed much to reſorte, the Tyme of his abode here. To Morrow at Night to *Dendermount*; *Thurſday* to *Gawnte*; *Friday* to *Bruges*; *Saturday* to *Newport*; *Sunday* to *Dunkirke*; *Monday* to *Calice*; (for his weake Body can make no great Journies) and his Eſtate alſo is to be conſidered. In this Journey we ſhall not faile to do him all the Honour and Service we can, aſwell for that we take it to be our ſpecial Charge, as for that alſo his great Vertues have wonne us, and bind us to the ſame: We have written now, beſides our ſpeaking at our paſſing by, to the Lord Depute of *Calice*, for all Things to be in a redines for his Tranſportation; ſo as we truſt we ſhall not have occaſion to tarry long there. And thus we beſeeche Almighty God to preſerve both your Majeſties long, and long to live together to your own good Contentments, and to the great Comfort, and Benefit of us your poor Subjects. From *Bruxells* the 13th of *November* in the Morning, 1554.

Your Majeſties,
Moſt Humble, Faithful,
And Obedient Servants

William Paget.
Edw. Haſtings.

To the King and Queen's Majeſties.

Nunber

Number 32.

An Original Letter of Maſon's, *of a Preacher that preſſed the Reſtitution of Church-Lands.*

AFter moſt hartie Commendations, I have ſent to my Lords at this preſent the Emperor's Commiſſaries Anſwere made at the Diett, to a Letter lately ſent from the *French* King to the ſaid Diett, of the Circulls of *Germanye* aſſembled at *Francfort*. And foraſmuche as yt chanced me at the Cloſing up of my Lettre, to have the Sight of an other Anſwer made to the ſaied Lettre, by ſome bearing good Will to the Emperor's Affaires, I thought good to coppye it, and to ſend it unto you; albeit by the reading therof, yt may appere yt was made by ſome Man, rather to aſſaye his Witte, and to declare his Affection, then of intent to anſwere perticulerly the Matier. It was this Morning told me, by one of the Emperor's Counſell, who miſliked muche the Matier, that a Preacher of ours, whoſe Name he reherſed, betithe the Pulpet jolyly in *England*, for the Reſtitution of Abbaye Lands. If it be ſo meant by the Prince, and be thought convenient ſo to be, then doth he his Duetie; but yf contrarely, yt be neither meant nor thought convenient, it is a ſtrange Thing in a well ordered Commonwelth, that a Subject ſhall be ſo hardie to crye unto the People openly ſuch Learning, as wherby your Winter Works maye in the Somer be attempted with ſome Storme. And wer the Thing fitt to be talked of, yet were the Princes and the Counſell, who might remedy it, meter to be ſpoken with therin, then the Multitude, who therby may receyve an yll Impreſſion, and an Occaſion of lewd Thinking, and lewde Talking, and lewd Doing alſo, if it may lye in their Powers; and that is all, that of Sowing thies Maters amongs them can enſue. Theſe unbridled Preachings were ſo much to be miſliked in the yll governed Tyme, as Good Men truſted, in this Good Governance, it ſhould have been amended. And ſo maye it be, when it ſhall pleaſe my Lords of the Counſell as diligently to conſyder it, as it is more then neceſſarie to be loked unto. The Partye, me thinketh, might well be put to Silence, if he were aſked, How, being a Monk, and having profeſſed and vowed ſolemply wilfull Poverty, he can with Conſcience keep a Deanery, and Three or Four Benefices? I heare, by the Report of other Ambaſſadors here, of the Return of the Realme to the Unitie of Chriſten Church, wherof all good Men have much cauſe to rejoyſe. I would have been glad to have been able, at the leaſt, to have confyrmed the News by ſome certaine Knowledge: But being the Ordenarye of Ambaſſadors of *England*, to knowe leaſt of all others of the Matiers of the Realm, I muſt content my ſelf; truſting that, as I am enformed, the Ambaſſador ther hath loſt his Name: For that it is not thought neceſſarie the Father to have an Ambaſſa- *Paper-Office.*

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dor to the Sonne, ſo ſhall with Tyme, this Office on this Side being no more needfull then it is, be diſcharged alſo. Or if myne Abode ſhall be longer, then wold I att Leſure be a Suter to you, to be a Mean for beſure to come over for Three Weeks, or a Month, to ſee the King's Highnes, and to doe his Majeſty my Duty, and ſo to return. I mean no Haſte, but as Matter and Occaſion may ſerve hereafter. Thus I committ you to the Keeping of Almighty God. At *Bruſſels*, the 12th Day of *December* 1554.

Your moſt aſſuredly

John Maſone.

12th of *December* 1554.

To the Right Honourable Sir Wm. Peter, *Kt. King and Queen's Principal Secretarye.*

Number 33.

Cardinal Pole's *Commiſſion to the Biſhops, to Reconcile all in their Dioceſes to the Church of* Rome.

Ex Reg. Norwic. *F.* 58. b.

REginaldus, Miſeratione divina, Sanctæ Mariæ in Coſmedin Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, Cardinalis Polus, Nuncupatus Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Papæ, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ, ad Sereniſſimos Philippum & Mariam, Angliæ Reges, & univerſum Angliæ Regnum, de Latere Legatus. Venerabili, ac Nobis in Chriſto Dilecto, Epiſcopo Norwicenſi, ſeu ejus in Spiritualibus [Vicario] Generali, Salutem in Domino ſempiternam. Cum Sanctiſſimus in Chriſto Pater Dominus noſter, Dominus Julius, divina Providentia Papa Tertius, inter alias Facultates, pro hujus Regni, omniumque Perſonarum in eo exiſtentium, Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Reconciliationem faciendam neceſſarias, Nobis in noſtra hac Legatione conceſſas, hanc ſpecialiter indulgerit, ut quoſcunque in Hæreſium & Schiſmatis errores lapſos, ab iis, & à quibuſcunque cenſuris & pœnis propterea incurſis, abſolvere, & cum eis ſuper irregularitate præmiſſorum occaſione contracta diſpenſare, & alia multa ad hæc neceſſaria, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna facere. Et hoc idem munus Catholicis locorum Ordinariis, &

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aliis Perſonis Deum timentibus, fide inſignibus, & Literarum ſcientia præditis, demandare poſſumus ; prout in ejus Literis, tam ſub plumbo, quam in forma brevis expeditis plenius continetur. Cumque Dei Benignitate, & Sereniſſimorum Regum Pietate, Regnum hoc univerſaliter, & omnes Domini, Spirituales & Temporales, aliæque Perſonæ communitatum, in eo quod proximè celebratum eſt, Parliamento congregato ſingulariter primo : Et deinde univerſum Corpus Cleri Provinciæ Cantuariens', & omnes ferè Perſonæ ſingulæ dictum Corpus repreſentantes, coram nobis exiſten', aliæque pleræque fuerint Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, per Nos ipſos reconciliatæ. Speramuſque fore, ut omnes aliæ quæ reconciliatæ adhuc non ſunt, reconciliari debeant ; difficileque, & potius impoſſibile ſit, ut tam numeroſa Multitudo per Nos ipſos reconcilietur. Ideo vices noſtras, in hoc, Locorum Ordinariis, & aliis Perſonis ut ſupra qualificatis, delegandas duximus : Circumſpectioni igitur veſtræ, de cujus Probitate, & Charitatis zelo, plenam in Domino Fiduciam obtinemus, Auctoritate Apoſtolica, Nobis, per Literas ejuſdem Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Papæ conceſſa, & per nos vobis nunc impenſa, omnes & ſingulas utriuſque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Eccleſiaſticas, Seculares, & quorumve Ordinum Regulares veſtræ Civitatis & Dioces' Perſonas, in quibuſvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus conſtitutas, cujuſcunque Status & Qualitatis exiſtant, Etiam ſi Capitulum, Collegium, Univerſitas, ſeu Communitas fuerit, quarumvis Hæreſum aut novarum Sectarum Profeſſores, aut in eis culpabiles vel ſuſpectas, ac credentes, receptatores, aut fautores eorum, ſuos errores agnoſcentes, ac de illis dolentes ; & ad orthodoxam Fidem recepi humiliter poſtulan' cognita in ipſis, vera, & non ficta, aut ſimulata * Potentia, ab omnibus & ſingulis Hæreſum, Schiſmatis, & ab orthodoxa Fide, Apoſtaſiarum & Blaſphemiarum, & aliorum quorumcunque ſimilium errorum ; etiam ſub generali Sermone non venientium peccatis, criminibus, exceſſibus & delictis ; de quibus tamen jam inquiſiti, vel accuſati, ſeu condemnati non fuerint, & quibuſvis Excommunicationis, Suſpenſionis, & Interdictorum, & aliis Eccleſiaſticis & Temporalibus, Cenſuris & Pœnis, in eas præmiſſorum & infraſcriptorum occaſione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis vel promulgatis ; etiam ſi in eis pluribus Annis inſorduerint, & earum Abſolutio, dictæ Sedi etiam per Literas in Cœna Domini legi conſuetas, reſervata exiſtat in utroque Conſcientiæ, ſcilicet & contentioſo foro, eos vero qui jam inquiſiti, vel accuſati, aut condemnati fuerint, ut præfertur, ad cor revertentes in foro Conſcientiæ, tantum plenariè abſolventur & liberentur. Necnon cum eis ſuper irregularitate, per eos præmiſſorum occaſione contracta, etiam quia ſic Ligati, Miſſas & alia Divina Officia, etiam contra Ritus & Ceremonias hactenus probatas & uſitatas celebraverint, aut illis alias ſe immiſcuerint, contracta quoque irregularitate, & aliis præmiſſis non obſtantibus, in ſuis Ordinibus, etiam ab Hæreticis & Schiſmaticis Epiſcopis, etiam minus ritè, dummodo in eorum collatione, Eccleſiæ Forma & Intentio ſit ſervata, per eos ſuſceptis, & in eorum ſuſceptione ; etiamſi Juramentum contra Papatum Romanum præſtiterint ; etiam in Altaris Miniſterio miniſtrare, ac quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque ; etiam Curata invicem tamen ſe Compatientia, Beneficia Secularia vel Regularia, Dignitatibus in Collegiatis, Eccleſiis Principalibus, & in Cathe-

* L. *Pœnitentia.*

dralibus, etiam Metropolitanis poſt Pontificalem, majoribus exceptis; etiam à Schiſmaticis Epiſcopis, ſeu aliis Collatoribus; etiam Laicalis Pietatis prætextu habita, Auctoritate Apoſtolica retinere, dummodo alteri Jus quæſitum non ſit, & non promotos ad omnes etiam Sacros,
F. 60. a. & Preſbiteratus Ordines, à ſuis Ordinariis, ſi digni & idonei reperti fuerint, ritè & legitimè promoveri, ac Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica etiam curata, ſi eis alias canonicè conferantur, recipere & retinere valeant, qualitate temporis, Miniſtrorum defectu, & Eccleſiæ Neceſſitatibus, Utilitatibuſque ita poſcen' diſpenſand' & indulgend' ac omnem inhabilitatis & infamiæ maculam, ſive notam, ex præmiſs' quomodolibet inſurgen' penitus & omnino abolend'. Necnon in priſtinum, & eum in quo ante præmiſſa quomodolibet erant, Statum ita ut omnibus & ſingulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Favoribus & Indultis, quibus cæteri Chriſti Fideles gaudent, & gaudere quomodolibet poſſunt, uti & gaudere valeant, in omnibus, & per omnia; perinde ac ſi à Fide Catholica in aliquo nunquam defeciſſent, reſtituend' & reponend' & redintegrand', & eis, dummodo Corde contriti, ſua errata & exceſſus, Circumſpectioni veſtræ, alicui alteri per eos eligend', Catholico Confeſſori ſacramentaliter confiteantur; & Peniten' ſalutare eis præmiſs' injungend' omnino adimpleatur: omnem publicam Confeſſionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem & Pœnitentiam, jure debit' arbitrio veſtro moderan', vel in tot' remitten'. Necnon quoſcunque Regulares & Religioſos, extra eorum regularia loca, abſque Sedis Apoſtolicæ Licentia, errantes ab Apoſtaſiæ reatu & Excommunicationis, aliiſque Cenſuris & Pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, per eos propterea, etiam juxta ſuorum Ordinum inſtituta incurs', injuncta eis pro modocula, Pœnitentia ſalutari pariter abſolvend': Et ſuper quacunq; irregularitate propterea, per eos contracta, ac cum eis ut alicui Curato Benefic' de illud obtinen' conſenſu, etiam in habitu Clerici Secularis, habitur' ſuum regularem ſub honeſta toga Preſbiteri Secularis deferen', deſervire, & extra eadem loca regularia remanere ad beneplacitum noſtrum, liberè & licitè poſſunt, eadem Auctoritate Apoſtolica, ob defectum Miniſtrorum, & alias prædictas cauſas, diſpenſandi. Ac quoſcunque quum in Sacris Ordinibus conſtituti, Matrimonia etiam cum Viduis & corruptis Mulieribus de fact' contraxerint, poſtquam Mulieres ſic copulat' rejecerint, illiſque abjuraverint, ab hujuſmodi exceſſibus, & Excommunicationis Sententia impoſit', eis pro modo culpæ, Pœnitentia ſalutari, in forma Eccleſiæ conſueta abſolvend': Ac cum eis, poſtquam Pœnitentiam peregerint, & continenter ac laudabiliter vivere cogniti fuerint, ſuper Bigamia propterea per eos contract'; Ita ut ea non obſtan', in quibuſvis ſuſceptis & ſuſcipiendis Ordinibus; etiam in Altaris Miniſterio miniſtrare, ac alicui Beneficio Eccleſiaſtico, de illud obtinentis conſenſu, deſervire; & extra tamen Dioceſin, in qua fuit copulatus eiſdem de caus' diſpenſand'. Necnon Parochialium Eccleſiarum tuæ Dioces' Rectores ſive Curatos, de quorum Fide, Probitate, Circumſpection' ac Charitatis zelo, plena Fiducia conſpici poſſit, ad quarumcunque utriuſque Sexus ſuæ Parochiæ Perſonarum Laicarum, tantum Abſolutionem, & Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Reconciliationem, ut præfertur, Auctoritate Apoſtolica, faciendam. Et ſi qui ex Curatis prædictis ad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum defectum alias ido-

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reas & ſufficientes Perſonas, qui eorum Vices ſuppleant nominand' & deputand' quas ſic per eas nominat' & deputat' in locum noſtrum in Ræmiſſionibus, abſolutionibus, & reconſiliationibus ſubſtituimus eiiſque vices noſtras ſubdelegamus: plenam & liberam Auctoritate Apoſtolica nobis ut præmittitur conceſſa, tenore preſentium concedimus Facultatem: voſque in præmiſſis omnibuſque in noſtrum locum ſubſtituimus præmiſſis ac regula de inſordeſen' & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, & omnibus illis, quæ in Literis Prædictis Sanctitas ſua voluit, non obſtare, contrariis non obſtantibus quibuſcunque preſentibus in præteritis caſibus locum haben' & ad beneplacitum noſtrum duraturis. Dat' Lambeth' prope Londin' Winton' Dioc' Anno à Nativitate Domini Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Quinquegeſimo Quinto Quarto Calen' Februarii Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Domini Julii Divina Providentia Papa Tertii Anno Quinto Regni.

Car^lis. *Polus*, Leg.

M. Antonius Faita, Secr.

Number 34.

Articles of ſuch Things as be to be put in Execution.

E Libro Memorandorum temp. Tho. Thirlby, Jo. Hopton, & Jo. Parkhurſt, Epp. Norvic. in Reg. Prin. R. P. Dom. Ep. Norvic. F. 56.

1. THE Divorce of married Prieſts according to the Canons.

2. The Reſtitution of them by Penitence, thereupon to recommende them to other Dioceſſes as Penitents.

3. To certifie the Exhilitie of Benefices, which for want of Livings, have noo Curats.

4. To certifie the Counſaill of as maney as they know to have taken into their Hands the Goods of the Church.

5. To certifie what Chauncells of Benefices impropered * by ſome decaye, as they need preſent Reparacion; and to ſignifie therwith in whome the Fault is.

* L. be ſo in.

6. Not to confirme aney Leaſe of aneye Benefice, to the Prejudice of the Succeſſor.

7. To cauſe the Churches decay'd with vacant Fruits and Goods, miniſtred with what remaineth in the Executors Names.

8. To interrupt them that Eat Fleſh by pretence of Diſpenſacion granted by the Princes.

9. To appoint ſuche as dwell in Scites of Monaſteries, to repaire to ſome Churche for to hear the Servyce.

10. To keep the Regiſtre for Buryeinge, Chriſtininge, and Marriage.

11. A Fourme of Sute for Layemen to receyve their Tythe in Spiritual Courts.

Inſtructions given by the Cardinal to the Biſhops, and their Officials.

F. 55. 6. SInguli Domini Epiſcopi, necnon Officiales Eccleſiarum quæ nunc vacant pro exequutione eorum quæ à Reverendiſſimo Domino Legato ſunt eis demandata Ordinem quam infraſcript eſt, poterint obſervare.

Primum vocatum ad ſe totum ſingularum civitatum, quibus ſinguli preſunt Clerum, de hiis quæ ſequuntur, inſtuere procurabunt.

De Paterno Amore & Charitate quam Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter Julius Papa Tertius erga Nationem Anglicam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit Sereniſſimam Mariam fuiſſe Reginam declaratam Reverendiſſimum Dominum Reginaldum Cardinalem Polum de ſuo Latere ad has Partes Legatum miſit ut Regnum hoc tot jam Annos ab Eccleſia Catholica ſeparatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, & in errorem lapſos Conſolari atque in Dei Gratiam reſtituere ſtuderet.

De ejuſdem Domini Legati adventu, quanta Lætitia & honore is exceptus fuerit tum à Sereniſſimis Regibus, tum ab aliis omnibus.

De hiis quæ in Proximo Parliamento Acta & concluſa ſunt. Scilicet de omnibus Dominis de Parliamento & Univerſo Regno à Schiſmate & Cenſuris incurſis abſolutis & Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, reconciliatis : de omnibus Legibus quæ contra Authoritatem Sedis Apoſtolicæ & Romani Pontificis fuerant per Henricum Octavum & Edvardum Sextum latæ & promulgate, revocatis & abolitis. De reſtituta Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro Papæ & Eccleſiæ Romanæ eadem Obedientia quæ ante hoc pernicioſiſſimum Schiſma preſtabatur.

F. 57. a. De Auctoritate Epiſcopis reſtituta & maximè ut poſſint contra Hereticos & Schiſmaticos procedere, & eos juxta Canonicas Sanctiones coercere & punire: hiis ita expoſitis veniant ad Facultates ſibi ad eodem Reverendiſſimo D. Legato conceſſas, quæ recitentur, & hic omnes qui in Schiſmata vel alios Errores lapſi ſunt invitentur ad Abſolutionem & Reconciliationem Humiliter & ex toto corde petendam. Necnon diſpenſationes tam ſuper Ordinibus quam ſuper beneficiis Neceſſarias & opportunas poſtulandas; deinde præfigatur dies infra quem dicti de Clero Humiles & Penitentes compareant ad petendum ſuppliciter Abſolutionem, Reconciliationem & Diſpenſationes Prædictas : ſecundum vero Dominium Epiſcopi poſtquam illi omnibus Erroribus ſuis renunciaverint & promiſſerint Sacramentaliter ipſis, aut alteri Sacerdoti Catholico Confeſſuros eſſe Errores ſuos Penitentiam ſibi injungendam adimpleturos eos abſolvent, & Eccleſiæ reconciliabunt, & cum ipſis juxta formam Facultatum perpetendum Neceſſitatibus prout ſibi viſum fuerit, diſpenſabunt : adhibendo ſemper convenientem diſtinctionem inter eos, qui ſolum in Schiſma & Hereſes inciderunt, & eos qui ea etiam Publicè docuerunt & alios ad peccandum induxerunt.

Eodem

Eodem Die constituetur Dies Festus & Solemnis in quo astante in Ecclesia Populi Multitudine Domini Episcopi omnes Curati Ecclesiis suis, omnia eadem quæ Clero jam expositʼ fuerunt Populo quoq; insinuabent & omnes invitabunt Paterne & cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad Ecclesiæ Cathólicæ gremium revertantur: promittendo fore, ut omnibus preterita Crimina omnia condonentur & remittantur modo eos ex animo illorum peniteat, & illis renuncient. Prefigatur autem terminus, ut pote tota paschatis Octava, infra terminum omnes Ecclesiæ reconcilientur alioquin eo lapso contra ipsos & eos qui post, reconciliationem ad vomitum aversi fuerint severissime procedetur, dicatur etiam de Facultate concessa à Reverendissimo Domino Legato Episcopis, & aliis ut absolvere possint, omnes quicunq; ad vos reversi fuerint.

Idem Domini Episcopi & Officiales nominabunt & deputabunt, Ecclesiarum Parochialium Rectores seu alias Personas idoneas, quæ Laicos ab Heresi, Schismate, & quibuscunq; Censuris absolvant juxta Facultatum Formam & tenorem. Data per Episcopos formula qua in Absolutione & Reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterint cum Clero totius Diocesʼ observari prout commodius visum fuerit. Domini Episcopi & officiales præfati, necnon omnes Curati seu alii ad id deputati, habeant Librum in quo nomen & cognomen Parochianorum reconciliatorum inscribantur: & postea sciatur qui fuerint reconciliati & qui non.

Idem Domini Episcopi & Officiales Octava Paschatis elapsa poterint facere visitationem Civitatis primo, deinde Diocʼ & se qui non fuerint reconciliati, poterint eos ad se vocare, & cognoscere propter quas ab erroribus suis nolint recedere, & si in eis obstinate perseverarint, tum conʼ eos procedent.

In hac secunda visitatione attendant diligenter quæ in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, & maximè faciant ut omnes Ecclesiasticæ Personæ ostendant Titulos suorum Ordinum & Beneficiorum, ut si in eis aliquis alius defectus in sit illis, provideant & omni studio procurent ut Errores quibus Dioceses eorum fiut infectæ extirpentur, ut veritas fidei tum in concionibus tum inconfessionibus doceatur: deputando Personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, & confessiones audiendas. Id & curent; ut Sacrorum Canonum instituta in omnibus observentur & Nomen Divi Thomæ Martyris nocnon Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papa ex Libris dispunctum in illis restituatur & pro eo Secundum morem Ecclesiæ ut ante Schisma fiebat oretur.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit ante omnia facienda commemoratio miseriarum & in felicitatis preteritorum temporum & Magnæ Gratiæ, quam nunc Deus pro sua Misericordia Populo huic exhibuit, hortando omnes ad hæc grato animo cognoscendum, & infinitas Gratias Divinæ ipsius Bonitate assiduè agendum.

Hortandi

Hortandi & ſunt omnes ut devote orent Deum pro Salute & Felici ſtatu horum Sereniſſimorum & de hoc Regno optimè meritorum & merentium Regum & Sperialitur pro filici ſtatu Sereniſſimæ & Piiſſimæ Reginæ.

Faithfully tranſcribed from the Old Book aforementioned, with which Collated by

Thom. Tanner.

Number 25.

The Proceſs and Condemnation of Biſhop Hooper, *and the Order given for his Execution.*

Condemnatio Johannis Hooper ſuper Articulos Hæreticam pravitatem concernentes.

ACTA Die Lunæ XXVIII *Die Januarii Anno Domini in ſequendo computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ* M CCCCC LIIII *in Eccleſia Parochiali Sancti Salvatoris in Burgo de Southwarke Winton' Dioc' coram Reverendo Patre Domino Stephano Permiſſione Divina Winton' Epiſcopo, &c. Auctoritate ſua Ordinaria illic judicialiter ſeden' aſſiſten' ſibi Reverend' in Chriſti Patribus Epiſcopis, &c. In Preſentia noſtra Antonii Huſey, Roberti Johnſon, & Willielmi Day, Notoriorun, &c.*

Officium Domini contra Johannem Hooper. QUibus Die & loco Productus fuit in Judicium Joannes Hooper Clericus de & ſuper Hæretica pravitate, Publicè & Notoriè infamatus: cui dictus Reverendus Pater palam propoſuit, quod cum ipſe Superiori Die coram eodem Reverendo Patre & nonnullis aliis à Privato Conſilio Dominorum Regis & Reginæ ad hoc ſpecialiter deſtinatis evocabatur & exhortatus fuerat, ut agnoſcens tranſactæ Vitæ ſuæ & Perverſæ Doctrinæ Errores & Hereſes, rediret cum cæteris ad unitatem Eccleſiæ: Oblataque fuerat ei ſic volenti preteritorum Erratorum & facinorum ſuorum condonacio. Ipſeq; Johannes tunc indurato animo ſic redire renuerit. Propterea in Preſentiarum in Publicum juſtitiæ forum ad reſpondendum Articulis Heretica pravitate concernen' coram eodem Reverendo Patre Auctoritate ſua Ordinarie ſedente evocatus fuit. Offerens preterea Publice tunc & ibidem quod ſi adhuc ſe reconſiliare vellet, libenter in gremium Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ

 reciperetur

reciperetur. Et ipſe Johannes Hooper non ſolum facere renuit, verum etiam in nonnullas Blaſphemias impudenter perrupit. Et deinde Dominus Epiſcopus, &c. inter cæteros complures Articulos, & Capita, hos ſequentes eidem Johanni Hooper ſpecialiter objecit.

In Primis, Quod Tu Johannes Hooper, exiſtens Preſbyter & Religioſus, Regula à Jure approbata expreſſè profeſſus, quandam Mulierem de facto, cum de jure non debuiſti, in Uxorem, ſive Conjugem accepiſti; & cum illa, tanquam Uxore & Conjuge tua, cohabitâſti in Nephariis & illicitis cum ea amplexibus cohabitando, Matrimoniaq; pretenſa hujuſmodi licita, & de jure divino valida fuiſſe, & eſſe, tam infra Dioc' Winton', quam alias quamplures Dioc' hujus Regni Angliæ, aſſeruiſti, prædicâſti, docuiſti, Libriſq; editis publicâſti & defendiſti, & ſic aſſeris & credis in præſenti. Et miniſtramus conjunctim, & de quolibet.

Ad quem quidem Articulum reſpondet & fatetur, Se Preſbiterum & Religioſum profeſſum, quandam Mulierem in Uxorem legitimè accepiſſe, & cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore legitima cohabitâſſe: Et quod hujuſmodi Matrimonia, in locis prædictis, licita, & de Jure divino valida fuiſſe, & eſſe, aſſeruit, prædicavit, docuit, & Libris editis publicavit & defendit; ſicq; aſſerit, credit, & defendere paratus eſt in præſenti, ut dicit.

Secundo, Quod Tu Joannes Hooper, in locis prædictis, aſſeruiſti, prædicâſti, docuiſti, & Libris editis publicâſti & defendiſti; ſicq; credis, tenes, aſſeris & defendis, Quod propter Culpam Fornicationis, ſive Adulterij commiſſam, Perſonæ legitimè conjungatæ, poſſunt ex Verbo Dei, ejuſq; Auctoritate ac Miniſterio ab invicem pro Adulterio à Vinculo Matrimonij ſeperari & divorciari: Sicq; licebit Viro aliam accipere in Uxorem; & Mulieri ſimiliter, alium accipere in Maritum.

Ad quem quidem Articulum reſpondit affirmativè, Quodque paratus eſt defendere contenta in eodem, contra omnes Adverſarios, eſſe vera, de Jure divino & humano.

Tertio, Quod Tu, locis prædictis, aſſeruiſti, tenuiſti, publicâſti, libris edictis docuiſti & defendiſti; ſicque credis, aſſeris, tenes, & defendis in præſenti, Quod in Euchariſtia, ſive Sacramento Altaris, verum & naturale Chriſti Corpus, & verus & naturalis Chriſti Sanguis, ſub ſpeciebus Panis & Vini verè non eſt: Et quod ibi eſt materialis Panis, & materiale Vinum tantum, abſque veritate & præſentia Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti.

Ad quem quidem Articulum, ſub hoc contemptu verborum, reſpondit; viz. *That the very Natural Body of Chriſt, is not Really and Subſtantially in the Sacrament of the Altar: Saying alſo, That*

the Maſs is the Iniquity of the Devil; *and that the Maſs is an Idol.*

Præmiſſis expeditis, Dominus aſſignavit eidem Johanni Hooper, ad comperendum in hoc loco craſtina die, inter Horas 8^{m} & 9^{m} ante Meridiem, ad videnḍ ulteriorem Proceſſum, &c: Quibus Die & Loco, inter Horas aſſignatas, coram dicto Reverendo Patre, Winton' Epiſcopo, &c. aſſiſtentibus ſibi Reverendis Patribus, &c. in noſtra Notariorum prædictorum Præſentia, rurſus comperuit dictus Johannes Hooper, quem Dominus Epiſcopus Wintonienſis, multis rationibus, ad ſeſe, reconciliandum, ſuaſit & exhortavit: Dictus tamen Johannes Hooper, in Pertinacia & Malicia ſua perſeverans, perrupit in Blaſphemias, dicendo etiam publicè, *That Matrimony is none of the Seven Sacraments: And that if it be a Sacrament, he can prove Seven-ſcore Sacraments.* Deinde Dominus Epiſcopus, perſpecta ejus pertinaci duritia, tandem tulit contra eum Sententiam definitivam, in Scriptis condempnando eum pro Hæretico & Excommunicato: Et conſequenter eum tunc ibidem tradidit Curiæ Seculari, atq; in manus Davidis Woodroff, & Willielmi Cheſter, Vicecomit' Civitatis Londini; qui eundem Johannem Hooper tunc ſecum abduxerunt. Super cujus Sententiæ Prolatione & Lectura, idem Reverendus Pater requiſivit nos Notarios, &c. ad conficiendum Inſtrumentum, Teſteſq; ſubſcript' ad perhibendum Teſtimonium, &c. Præſentibus tunc ibidem Nobilibus & Egregiis Viris, &c. & aliis quampluribus, in Multitudine copioſa tunc ibidem congregatis, &c.

Faithfully Tranſcribed from a *Folio* Book of Proceedings in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, Collected in Queen *Mary*'s, or the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, by *Anthony Style*, Notary Publick; now in the Hands of

Thom. Tanner.

Number 36.

The Queen's Letter, ordering the Manner of Hooper's *Execution.*

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. RIght Truſty and Well-beloved, *&c.* Whereas *John Hooper*, who of late was called Buſhop of *Worceſter* and *Glouceſter*, is, by due Order of the Lawes Eccleſiaſtique, condempned and judged for a moſte obſtinate, falſe, deteſtable Heretique, and committed to our Secular Power, to be burned according to the holſome and good

Lawes of our Realme in that Caſe provided. Foraſmuche as in thoſe Cityes, and the Dioceſſe therof, he hath in Tymes paſte preached and taught moſt peſtilent Hereſyes and Doctryne to our Subjects there: We have therefore geven Order, that the ſaid *Hooper*, who yet perſiſteth obſtinate, and hath refuſed Mercy when it was gracyouſly offred, ſhall be put to Execution in the ſayd Cytie of *Glouceſter*, for the Example and Terror of ſuche as he hath there ſeduced and miſtaught, and bycauſe he hath doone moſte Harme there. And woll that you, calling unto you ſome of Reputation dwelling in the Shire, ſuch as ye thinke beſt, ſhall repayre unto our ſaid Cytye, and be at the ſaid Execution, aſſiſting our Mayor and Shriefs of the ſame Cytie, in this Behalf. And foraſmuche alſo as the ſaid *Hooper* is, as Heretiques be, a vain-glorious Perſon, and delyteth in his Tongue, and having Liberty, may uſe his ſayd Tongue to perſwade ſuch as he hath ſeduced, to perſiſt in the myſerable Opinion that he hath ſowen among them: Our Pleaſure is therefore, and we require you to take Order, that the ſaid *Hooper* be neither, at the Tyme of his Execution, nor in goyng to the Place therof, ſuffred to ſpeak at large; but thither to be ledde quietly, and in Sylence, for eſchuyng of further Infection, and ſuch Inconvenyence, as may otherwiſe enſue in this Parte. Whereof fayle not, as ye tender our Pleaſure.

A True Copy of an Old Paper in my Cuſtody, which ſeems to be the firſt Draught of a Letter from the Queen to the Lord *Chandois*, &c. who went to ſee Execution done on Biſhop *Hooper*.

Thom. Tanner.

Number 37.

A Letter of Biſhop Hooper's *to* Bullinger, *written out of Priſon.*

Hoperus Bullingero.

GRatiam & Pacem à Domino. Literas tuas, Compater Chariſſime, datas Tigur' 10 Octobris, 11 Decembris accepi. Fuere mihi perjucundæ, quia plenæ Conſolationis. Ex quibus, Animum, Amorem, & Pietatem tuam erga me priſtinam, facilè intellexi. Habeo tibi Gratias immortales, quod hiſce Temporibus difficillimis, noſtri non te capit oblivio: Semper te, ob eximias tuas Virtutes, & præclara Dei in te Dona, præ cæteris amavi. Et quod à me, uti ſcribis, hactenus

nus per annum integrum nullas acceperis Literas ; hoc accedit, non quia non ſcripſerim, ſed quas ſcripſeram parum candidis reddendas commiſi. Nec omnes quas ad me miſeras accepi, ſed vel in Curia Tabellarij periere, vel invidia malorum fuerunt interceptæ. Idem accidit & Literis & Libello Domini Theodori. Nam de Concione Domini in monte, quam mihi deſtinavit, nihil intellexi, uſque ad aliquot dies poſt mortem Sanctiſſimi Regis noſtri Edwardi. Et id quidem in Confinibus Valliæ, in bibliotheca pij cujuſdam Viri, quem Eccleſiis quibuſdam Decanum conſtitui. Sed quas nunc ſcripſiſti omnibus Concaptivis meis Fratribus, legendas curabo mitti. Incolumitatem & Conſtantiam veſtræ Eccleſiæ, vobis omnibus gratulor : Et Deum precor, propter Filium ſuum Jeſum Chriſtum, illam, contra Tyrannidem Antichriſti ſemper muniat, ac defendat. Apud nos, in integrum, vulnus quod accepit, ſanatum eſt ; & pro Capite Eccleſiæ denuò habetur, qui Membrum Eccleſiæ Chriſti non eſt. Ab aliis, Res noſtras, & Statum Reipublicæ intelliges. Verſamur in maximis periculis, quemadmodum hactenus, jam per ſeſquiannium fermè. Indies hoſtes Evangelij magis ac magis negotium faceſſunt. In carcere ſeorſim ſervamur, & omni ignominiarum faſtidio afficimur : Mortem quotidie minitantur ; quam nihili facimus. Ferrum & flammas, in Chriſto Jeſu, fortiter contemnimus. Scimus cui credimus ; & certi ſumus, quod animas noſtras depoſituri ſumus bene faciendo. Interim adjuvate nos veſtris Precibus, ut qui in nobis bonum opus incepit, perficiat uſque in finem. Domini ſumus ; faciat quod videatur bonum in oculis ſuis. Rogo, ut ſubinde digneris Literis tuis Uxorem meam, modeſtiſſimam & piam mulierem conſolari ; & exhortari, ut ſtudiosè Liberos noſtros, Rachelem Filiolam tuam, optimæ indolis adoleſcentulam, ac Filium Danielem piè educat, in Cognitione & Timore Dei. Præterea, tuæ Pietati jam mitto duos Libellos legendos, judicandos, ac corrigendos, ſi quæ occurrant, Verbo Dei parum Convenientia : Cui Titulum feci, *Hyperaſpiſmus de vera Doctrina & Uſu Cœnæ Domini* ; quem Senatui Angliæ dedicavi hoc nomine, ut publicè, in Curia Parliamenti, adverſariis noſtris reſpondeamus. Alteri Titulum feci, *Syntagma, de falſa Religione dignoſcenda & fugienda.* Et rogo, ut quam citiſſimè fieri poſſit, imprimantur. Hic, apud omnes pios & doctos, uterque Liber eſt approbatus. Scripſi præterea multas Literas alias ad Epiſcopos, ut Libros in Parliamento promoverent, & illos imprimi etiam cupio, ut omnes intelligant, quam iniquè & injuſtè nobiſcum agitur. Non opus eſt, ut multa hac de re ſcribas : Ex ipſis Libellis & Literis, facilè intelliges quid volo. Et ſi Froſcoverus veſter aliis gravioribus Libris impediatur imprimendis ; rogo, ut Baſileam mittat, ad D. Operinum, qui valdè caſtè imprimit, & omnia nitidè in lucem emittit. Hoc faciet, ſcio, modò Libelli tuis Literis ad ſe veniunt commendati : Quod ut facias, vehementer oro. Nihil eſt quod mihi metuatis, quaſi propter Libellos atrocius & ſeverius hoſtes Evangelij ſævient : Habeo Salutis meæ fideliſſimum Cuſtodem, & Propugnatorem, Patrem noſtrum Cæleſtem, per Chriſtum Jeſum, cui meipſum totum commendavi : Illius Fidei ac Tutelæ meipſum commendo ; ſi dies meos elongaverit, faxit, ut ſint ad Gloriam Nominis ſui ; ſin huic brevi & flagitioſæ Vitæ finem voluit, æque duco, Fiat Voluntas

luntas illius. Quia furtim ſcribo, breviores & perturbatiores Literas tuæ præſtantiæ facio, quas boni conſule quæſo. Raptim ex Carcere XI Decembris 1554. Saluta officiòsè caſtam tuam Conjugem, cum tota tua Familia, domi & foris, ac alios omnes ut noſti.

Tuæ præſtantiæ ut debeo Studiòſiſſimus

J. Hooperus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Præſtantiſſimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero, Compatri ſuo longè Chariſſimo Tiguri.

Number 38.

A Letter of Maſon's *concerning a Treaty began with* France, *and of the Affairs of the Empire.*

AFter my hearty Commendations. Your laſt was of the XXIIId of the laſt Month, and my laſt to you wer of the VIIth of this preſent. By theſe you ſhall underſtand that the Emperor hath appointed Monſieur *De L' Allain*, Governor of *Hennalt*; Monſieur *De Boningcourt*, Governor of *Arthoys*; the Biſhop of *Arras*; the Preſident of the Counſel here, named *Viglius*; and the Preſident of the Counſel of *Mallynes*; to reſort to *Gravelynghe*, for the Tretynge of a Peaxe with ſoch others as may lyke the *Frenche* Kynge to ſend to *Ardres*; wherof the Conneſtable, and the Cardinal of *Lorrayne*, he hath alredye appointed. But by reaſon of the Death of the Pope, I thinke the Cardinal of *Lorrayne* goeth an other way. In whoſe Place ys to be thought ſome other ſhall be appointed, with the others, to anſwer to the Numbre aſſigned by the Emperor. The Cardynal, and my Lord Chawncelor came out of Hand to *Callais* to be Mediator on the Queen's Behalf, to bring theſe Princes, yf their Will be, to ſome Compoſition. O Lorde aſſiſt them ſo with his Grace, as *Chriſtendome* may have a Treattyng Tyme. The IVth of this Month the King and Queen went to *Hampton-Court* to keep their *Eaſter*; wheather *Eaſter* done they retorne to *London*, or goo to *Wyndeſor*, the certeintye ys not yet knowen. *Bolls* of *Cambridgeſhire*, and Sir *Peter Mawtas*, remayne ſtill in Priſon. The firſt in the *Tower*, and thother in the *Flete*, and lytle Words made of them; ſo yt is thoght

the Suſpition was more vehement then founde to be of any grete Ground. The Dean and Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter* have laid ſore Lawe to defend th' alteration of the Church into an Abbay; in which Matter, Dr. *Cole* ſheweth hymſelf very ſtowte, alleging that Monks have no Inſtitution of Chriſt, wherein Preſtis have the Advantage of them, *&c.* What thende will be, yt is not known; but yt is feared they ſhall be put to choſe, whether they will depart with their Wills, or againſt their Wills.

The Emperor hath by reaſon of his long unſeaſonable Cold, ben very ill handled of his Gowte, whereof he is now indifferently well amended.

The Princes of *Almayne* do moche myſlyke the Arryving of Cardinal *Moron* at *Auguſta*; for the Satisfaction of whom, the Emperor hath given full Auctoryte to the Kynge his Brother, as ſo ys the Cardinal lyke to retayne, *con la picca in ſacco.* The Duke of *Alva* ys not yet departed owt of *England*; neither yet in the Way, ſo far as I can yet here, albeit his Baggage, and a good Number of his Company are arrived at *Callais.* On *Tueſday* laſt, the Ambaſſadors, or Agents, Name them as you will, of *Cremona*, *Novaria*, and *Lodi*, paſſing between *Dover* and *Callais* hitherward, wer taken by a *French* Shallop; but it is thought, they ſhall ſhortly be ſet at Libertye, as well for that they were publycke Perſons, and not Subjects to the Emperor, as for that they were taken out of an *Engliſh* Veſſel. Their Money and Baggage is ſaved, whatſoever is become of their Perſons. Thus for lack of other Matter, I bid you moſt hartely well to fare. From *Bruxells* the XIVth Day of *April*, 1555.

Your own moſt aſſuredly

John Maſone.

Endorſed
To the Honourable Mr *Petre Vannes*,
the Queen's Majeſties Ambaſſador
at *Vennis.*

This Letter is Faithfully tranſcribed
from the Original in the Hands

Thom. Tanner.

Nunber

Number 39.

A Tranſlation of Charles *the Vth's Letters, Reſigning the Crown of* Spain *to King* Philip.

TO our Counſelours, Juſtyces, the Nobilyte, Curats, Knights, and Squiers; all kinde of Miniſters, and Offycers; and all other our learn'd Men within that our Town of *Tolledo*, greeting. By ſuch Letters as I have from Time to Tyme taken Order to be wrytten unto you, ſince my Departing out of the Kingdome of *Spain*, you have fully bene advertiſed of the Succeſſes of myne Affayres; and namely how that for Religion's ſake, I enterpriſed the Warre of *Almayne*, uppon the great Deſire I had, as Reaſone was; and according to my bounden Dewty to reduce, and to returne agayne thoſe Countreys into the Unitye of the Church, procuring and ſeeking by all the Means I could, to ſett Peas and Quietnes in all the Eſtates of *Chriſtendome*, and do what might be done for the Aſſembling, and Aſſiſting of a General Counſale, bothe for the neceſſarye Reformation of many Things; and ſo draw home alſo therby, with leſſe Difficultye, ſuch as had ſeparated themſelves, and were ſwerved from the Catholike Faith of Chriſt. Which my great Deſyre having brought, by God's Goodnes, to a very good Pointe; the *French* Kinge ſuddenely, without all Reaſone, or any good Foundation, alluring to his Ayde the *Allmaynes*, and making a League with them, agaynſt theire Othes and Fydelityes, brake with me, and openned the Warre agaynſt me, bothe by Sea and the Land. And not ſatisfyed herewith, he procured the coming of the *Turcques* Armye, to the Notable Domage of *Chriſtendome*; and namely of our Eſtates, and Seigneueryes; wherby I was forced, and dryven to bring an Armye to my no little Trouble, aſwell by my great Payns taken in myne own Perſone in the Felde, as by my Traveil otherwiſe; which thereuppon I was conſtrayned to endure, in the treating and maynayng of ſundry urgent and great Matters daylie and contynually falling out upon the ſame; which were the greate, and in Effect, the only Occaſions of the greate and paunefull Infirmity, and Indiſpoſition of my Body; which I have ſince had theſe Yeres paſſed, and yet have, wherby I find my ſelf ſo encumbred, and ſo deſtitute of Healthe, that not onely have I been, or ame able by myne own Perſone to diſcharge ſuch a Traveil, and to uſe ſuch a Diligence in Reſolutions, as was requiſyte; but have alſo, which I do confeſſe, been a Lett, and an Hindrance to ſundry Things wherof I have had, and now have a greate Conſcynce. And I wold to God I had ſooner taken therin ſuch an Order as I now am determyned to take: Which nevertheles for many Conſiderations, I could not well doe, in the Abſence of the High and Mighty Prince, the King of *England* and *Naples*, and my Right Dear and Right Well-beloved Sonne: For that it was neceſſary many Things to be Firſt communicated unto him, and to be treated

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treated with him. And for this Purpoſe, after the Marriage put in dew Execution with the High and Excellent Princeſſe, the Queen of *England*, I laſtly took Order for his coming hither: And within a ſhort Tyme after, I took Order to reſigne, and to renounce unto him, lyke as I have done all thoſe my Eſtates, Kingdomes, and Seigneueryes, of the Crown of *Caſtella* and *Leon*, with all their Membres and Appertennes, in ſuch ſorte as more fully and more amplye is conteyned in ſuch Inſtruments as I have ſigned and agreed unto of the Date of theſe Preſents; truſting that with his greate Wyſedome and Experience, wherof I have hitherto had a right greate Proofe in all ſuch Things as have been paſſed and handled by him for me, and in my Name, he will now for himſelf, and in his own Name, Govern, Order, Defend, and Mainteyne the ſame with Peas and Juſtice. And not doubting but that according unto your Olde and Comendable Loyaltye, Fayth, Love, and Obedyence, which you have borne, and do beare, both to him and to me; wherof for my Parte, I have had always large Experyence by your Deeds, you will ſerve him and obey him as apperteyneth to my Truſt and your Duties; for the Good-Will borne to you ſo many Yeres. Commanding you nevertheles, and ſtraightly charging you that diſplaying and ſetting upp Banners, and doing all other Ceremonies, and Solemnities requiſyte, and which have been accuſtomed to have been done in like Caſes, for the dew Execution of the Purpoſe above ſayed, in the ſame Manner and Sorte as yf God had taken me unto his Mercy, you doe Obey, Serve, and Honour, from henceforth the ſaide King, accompliſhing his Will and Pleaſure in all ſuch Things as he ſhall by Word and Writing Command you, as you ought to doe to your true and natural Lord and King: Even as you have, and ought to have, during my Reigne paſſed to you from me: Wherin beſydes that you ſhall doe your Duetyes, and doe that as you are bound to doe, you ſhall doe unto me acceptable Pleaſure. Given at *Bruſſells* the 17th of *Januarie*, 1556.

Copye of the Lettre ſent by the Emperor to ſundry Eſtates in *Spaine*, upon the reſigning of the ſame unto the King's Majeſtie; turned out of *Spaniſh* into *Engliſh*.

Number

Number 40.

A Remembrance of thoſe Things that your Highnes's Pleaſure was I ſhold put in Writing, as moſt Convenient in my Pore Judgment, to be commoned and ſpoken of by your Majeſtie, with your Counſell, called to your Preſence thys Afternoone.

Written in the Hand of Cardinal Poſe.

FUrſt of al, that your Majeſtie ſhold put them yn Remembrance of the Charge the Kyng's Highnes gave them at his Departure; which beyng reduced to certen Articles, and put in Writing, it ſeemeth wel if ſome of the Lords for ther ſudden Departure after ther Charge had not the ſame in Writing, that it were reherſed and given unto them with Exhortation to employ al ther Diligence for the due Execution therof. *Titus* B. 2. P. 177.

And whereas amongſt other Charges, thys was one, that thoſe that be named in the firſt parte Counſellours, were al to be preſent in the Courte, thys firſt your Highnes may require them that they do obſerve: Specially beſide, for the Weight of the Matters that be now in Hand; the Tyme beſyde being ſo ſhorte, after the Parliament to examyn them. And that the Kyng's Pleſure ys, as the Matters be propoſed in the Counſell, afore the further Execution of them, to be ynformed therof, to knoe his Pleaſure theryn. And amongſt other, hys Majeſtie beyng in Expectation to know the uttre Reſolution of the Councell, twichyng thoſe Matters that be to be intreatyd in thys Parliament. Thys ys that your Majeſtie looketh of them thys Day, to ſend with all ſpede to the Kyng's Highnes.

And wheras for the Dylation of the Kyng's comyng, your Majeſtie thought it well to put in Conſulte, whether it were better therfor to make a Dilation and Prorogation of the Parliament to *Candelmas*, beyng thought bey ther Opinion, that for Neceſſite of Money that is to be demanded in the Parliament, and otherwyſe can not be provided, the Prorogation of that ſhould be much diſpendioſe. Your Majeſtie not diſalowing ther Deliberation; but conſydering wyth all the great Need of Money for to be had, for the Diſcharge of the preſent Neceſſite, which requyreth preſent Proviſion of Money, as is for the ſettyng forth of the Ships, as wel for the Emperor's Paſſage to *Spain*, as for the King's Return.——And beſyde thys, for the Payment of that is dew at *Caliſe*, as for your Credyte wyth the Merchants approchyng the Day of Payment; and for the Dett of *Ireland* alſo, of al theſe it may pleaſe your Majeſtie to know thys Day of your Counſell what is don.

And

And bycauſe the moſt ordynarie and juſt way, touching the Prqviſion of Money to pay your Highnes Detts, is to call in your own Detts; which Charge hath been ſpecially committed afore, and is principally conſidered and renewed in the Writing the Kyng's Highnes left tuchyng ſuch Affayres, that his Counſell ſhold preſently attend into, wher be ther Names alſo that ſame: The Charges ſpeciall therfore, your Majeſtie ſhall do wel this day to charge them with the ſame; that with all Diligence they attend to the Proſſecution therof, givyng them all Autoryte that ſhal be neceſſary for them, to make the moſt ſpedy Expedition theryn. Wylling them withall, that they never let paſs one Week, but in the end of the ſame, at the leaſt, your Majeſtie may know ſpecially of that is coming yn, and that Order is taken for the reſt.

Alſo yf it pleaſyd your Majeſtie in generall, for all Matters whych be intreated in the Counſell, which requyre Commiſſion and Execution, to give thys Order, that thoſe that have had Commiſſion to execute any Matter, let never paſſe the Weke, but they ynforme the Counſell what Execution is made of ther Commyſſions: And that the Counſell themſelfs ſhould never begyn Entretance of new Matters the Second Week; but that they have Information firſt, what is done in thoſe which wer commytted to be executyd the Week afore; I think it ſhould help much to the ſpedy Expedition of all Cauſes. Thys ys my poore Advyſe, remitted al to the godly and prudent Judgment of your Majeſtie.

Number 41.

Some Directions for the Queen's Council; left by King Philip.

Cotton Libr. *Titus*, B 1. IMprimis, pro meliori & magis expedita Deliberatione, in iis quæ in Conſilio noſtro agenda ſunt ex reliquis Conſiliariis noſtris; eos, quorum Nomina ſequuntur, ſeligendos putavimus; quibus ſpecialem Curam omnium Cauſarum Status, Finantiarum, & aliarum Cauſarum Graviorum Regni, committendam duximus & committimus.

Legatus Cardinalis POLUS, in Cauſis magnis, ubi voluerit, & commodè poterit.

D. Cancellarius. D. Theſaurarius. Comes de Arundell.
Comes de Pembroke. Epiſcopus Elienſis. D. Paget.
Mr. Rocheſter Comptroller'. Mr. Petre Secretarius.

Conſiliarii

Conſiliarij prædicti omnes & ſinguli erunt præſentes in Aula, & intelligent, & conſiderabunt omnes Cauſas Status, omnes Cauſas Financiarum, Statum Poſſeſſionum, Debitorum, & quomodo Debita cum honore ſolvi poſſint; & generaliter, omnes alias Cauſas majoris momenti, tangentes Honorem, Dignitatem, & Statum Coronæ.

Et quo melius Conſilium Nobis dare poſſint, hortamur eos in Domino, quod omnem diſcordiam, ſi quæ inter eos ſit, mutuo remittentes, concorditer, amicè, & in timore Dei, ea in Conſiliis proponant & dicant, quæ Dei Gloriam, Noſtrum & Regni noſtri Honorem & Utilitatem, promovere poſſint.

Volumus, quod quoties aliqua erit Occaſio, Nos adeant, vel aliquos ex ſe mittant, per quos intelligere poſſimus Deliberationes ſuas, in omnibus Cauſis quæ coram eis proponentur, & ad minus ter qualibet Septimana, referant Nobis quæ fuerint per eos acta & deliberata.

Dicti Conſiliarij deliberabunt de Parliamento, quo tempore habendum ſit, & quæ in eodem agi & proponi debeant: Et quæ agenda & proponenda videbuntur in Parliamento, in Scriptis redigi volumus, ante Parliamenti initium.

Quod ſingulis diebus Dominicis, communicent reliquis Conſiliariis præſentibus, ea quæ videbuntur eis communicanda.

Quod habeant ſpecialem Curam pro Debitorum ſolutione, diminutione Sumptuum, & provida gubernatione & collectione Reddituum, Terrarum, Poſſeſſionum & Vectigalium, & pro Adminiſtratione Juſtitiæ.

Number 42.

A Letter to the Ambaſſadors, concerning the Reſtitution of Calais.

AFter our right harty Commendations to your good Lordſhips, by our laſt Letters of the 4th of this Mounth, we ſignifyed unto you our well Lyking of your Opinions, to have the Matter touching *Calleys* moved in the Parliament: And that we being alſo of the ſame Mynde our ſelfs, ment to propoſe the Caſe there with all the Expedition we might, and to make you Anſwer of that ſholde be farther reſolved therein, as ſhortly as we could. Sence which Tyme, uppon Conſultation had amongſt our ſelfs, how the Matter ſhold beſt be opened and uſed there: And being of Opinion, as we have byn from the Begyning, that it were not convenient to have the ſame broken to the hole Houſe, but only to the Nobilite, and ſome other of the beſt and graveſt Sort; We thought it allſo neceſſarie, before we proceeded any farther, both to declare our Opinions unto the Queen's Majeſtie, and to underſtande her Highneſſes good Pleaſure and Reſolution therein. Whoſe Majeſtie, uppon *Paper-Office.*

pon the opening thereof unto her, thought mete for good Reſpects, we ſholde fyrſt write unto the King's Highnes to ſuch effect, as by the Coppie of our Letters preſently addreſſed to his Majeſtie, for that Purpoſe, (which you ſhall receyve herewith) you may at better length perceyve; and then underſtanding his Highnes Anſwer, ſholde either goe forwarde with our former Deliberacion, or otherwyſe uſe the Matter, as we ſholde ſee Cauſe. Wherefore, lyke as we have thought good to give your Lordſhips Knowledge by theſe, ſo when we ſhall have receyved the King's Majeſties Anſwer herein, we will not fayle to ſignify unto you with Diligence, what ſhall be farther reſolved touching this Matter. And in the mean tyme, we byd your good Lordſhips right hartely well to fare.

The Queen's Majeſtie remayneth yet ſtill both ſicke and very weake; and although we hope of her Highneſſes Amendment, for the which we daylye praye; yet are we dryven both to feare and miſtruſt the worſt; which we beſeche Almighty God to remedye, when it ſhall lyke hym.

After that we had written the Letters incloſed to the King's Majeſtie, we receyved yours of the 4th of this Inſtant; by the which we do underſtande, that the *French* Commiſſioners contynue ſtill of the ſame Mind that they were at your Meeting with them, not to leave the Poſſeſſion of *Callais*. By your ſayd Letters appereth allſo, that the King's Majeſtie tolde you, that his Commiſſioners were agreed with the *French* well nere upon all Matters; and that his Highnes nevertheleſs wolde not agree to any Concluſion, but that the Queen's Majeſtie ſholde be fyrſt ſatisfied for the Matters of this Realme.

After that we had conſidered the Effect of theſe your Letters, conſidering of what Importance the Leaving of *Callice* is for this Realm; howe much it wolde touche the Honour of their Majeſties, and of this Crowne, that ſo many Reſtitutions being made on bothe Sydes, this ſholde be ſuffred to paſſe unreſtored; and fynally, howe yll the Subjects of this Realme will digeſt this Matter, if there ſholde any ſuche Thing be agreed unto; we neither can of our ſelfs well conſyder what to anſwer, nor think mete to propoſe it to the Parliament, untill we may yet once agayne heare from you. And where Policy fayleth, we are compelled to uſe Playnes. You knowe theſe Warres, wherein *Calice* is loſt, began at the King's Majeſties Requeſt, and for his Sake. We doe conſider, that other his Majeſties Freends and Confederats, be reſtored to Things taken many Yeres paſt. And what may be judged in this Realme, if this Peas be concluded, and *Calice* left in the *French* King's Hands, ſo many other Reſtitutions being made, it may be eaſely conſidered. On the other Syde, His Majeſties Commiſſioners being ſo nere an Agreement for all other Matters, muche were to be indured for the Welthe of *Chriſtendome*.

And it hath byn conſideryd here, howe much this Realme is travayled and ſpent allready with theſe Warres.

Theſe Things being amongſt us conſideryd, knowing his Majeſties gracious Diſpoſition and Favour towards this Realme, we think good your Lordſhips doe plainly open theſe Conſiderations to hym, in

ſuch good ſorte as you may think good. And fyrſt to deſyre to underſtande his Majeſties Diſpoſition playnely, if you may for *Calice*: the remayning whereof in the *French* King's Hands, doth as much importe for his *Lowe Countries*, as for this Realme.

And Secondly, that it may pleaſe his Majeſty to gyve us his good Adviſe for our further Doings, and manner of Proceeding in this Matter; wherein albeit our Meaning is to uſe the Adviſe of the Reſt of our Nobilitie and Parliament, yet do we ſtay that to do, untill we have Anſwer again from you, and underſtande his Majeſties playne and determinate Anſwer therein. And we doe hartely pray your Lordſhipes to uſe your accuſtomed good Wiſdomes in the good opening of the Premiſſes, and to ſend us Anſwer as ſoon as you may.

November the 8th, 1558.

Minute from the Counſell unto the Earle of *Arrundell*, and the Reſt of the Commiſſioners beyonde the Sees.

Number 43.

A Letter of the Ambaſſadors concerning Calais.

An Original.

AFter our Right Heartie Commendacions to your good Lordſhips, by *Franciſco Thomas* the Poſt, we have receyvid Two Letters from your Lordſhippes. The Firſt of the 29th of the laſt Month: And the Later, of the Firſt of this preſent. With other Letters directed to the King's Majeſtie; upon the Receipt wherof, we having mette together, and conſulted upon the Contentes of the ſame, datermyned to open to the Kinge's Majeſtie by our Letters, the Matters wherof your Lordſhips wrote unto us; for his Majeſtie is not in theſe Parties heere, but is at *Bruxelles*, or beyond. The Copy of our Letter to his Majeſtie in that Behalfe, we ſend your Lordſhipes heerwith. And where your Lordſhipes wryte unto his Majeſtie, that by our Letters doth appeare that the *French* King by no means will leave the Poſſeſſion of *Callais*: And that he would rather hazard his Crown, then to conſente to the Reſtitution of it: True it is, that we wrote to your Lordſhipes, that the *French* Commiſſioners yn their Conference with us, and with the King's Commiſſioners, have ever refuſed to conſent to the Reſtitution of *Callais*. And that the *French* have *Paper-Office.*

declared to one of the King's Commiſſioners, that the *French* King for to hazard his Crowne, will not forgo *Callais*. And albeit that for becauſe of the good Face ſett upon that Matter by the *French* Commiſſioners, we ſomewhat miſtruſted, that that which they ſpoke, was the King their Maiſters Determynacion: Yet indeed, did we not affirm it to be ſo. No, nor did not then utterlye deſpayre, but that the *French*, yf they wer kept ſomwhat ſhorte, would at the length relente; for elles to what Purpoſe had it been agreed and appointed, that both the King's, and the *French* King's Commiſſioners, ſhuld retourne to their Maiſters, to declare what hat been done allready, and to know what their Maiſters further Pleaſure was theruppon. And foraſmuch as we have ever been of Opynion, that yf the King's Majeſtie refuſe to conclude any Thing with them, without the Reſtitution of *Callais*; that may the ſooner induce the *French* to agree to it. And likewiſe yf they perceyve the King's Majeſtie, or his Mynifters, not ſo earneſt therin, but that by a Bragge of the *French*; they will the ſooner gyve over, and ſtande the more fayntely for the Reſtitution of it; that will make the *French* the bolder, and to ſtand the more earneſtlye in their Refuſal. Therefore we have not thought it meet to uſe anye kynde of Wordes to the King, wherby his Majeſtie might by anye Meanes thinke that the Queen's Highneſſe, and the Realme of *England*, coude be contente to conclude a Peace without the Reſtitution of *Callais*. Aſwell for becauſe our Inſtructions importe that, as allſo truſtinge that that wold move his Majeſtie, and his Commiſſioners to be the more Careful for the Reſtitution of it. And ſeeinge that his Majeſtie, and his Commiſſioners, have ever ſayde, that they will conclude nothing without the Queen's Highnes be firſt ſatisfyed: Yt ſeemed to us, that if her Highneſs, and your Lordſhipes, did ſtande earneſtlye in the Repetition of *Callais*: That the *French* at this Time muſt either forſake *Callais*, or elles the Peace. And in Caſe this Occaſion to redemaunde *Callais* be now forſloune, God knoweth when ever *England* ſhall have the lyke again. And where your Lordſhipes wryte, that the King's Commiſſioners beeinge ſo neere to agree with the *French* upon the hole, much wer to be endured for the Wealth of *Chriſtendom*: It is even ſo indeede as your Lordſhipes wryte. Mary that all other ſhuld have Reſtitution of their owne, and poor *England* that beganne not the Fraye, bear the Burthen and the Loſſe for the Reſt; and ſpecially of ſuch a Jewel as *Callais* is, we feare will ſeeme verye harde and ſtrange to all the Realme. And yet yf the Loſſe of *Callais* might Purchaſe a ſure Peace to *Chriſtendom*, that wer yet ſome colour why ſomwhat the rather to agree to it. But yf we may be ſo bold to ſaye playnely our Myndes unto your Lordſhipes; we not onely thinke not that, that the leaveing *Callais* to the *French*, ſhall purchaſe *Chriſtendom* a ſure Peace; but rather ar perſuaded that nothing can more evidentlye ſhew, that the *French* entend no Peace to contynue, ſpeciallye with *England*, then the retention of *Callais*, yf they earneſtlye and finallye perſiſt theron. Your Lordſhips do right well underſtande what Advantage the *French* have to annoy us by *Scotland*, which now is much ruled by *France*. And in Caſe any Peace be made, then ſhall the *French* have good Tyme and Leaſure to eſtabliſh and order their

Matters ſo yn *Scotland*, ſpecially conſiddering the Mariage of the *Dolfyn*, and the Queen of *Scotts*, is now done; that *Scotland* ſhall be every whitte as much at their Commandment, as any Part of *France* is. And what the *French* pretend unto by that Mariage, is not unknowne to your Lordſhipes.

If now *Callais* ſhall remayn yn their Hands too, wherby neither *England* ſhall have the Commoditie to offende their Enemyes, nor to ſuccour their Friends, nor lykewyſe to receyve ſuccour from their Friends at their Need, but by very uneaſy Means: Yea, and wherby *England* ſhall in a manner be excluded from knowledge of all Things, done both by their Enemys, and by their Freends; or at the leaſt, the Knowledge therof ſhall not come, but ſo late, that it will ſearve to little Purpoſe. And that *Callays* lyeth ſo commodyouſelye to be a Scourge for *England*, as it was before King *Edward* the Third took it: Which cauſed him to adventure himſelf, and his Son the Prince, to come but with a meane Armye from *Normandye* into *France*, and thence through all *Picardye*, to go to beſeege *Callais*: He beinge contynuallye pourſewed by his Ennemyes with greate Armyes, with the which he was encloſed and compaſſed about, and fynallye conſtrained more then once to Fight it out, and ſpecially at *Crecy*, where his Enemy's Armye was thryſe as greate as his, and to lye ſo longe at the Seege before *Callais*, as he did. This Scourge of *England*, ſo well knowne by Experyence then, and therefore ſo dearly bought by King *Edward* the IIId, and now not yet known for lacke of Experyence; yf the *French* ſhall retayne yn their Hands, they having likewyſe *Scotland* on the other ſide, how dangerous this ſhall be to *England*, is eaſy to be conſydered. Theſe, and other Conſyderations, make us to be of Opynion, that leaving *Callais* to the *French*, they will be content to delyver you a Peece of Parchemyn ſealed with a little Wax; but that they meane anye contynuance of Peax, we cannot be perſwaded, no more then King *Francis* did by a Nombre of Peeces of Parchment ſealed, which he ſent to King *Henry* the VIIIth: Nor the *French* King that now is, did, by the Parchemyne ſealed, which he ſent to King *Edward* the VIth. And whereas now the King's Majeſties Contreys ar in Warre with *France*, as well as *England*: If the Peace be ones made, the *French* will ſoon ſeek Occaſion to fall out with *England* againe; and then may it perhaps chaunce ſo, that *Spaine* will not think it neceſſarye for them to venture yn Warre againe with *France*. Whereas now the Kings Majeſtie cannot Honorablye, nor entendith not (as he himſelf hath declared and ſaid) to make any Peace without us. So that the Premiſſes conſydered, we cannot for our Parts thinke, that *Chriſtendom* ſhall be reſtored to a good Peace, though we forſake *Callais*, but that then we ſhall be more oppreſſed with War than before. And in Caſe we muſt needs have War, as good it ſeemeth to contynue in it yet for a while, being conjoyned to the King's Majeſtie, who beareth the Chief Burthen and Charges of it; then ſhortelye after to begynne a new, and to ſtand in Danger to have all the Burthen lye on our Neckes. And then ſhould we know what a Jewell we had forſaken, when we did agree to forgo *Callais*; and that by the Retencion of *Callais*, the *French* meant nothing leſs, then the quietnes of *Chriſtendom*.

We

We have thought it our Dutie to declare to your Lordſhipes what our Opynion is heerin. Which nevertheleſſe we pray your Lordſhipes to accepte yn good Parte.

I the Biſhop of *Ely* retourned to *Cercamp*, according to the King's Majeſties Appointment; where I have contynued till now that I came hither to conſult upon theſe Matters with my Colleagues. And all this while hath there nothing ben done yn our Matters for *England*; but the other Commiſſioners have ben buſye contynuallye. And as far as I can learn, they are not yett all agreed uppon the Matters of *Piedmount*, nor of *Corſica*, nor *Siena*. Yea, and as I heere, the *French* begyne now to call the Matters of *Navarre* in queſtion; and to aſk Reſtitution thereof; yn ſo much, that ſome begyne to thinke contrary to that hath ben commonlye thought hitherto; that the Ende of this Matter will be, that all ſhall departe, *re infecta.*

After we had written thus farre, I the Earle of *Arundall*, receyved a Letter from the Biſhope of *Arras*, of the 17th of this Preſent; wherin amonge other Things he writeth thus. *Monſieur Leveſque de Ely vous aura dit en qu'els termes nous eſtious a ſon Partement en ce Purgatoire. Et hier les Francois nous declarerent qu'en toutes chaſes condeſcendrout ils pluſtot que de venir a ce de Calais: Ne qu'il leur eſhappe: Et nous leur declaraſmes derechef an contraire que ſans ſatisfaire a Royaume d' Angleterre nous ne traiterous en facon quelconque avec eux & fut noſtre depart ſur ce til qu'il y a plus d' appareuce de rompre que de concluſion.*

So that by this lykewiſe it may ſeme, that they agree not beſt: But whether that be for *Callais* onelye, we doubt much. And thus we bid your good Lordſhipes moſt hartely well to fare. From *Arras* the 18th of *November*, 1558.

Your good Lordſhipes moſt aſſuredly.

Arundell.

Thomas Elye.

N. Wotton.

Number 44.

A Letter of Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr, *from* Strasburg, *of the State of Affairs in* England.

Scripta (ut videtur) 1558.

Juellus ad Martyrem.
S. P.

DE prima illa noſtra Profectione, & de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Baſileæ, ſcripſi ad te per D. Simlerum noſtrum. Quinto poſtridie vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantoper miſeri coacti ſumus hærere in luto. Hic omnes noſtros invenimus incolumes, & cupidiſſimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, aliique noſtri fecerint in Anglia, nihil adhuc audivimus. Neque id ſanè mirum. Profecti enim Argentina ad Viceſimum primum Decembris, vix Viceſimo poſt die potuerunt pervenire Antuerpiam, quod Rhenus conſtrictus glacie, illorum Navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, Reditum illorum Reginæ eſſe gratiſſimum; idque illam non obſcurè præ ſe ferre. Si Epiſcopi pergant porro ut cæperunt, erit brevi magna Vilitas Epiſcopatuum. Certum enim eſt, Chriſtopherſonum, Rabulam illum Ciceſtrenſem, eſſe mortuum; quod idem de Vatſono quoq; Lincolnienſi nunciatur: Quod ſi ita eſt, vacant hoc tempore Epiſcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus tuus, in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te ſcripſi cum eſſem Baſileæ, habuit ad Populum inſanam, & turbulentiſſimam Concionem; Omnia potius tentanda eſſe, quàm ut quicquam de Religione immutaretur. Bonum factum, ſi quis exules reduces interfecerit. Accuſatus eſt Seditionis à Marchione Vintonienſi Theſaurario, & Hetho Archiepiſcopo Eboracenſi. Londinenſis juſſus eſt, reddere Hæredibus D. Ridlæi, quæcunque illis per vim & injuriam eripuerat. Vocabitur brevi ad Cauſæ dictionem; interim jubetur, ſe domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat Concionem ad Populum, neve Papiſta, neve Miniſter Evangelij. Id alij factum putant, quòd cum unus tantum eſſet Miniſter Verbi tum temporis Londini, Benthamus, tantus eſſet numerus Papiſtarum. Alij, quòd audita una tantum Benthami publica Concione, Populus inter ſe cæperit litigare de Ceremoniis: Et alij Genevenſes eſſe vellent, alij Francofordiani. Quicquid eſt, utinam ne noſtri Homines nimium prudenter & politicè verſari velint in Cauſa Dei. Multi putant D. Coquum fore Magnum Cancellarium; Hominem bonum quidem, & pium, uti nôſti; ſed illi muneri, meo judicio, non aptiſſimum. Elienſis hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de iſta præclara Pace, ſi Deo placet, tranſigatur; quæ qualis, aut quam firma, & diuturna futura ſit, Θεῶν ἐν γένασι κεῖται. D. Iſabella, ſpero, vocabitur in Angliam.

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

Video

Video enim alios quoque noſtros Homines, de ea re ſeriò cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam ſcribet ad Reginam : Erat ſcripturus ad totum Parliamentum, niſi ego diſſuaſiſſem ; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus Puer relictus eſt Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut meæ Fidei committeretur : Ego ab Abelo mutuo ſumpſi Coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut Sarcinam & Pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamq; vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, ſi mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulciſſime Pater, & plus quam Animi dimidium mei. Nolo ad te omnia ; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliquæ ſcribere : Cui ego Viro, pro ſumma ejus erga me Humanitate, debeo omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque ſunt, non dubito, tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus, D. Parkhurſtus, te plurimùm ſalutant, & cùm tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quàm Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, & omnes tuos meoſque, meo nomine.

D. Fr. Beti, & D. Acontius, ſunt nunc Argentinæ : Uterque te plurimùm ſalutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi Literas D. Iſabellæ : Id obſecro, ut illi ſignifices.

Argentinæ, 26. *Januar.*

JOHANNES JUELLUS
Ex Animo, & ſemper, Tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatiſſimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Eccleſiâ Tigurinâ Profeſſori S. Theologiæ, Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Number 45.

A Letter of Gualter's *to Dr.* Maſters, *adviſing a Thorough Reformation.*

Domino Richardo Maſtero, Medico Regio, Amico veteri, & Fratri ſuo dilecto.

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

GRatulabar mihi non parùm, Annis ſuperioribus, quando regnante Edvardo Sexto Sanctæ Memoriæ, tu prior ſcribendi Officium, quod multis annis intermiſſum fuerat, repetere cæpiſti. At nunc multò

multò magis & tibi & mihi gratulor, Vir doctiſſime, & Frater in Chriſto obſervande, quòd ea Tempora Angliæ veſtræ, per Dei Clementiam, reducta eſſe audimus; quando ſub Reginæ piiſſimæ Tutela, piis Hominibus, Deum verè colendi Libertas reſtituetur, & Amicorum Literæ tutò hinc inde ferri & referri poterunt. Agnoſcimus in his admirabilem Dei Sapientiam & Bonitatem, qui Eccleſiæ ſuæ Ærumnas lætis vicibus temperare ſolet, ne tentationum fluctibus toti obruamur. Faxit idem ille, ut Spei fidelium, quam de Angliæ Regno jam omnes conceperunt, ſatisfiat. Quod eò magis futurum puto, ſi quotquot illic in aliquo Dignitatis gradu collocati eſtis, Eccleſiæ & Religionis Curam ad vos cum primis pertinere memineritis, nec illorum admiſeritis Conſilia, qui cum Papatum nec honeſtè defendi, nec totum retineri poſſe vident, ad artes convertuntur, quibus Religionis Formam mixtam, incertam & dubiam fingunt, & eandem, ſub Evangelicæ Reformationis prætextu, Eccleſiæ obtrudunt; ex qua deinde facillimus eſt ad Papiſticam Superſtitionem & Idolomaniam tranſitus. Quod non eò ſcribo, quòd tales apud vos eſſe ſciam, ſed quod ne tales ſint metuo. Jam enim annis aliquot in Germania, magno Eccleſiarum malo experti ſumus, quantum ejuſmodi Homines valeant. Eò quod illorum Conſilia, carnis judicio, Modeſtiæ plena, & ad alendam Concordiam, cumprimis idonea eſſe videantur, & credibile eſt, publicum illum humanæ Salutis hoſtem, apud vos quoque ſua flabella inventurum, quorum opera Papatûs ſemina retinere ſtudeat. Quibus Scripturæ ſanctæ, & Verbi divini armis, conſtanter reſiſtendum fuerit, ne dum circa prima initia, aliquam mediocrem animorum offenſionem declinare ſtudemus; multa ad tempus duntaxat duratura admittantur, quæ poſtea vix ullo ſtudio, & non abſque graviſſimis tentationibus omnino tolli poſſint. Exempla hujus mali Germanicæ Eccleſiæ multa viderunt, quorum conſideratione edocti, ſuſpecta habemus quæcunque cum ſyncera Verbi Doctrina, aliqua ex parte pugnant. Nec me alia ratione, ut hæc moneam, adduci credas, quam quod Angliæ veſtræ, ob veterem Conſuetudinem, cujus vel ſera Recordatio mihi etiam hodie jucundiſſima eſt, mirificè faveo. De Rebus noſtris certiorem te reddet Parkhurſtus, noſter Frater, & Hoſpes meus dilectiſſimus, quem tibi commendatiſſimum eſſe velim. Suſtinuit ille jam toto quinquennio, graves exilij moleſtias; inter quas tamen, admirabilem Fidei Conſtantiam, & Patientiam incredibilem conjunxit. Nunc ſpe læta plenus, in Patriam contendit, ut Eccleſiæ renaſcentis Cauſam pro ſuo talento adjuvet. Nec dubito, quin bonam operam præſtiturus ſit, cum Scripturarum Cognitionem habeat præclaram, & Veritatis ſtudioſiſſimus ſit, & à Contentionibus abhorreat, quarum ſtudioſi vix aliquem in Eccleſia fructum faciunt. Optimè ergo feceris, ſi tua Authoritate illum juves, & pro virili provehas. Mihi verò nihil jucundius fuerit, quàm ſi ex tuis Literis intelligam, noſtræ Amicitiæ memoriam penes te adhuc ſalvam eſſe, quæ certè in animo meo nunquam intermori poterit. Vale, Vir præſtantiſſime. Tiguri, 16. Januarij 1559.

Number 46.

A Letter of the Earl of Bedford's *to* Bullinger, *from* Venice.

T I T.

Doctiſſimo Viro Domino Bullingero, Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſori eximio Tiguri.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

CUM meus in Te Amor ſingularis, & perpetua Obſervantia, quâ te ſemper Religionis Cauſâ ſum proſecutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis Humanitas, multis modis à me perſpecta, cùm Tiguri fuerim, (Bullingere Doctiſſime) fecerunt, ut haſce Literas animi erga Te, mei pignus certiſſimum, & veluti Tabulas obſignatas mei in Te perpetui amoris quas extare volui, huic adoleſcenti ad Te darem. In quibus ita tibi gratias ago, propter tuam Humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, ſi quâ in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita à me dicta velim accipias, non ſicut Homines qui hodie verborum quandam ſpeciem inducunt, & officioſam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quàm quod eſſe velint id quod præ ſe ferant: Sed potius, ut ab animo ſincero, & prorſus tibi devinctiſſimo profecta, certiſſimum tibi perſuadeas. Itaque, ſi quid tuâ Cauſâ unquam facere poſſim, (quod quàm exiguum ſit non ignoro) illud tamen, quantulumcunque erit tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc ſatis, & fortaſſe ſuperque, præſertim etiam cùm adhuc mihi ſtatutum ſit, (ſi alia non intervenerint, quæ inceptum iter aliò evadere poſſint) ut vos obiter inviſam in Angliam reverſuro, Ubi id vivâ voce confirmare, quod hic nudis verbis ſolummodò declarare poſſum. Juvenis, qui has Literas perfert mihi, nunciavit de obitu Conradi Pellicani, (quem Honoris Cauſâ nomino) quod ut audivi, ſanè quam pro eo ac debui, graviter moleſtèque tuli, non tam ſuâ, quam Eccleſiæ univerſæ Cauſâ. Is enim hujus vitæ Curriculum, in curis, vigiliis, aſſiduis ſtudiis, literatis Hominibus promovendis, glorioſiſſimè confecit, ac denique moriendo quemadmodum vivebat ad meliorem vitam in Cœlum tranſlatus eſt. At illa multum deſiderabit plurimis nominibus, virum abſolutiſſimum: Itaque, ut illius Cauſa lætor, ita hujus vicem non poſſum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mæſtitiæ cauſam tui (ut ſpero & opto) præſentia facilè mitigabit, quem Eccleſiæ, boniſque omnibus, diù incolumem Deus Opt. Max. per ſuam Miſericordiam eſſe velit. Venet. 6. Calend. Maias.

Tui Nominis Studioſiſſimus,

F. BEDFORD.

Domino Geſnero, & Domino Gualthero, meis amiciſſimis diligenter à me, quæſo, Salutem dicito.

Number

Number 47.

A Letter of Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr, *of the State he found Matters in when he came to* England

S. P.

TAndem tamen aliquando, Quinquegeſimo, videlicet, Septimo poſt Die, quam ſolviſſemus Tiguro, parvenimuſque in Angliam. Quid enim neceſſe eſt multa προσομιλεῖν, apud te præſertim, qui rem potius ipſam quæras, & longos iſtos logos non magni facias? Interea verò, Deum immortalem, quæ illa Vita fuit, cùm & Aqua, & Terra, & Cælum ipſum nobis indignaretur, & omnibuſque modis reditum noſtrum impediret? Quid quæris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odioſiſſima, & adverſiſſima acciderunt. Verùm hæc antea ad te, & ad D. Bullingerum fuſius, cùm adhuc hærerem Antwerpiæ. Nunc accipe cætera. Quanquam hic, ut verè dicam, arte opus eſt & myrothecüs: Non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda, & polienda ſint nova, quæ neſcio an ulla ſint hoc tempore. Scio tamen à te plurima expectari, quàm quòd recantanda ſint vetera. Illa enim ferè omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea ſcripſi ex itinere, multò tùm erant alia, & longè auditu jucundiora, quàm quæ poſtea re ipſa inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus Pontifex: Nondum pars ulla religionis reſtituta: Eadem erat ubique miſſarum proluvies: Eadem pompa, atq; inſolentia Epiſcoporum. Iſta tamen omnia nunc tandem mutare incipiunt, & pene ruere. Magno nobis impedimento ſunt Epiſcopi: Qui, cum ſint, ut ſcis, in ſuperiori Conclavi inter primores, & proceres, & nemo ibi ſit noſtrorum Hominum, qui illorum fucos, & mendacia poſſit, coram dicendo refutare, inter Homines Literarum, & rerum imperitos ſoli regnant, & paterculos noſtros facile vel Numero, vel Opinione Doctrinæ circumſcribunt. Regina interea, etſi apertè faveat noſtræ Cauſæ, tamen partim à ſuis, quorum Conſilio omnia geruntur, partim à Legato Philippi Comite *Terio* Homine Hiſpano, nè quid patiatur innovari mirificè deterretur. Illa tamen quamvis lentiùs aliquantò, quàm nos velimus, tamen & prudenter, & fortiter, & piè perſequitur inſtitutum. Et quamvis hactenus Principia, paulo viſa ſunt duriora, tamen ſpes, eſt aliquando rectè fore. Interea, ne Epiſcopi noſtri queri poſſint ſe potentia tantum, & lege eſſe victos, res revocata eſt ad Diſputationem, ut novem ex noſtris, Scoræus, Coxus, Withedus, Sandus, Grindallus, Hornus, Elmer, Gheſtus quidam Cantabrigienſis, ex ego, cum quinque Epiſcopis, Abbate Weſtmonaſterienſi, Colo, Cheadſæo, Harpesfeldo, de his rebus coram Senatu colloquamur. Prima noſtra aſſertio eſt: In publicis precibuſq; & Adminiſtratione Sacramentorum alia uti Lingua, quàm quæ à Populo intelligatur, alienum eſſe à verbo Dei, & à conſuetudine Primitiva Eccleſiæ. Altera eſt; Quamvis Eccleſiam Provincialem,

Ex MSS. Tigur.

etiam injuſſu Generalis Concilii, poſſe vel inſtituere, vel mutare, vel abrogare Ceremonias, & Ritus Eccleſiaſticos, ſic ubi id videatur facere ad Ædificationem. Tertia ſacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod Papiſta fingunt eſſe in Miſſa, non poſſe probari ex Sacris Literis. Pridie Calendarum Aprilis inſtituitur Prima conflictatio. Epiſcopi interim, quaſi partâ Victoriâ, jamdudum Magnificè Triumphant. Ubi Froſchoverus ad nos venit, ſcribam de his rebus omnia diſertius. Regina te gerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum, tertioſq; cupidiſſimè relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito, fore multò gratiorem. Oxonii à tuo diſceſſu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ ſunt, inſcitia, & contumacia: Religio, & ſpes omnis Literarum, atq; ingeniorum funditùs periit. Brochas Epiſcopus Gloceſtrienſis beſtia impuriſſimæ Vitæ, ex multò impurioris Conſcientiæ, paulò antequam Moreretur, miſerabilem in modum exclamavit, ſeſe jam ſe ipſo judice eſſe damnatum. Faber tuus præclarus, ſcilicet, Patronus caſtitatis deprehenſis eſt in adulterio: Ex ea Cauſa, quod alioqui vix ſolet fieri, cùm Maria adhuc viveret, novô more, nullo exemplo juſſus eſt cedere Lectione Theologica. Bruernus ſimili, ſed longè flagitioſiori de ſcelere coactus eſt relinquere Profeſſionem Lingnæ Hebraicæ. De Martiali nihil Scribo, ne Chartas contamirem. De Weſtono audiſti antea. Sed quid iſtos, inquies, Commemores? Ut intelligas, quibus judicibus oportuerit B. Cranmerum, P. Ridlæum, P. Latimerum condemnari. De Scotis, de Pace, de Bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi Litaras ex itinere: Quæ utrumq; ad te pervenerint, neſcio. Sed quoniam longè abſumus, longiùs, ô Deum Immortalem, & diutius multò, quàm vellem, Literæ noſtræ interdum ventis & fortunæ committendæ ſunt. Vale, mi Pater, & Domine in Chriſto Colendiſſime, Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Geſnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum, & convictores tuos Trevicenſes. Omnes noſtri te ſalutant. Londini 20 Martii, 1559.

Jo. Juellus.

Iſtæ ſunt Primæ, quas ad te ſcribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita poſthac ſubſcribam omnes, ut ſcire poſſis, ſi quæ forte interciderint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiſſimo Viro D. Petro Martyri Vermilio. Profeſſori Sacræ Theologiæ in Eccleſia Tigurina Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 48.

A Letter of Juell's *to* Bullinger, *concerning the State of Things in the Beginning of this Reign.*

S. P.

GRatiſſimæ erant mihi Parkurſtoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatiſſimè vir, vel quòd à te ſint, cui quantum debeamus, nunquam poſſumus obliviſci, vel quo ſuavitatis, & humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto nos tempore exilii noſtri experti ſumus maximam, altiſſima vertigia retinerent. Atque utinam poſſimus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compenſare. Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit; Quod nos hortaris, ut ſtrenuè ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantùm non ingratus nobis ſed etiam penè neceſſarius. Nobis enim in hoc tempore non tantum cum adverſariis, ſed etiam cum amicis noſtris, qui proximis iſtis annis à nobis defecerunt & cum hoſtibus conjurarunt, jamque acrius multò, & contumacius reſiſtunt, quàm ulli hoſtes, quodque moleſtiſſimum eſt, cum reliquiis Hiſpanorum, hoc eſt cum teterrimis vitiis, ſuperbia, luxu, libidine luctandum eſt. Facimus quidem nos, fecimuſque quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, & det Incrementum. Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur reſtituti ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud: ne ſuum quidem adhuc reſtitutum eſt cuiquam noſtrum. Quanquam, & ſi moleſta nobis eſt iſta tam diuuturna expectatio, tamen non dubitamus, brevi rectè fore. Habemus enim Reginam & prudentem, & piam, & nobis faventem & propitiam. Religio reſtituta eſt in eum locum, quo ſub Edwardo rege fuerat, ad eam rem non dubito, tuas, reipublicæque veſtræ literas & exhortationes multum ponderis attuliſſe. Regina non vult appellari aut ſcribi. Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ: graviter enim reſpondit, illam dignitatem ſoli eſſe attributam Chriſto: nemini autem mortalium convenire. Deinde illos titulos tàm fœdè contaminatos eſſe ab Anti-chriſto ut jam non poſſint amplius ſatis piè à quoquam uſurpari. Academiæ noſtræ ita afflictæ ſunt, & perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo ſint, qui nobiſcem ſentiant, & illi ipſi ita abjecti & fracti, ut nihil poſſint. Ita Soto fraterculus, & alius, neſcio quis, Hiſpanus Monachus, omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrimè plantaverat, everterunt à radicibus, & vineam Domini redegerunt in Solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vaſtitatem afferri potuiſſe tam parvo tempore. Quare & ſi magnam alioqui voluptatem capturus ſim, ſi vel canem Tigurinum videre poſſem in Anglia, tamen non poſſum eſſe Author hoc tempore, ut juvenes veſtros aut literarum aut religionis cauſâ ad nos mittatis, niſi eoſdem remitti velitis ad vos, impios & barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Ruſſelius qua maximè re tibi, aliiſque tuis fratribus, & Symmiſtis gratum facere. Hoc videlicet, ſenſit, vellé ſe Humanitatis veſtræ, quam ſemper prædicat & hoſpitii cauſa aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego verò nihil tibi tuiſque fore gratius, quàm ſi religionem Chriſti ſtudioſe ac fortiter propagaret & papiſtarum inſolentiam imminueret. Quod ille & recepit ſe facturum, & certè *Ex MSS. Tigur.*

certè facit, quantum poteſt. Venerunt hodie Londinum Legati Regis Galliæ, qui gratulantur de pace ; Princeps legationis eſt juvenis Mõmorancius. De nuptiis Reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Johannis Frederici, & frater ſecundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen ſuſpicio inclinat in Pikerimum hominem Anglum, virum & prudentem & pium, & regia corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit. Iſtæ primæ ſunt, quas ad te ſeorſim ſcripſi, ex quo redii in Angliam : Sed quoniam, quæ ſcripſi ad D. Martyrem, ſcio illum propter ſummam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuiſſe communia non dubito, quæcunque ad illum ſcripſi, eadem ad te quoque ſcripta dicere. Bene vale mi pater, & Domine in Chriſto colendiſſime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem uxorem tuam : D. Gualterum D. Simlerum D. Zuinglium, D. Lavaterum. Si quid unquam erit, in quo poſſim, aut tibi aut tuis eſſe voluptati, aut uſui, polliceor tibi non tantùm operam, ſtudium, diligentiam, ſed etiam animum & corpus meum 22. Maij Londini, 1559.

Tui Studioſis

Jo. Juelluo.

INSCRIPTIO,

Viro longè Doctiſſimo D. Henricho Bullingero Paſtori Eccleſiæ Tigurinæ Digniſſimo & Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 49.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *concerning the Diſputation with the Papiſts at* Weſtminſter.

Idem ad P. Martyrem.

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

DE illis Diſputationibus inter nos, & Epiſcopos, quas proximis Literis Scripſi indictas fuiſſe in ante Calendas Aprilis quid factum ſit, paucis accipe. Sic enim viſum eſt continuare Orationem ſine proæmis. Primum ergo, ut omnis cauſa jurgiorum & otioſæ contentionis tolleretur, Senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de ſcripto legerentur, & ita deſcriberentur tempora, ut primo die aſſertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur : Proximô autem conventu, ut

nos illis reſponderemus, & illi viciſſim nobis. Pridiè ergò Kal: April. cum magna expectatione, majori credo frequentia conveniſſimus Weſtmonaſterii, Epiſcopi, pro ſua fide, nec ſcripti, nec picti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent, ſe non ſatis temporis habuiſſe ad res tantas cogitandas; Cum tamen habuiſſent plùs minùs decem dies, & interea copias auxiliares Oxoniô & Cantabrigiâ, & undiq; ex omnibus angulis contraxiſſent. Tamen ne tot Viri viderentur fruſtra conveniſſe, D. Colus ſubornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de prima quæſtione, hoc eſt, de peregrina Lingua, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille verò cum omnibus nos contumeliis & convitiis indigniſſimè excepiſſet, & omnium ſeditionum authores & faces appellâſſet, & ſupploſione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modò dejectione modò ſublatione ſuperciliorum, (nôſti enim hominis vultum & modeſtiam) ſeſe omnes in partes & formas convertiſſet, huc poſtremò evaſit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos Annos recepiſſe Evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, Literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis conſtare poteſt, Preces tum publicas in Anglia habitas, fuiſſe Anglicè. Poſtea cùm in illo Circulo ſeſe ſatis jamdiu jactaviſſet, adjecit ſeriò, & vero vultu, atq; etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent, atque annotarent, Apoſtolos ab initio ita inter ſeſe diſtribuiſſe operas, ut alij Orientis Eccleſias inſtituerent, alij Occidentis. Itaque Petrum & Paulum, in Romana Eccleſia, quæ totam propè Europam contineret, omnia Romano ſermone, hoc eſt, latinè docuiſſe. Reliquos Apoſtolos in Oriente, nullo unquam alio Sermone uſus fuiſſe, niſi Græco. Tu fortaſſe iſta rides: Atqui ego neminem audivi unquam, qui ſolenniùs & magiſtratiùs inſaniret. Si adfuiſſet Julius noſter, centies exclamâſſet, *Poh! Horſon Knave.* Verùm ille, inter alia, nihil veritus eſt, myſteria ipſa & penetralia, atq; adyta prodere Religionis ſuæ. Non enim dubitavit graviter & ſeriò monere, etiamſi alia omnia maximè conveniunt, tamen non expedire, ut Populus, quid in ſacris ageretur, intelligat. Ignorantia enim, inquit, Mater eſt veræ Pietatis, quam ille appellavit Devotionem. O Myſtica ſacra, atque Opertanea Bonæ Deæ! Quid tu me putas interim de Cotta Pontifice cogitâſſe? Hoc videlicet illud eſt, In Spiritu & Veritate adorare. Mitto alia. Cùm ille jam calumniando, convitiando, mentiendo magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad diſputandum datum erat, exemiſſet; nos poſtremò noſtra pronunciavimus de ſcripto, ita modeſtè, ut rem tantum ipſam diceremus, nihil autem læderemus adverſarium, poſtremò ita dimiſſa eſt Diſputatio, ut vix quiſquam eſſet in toto illo Conventu, ne Comes quidem Salopienſis, quin Victoriam illius diei adjudicaret nobis. Poſtea inita eſt Ratio, ut proximo die Lunæ, de ſecundâ Quæſtione eodem modo diceremus; utque die Mercurij, nos illorum primi Diei Argumentis reſponderemus, & illi viciſſim noſtris.

Die Lunæ, cum frequens Multitudo, ex omni Nobilitate cupidiſſima, audiendi conveniſſet, Epiſcopi, neſcio pudoreve ſuperioris diei, an deſperatione victoriæ, primùm tergiverſari, habere ſe quod dicerent de prima Quæſtione, nec oportere rem ſic abire. Reſponſum eſt à Senatu, Si quid haberent, id tertio poſt die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri poſſe: Nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent Ordi-

nem. Dejecti de hoc gradu tamen huc evaſerunt, ſi dicendum omnino ſit, nolle ſe priores dicere; ſe enim in Poſſeſſione conſtitiſſe: Nos, ſi quid vellemus, priori loco experiremur. Magnam enim ſe facturos injuriam cauſæ ſuæ, ſi paterentur, nos poſteriores diſcedere cum applauſu Populi, & aculeos Orationis noſtræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contrà, Hanc ab initio inſtitutam fuiſſe Rationem, ut illi, quòd dignitate priores eſſent, priori etiam loco dicerent; nec eam nunc mutari poſſe. Mirari verò ſe, quid hoc ſit Myſterij, cùm omnino neceſſe ſit, alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil poſſe dici: Et præſertim, cum Colus in primis Diſputationibus etiam injuſſus, ultrò prior ad dicendum proſiluerit. Poſtremò, Cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta eſſet, nec Epiſcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent de ſecundo loco, ad extremum ſine Diſputatione diſceſſum eſt. Ea verò res incredibile dictu eſt, quantum imminuerit Opinionem Populi de Epiſcopis: Omnes enim cæperunt jam ſuſpicari, quod nihil dicere voluiſſent, ne potuiſſe quidem illos quicquam dicere. Poſtero die, Vitus Vintonienſis, amicus tuus, & Vatſonus Lincolnienſis, de tam aperto contemptu & contumacia, damnati ſunt ad Turrim: Ibi nunc caſtrametantur, & ex infirmis præmiſſis concludunt fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidiè, præſtò eſſe in Aula, & expectare quid de illis Senatus velit decernere. Habes ἐντευξιν ἀτελῆ, & penè ἀνόϋτευκτον; quam tamen, quô meliùs rem omnem intelligeres, deſcripſi pluribus, fortaſſe, quam oportuit. Benè vale, mi Pater, Decus meum, atque etiam Animi dimidium mei. Si quid eſt apud vos novarum rerum, hoc tempore, id malo eſſe proximarum Literarum Argumentum. Saluta plurimùm, meo nomine, venerandum illum Virum, & mihi in Chriſto Dominum colendiſſimum, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Wolphium, D. Geſnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Friſium, D. Hermannum, & Julium tuum meumque. Noſtri omnes te ſalutant, & tibi omnia cupiunt. Londini, 6. April. 1559.

Poſt-ſcript' Jo. Juellus tuus.

Iſtæ ſunt ſecundæ, quas ad te ſcribo, ex quo redij in Angliam.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Petro Martyri, Profeſſori Sacræ Theologiæ in Eccleſia Tigurina, Viro Doctiſſimo, & Domino ſuo in Chriſto Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number

Number 50.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *of the Debates in the Houſe of Lords; and of the State of the Univerſities; and concerning the Inclinations to the* Smalcaldick *League.*

S. P.

ACcepi ternas à te Literas, omnes eodem terme tempore: Quæ cum multis de cauſis mihi eſſent, ut certe debebant, jucundiſſimæ, vel quòd eſſent à te, vel quòd Rerum tuarum Statum ſignificarent, & amorem erga me tuum: Tamen nullâ aliâ cauſâ mihi viſæ ſunt jucundiores, quàm quòd officium meum requirerent, meq; vel oblivionis vel tarditatis, blandè ac tacitè accuſarent; quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non ſinunt. Scripſi quidem ego ad te ternas Literas, ex quo redij in Angliam; quas tamen video, cùm tu illas tuas ſcriberes, nondum ad te perveniſſe. Et fieri poteſt, ut ſæpe ſit, ut aut hæreant uſpiam, & ignavæ atq; otioſæ imitentur Religionem noſtram, aut etiam perierint in itineri. Sed quicquid eſt, nulla poteſt in ea re magna jactura fieri. Erant enim penè inanes, quòd non multum adhuc eſſet, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego ſcribere. Nunc agitur Cauſa Pontificis, & agitur utrinque fortiter. Epiſcopi enim ſudant, ne quid errâſſe videantur: Atq; ea Cauſa moratur, & impedit Religionem. Difficile eſt enim Curſum incitare. Fecnamus, Abbas Weſtmonaſterienſis, opinor, ut authoritatem addent Profeſſioni ſuæ, cùm peroraret in Senatû, Nazaræos, Prophetas, Chriſtum ipſum, & Apoſtolos conjecit in Numerum Monachorum. Nemo Cauſam noſtram acriùs oppugnat, quam Elienſis. Is & locum ſuum in Senatu, & ingenium retinet. Epiſcoporum prædia redacta ſunt in fiſcum: Illis ex permutatione dabuntur Sacerdotia, quæ antea attributa erant Monaſteriis. Interim de Scholis, & cura Literarum magnum ubique Silentium. Regina de te honorificè & loquitur, & ſentit. Dixit nuper D. Ruſſelio, ſe velle te accerſere in Angliam; id enim ille, aliique urgent, quantum poſſunt. Sed niſi & ſeriò, & cupidè, & honorificè petaris, nunquam ero author, ut venias. Nihil equidem magis, aut miſerius cupio, quam te videre, & dulciſſimis illis Sermonibus tuis frui, ſive (quod ô utinam aliquando contingat) in Anglia, ſive etiam Tiguri. Verùm quantum video obſtabit deſiderio noſtro, inauſpicata illa ex Saxis ac Saxonibus damnata παρεσβία. Noſtra enim nunc cogitat Fœdus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam è Germania, illud Fœdus non poſſe ullo pacto coire, ſi tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quendam, ſi addo aliquando fuiſſe Epiſcopum, ſi nunc eſſe exulem, ſi hominem ſtatum, ſi veteratorem, ſi aulicum, ſi Petrum, ſi Paulum, magis eum fortaſſe nôris, quam ego. Sed quicquid eſt, nos Articulos omnes Religionis, & Doctrinæ noſtræ

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

ſtræ exhibuimus Reginæ, & ne minimo quidem apice diſcedimus à Confeſſione Tigurinâ. Quanquam Amicus tuus Inventum illud, neſcio quod, ſuum tuetur mordicus, & nobis omnibus mirificè ſuccenſet. Adhuc nemini noſtrûm ne de obulo quidem proſpectum eſt. Itaque ego nondum abjicio inſignia illa, quæ mihi finxi Tiguri, Librum & crucem. Goodmannum audio eſſe apud nos; ſed ita, ut non auſit venire in publicum. Sed quanto ſatius fuiſſet ſapuiſſe in tempore? Si velit agnoſcere errorem, nihil erit periculi. Verùm, ut homo eſt ſatis acer, & in eo, quod ſemel ſuſcepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere. Libri tui nondum venerunt: Id ego tanto magis miror, quòd tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordiâ. Munus tuum ubi advenerit, non dubito Reginæ fore gratiſſimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioquin ſit per ſe ornatiſſimum, tamen ſi dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem Libro, quem tu ſeorſim ad me miſiſti, equidem non invenio, quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo, & huic humanitati tuæ, & ſuperiorum tuorum erga me meritorum magnitudini ultrò ſuccumbere. Certè etſi te nunquam ex animo eram dimiſſurus, tamen hâc commonefactione, & mnemoſyno excitatus, tanto acriùs & reverentiùs colam, quoad vixero, Nomen tuum. Alij tui Libri jampridem allati ſunt à Bibliopolis, & emuntur cupidiſſimè. Omnes enim libenter videre cupiunt, quibus Venabulis illa Beſtia confoſſa ſit.

Benè vale mi Pater, & Domine in Chriſto Colendiſſime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum: Dicerem & Frenchamum, niſi illum putarem jamdudum aut in Balneo eſſe, aut in via. Hoc enim Anni tempore, cum auditur Cuculus, vix ſolet eſſe apud ſe. *Londini*, 28. *Apr.* 1559.

Tui Cupidiſſimus,

Tuoq; Nomini Deditiſſimus,

Iſtæ ſunt Quartæ. JOHANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiſſimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Eccleſiâ Tigurinâ Profeſſori S. Theologiæ, Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo. Tiguri.

Number

Number 51.

A Letter of Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr *of the State of Affairs both in* England *and* Scotland.

Ejuſdem ad Eundem.

HActenus minùs frequenter ad te ſcripſi, mi Pater, quod multa me negotia publica, privataq; impedirent. Nunc ſcribo, non quod plus nunc otii ſit, quàm antea, ſed quod minus poſthac futurum ſit multò, quam nunc eſt. Alterum enim jam pedem in terra habeo, alterum penè ſublatum in equum. Mox enim ingredior longinquam & difficilem legationem conſtituendæ religionis ergò per Redingum, Abindonam, Gloceſtriam, Briſtollium, Thermas, Welliam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorceſtriam, Sariſburiam. Ambitus itineris noſtri erit plus minus ſeptingentorum milliarium: Vix ut quartò demùm menſe putem nos eſſe redituros. Quare ne me interea putares eſſe mortuum, etſi ante duodecim dies, neſcio quid, ad te ſcripſerim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, ſi nunc quoque paucis te quaſi in degreſſu ſalutarem. Res noſtræ ſatis nunc ſunt in proclivi: Regina optimè animata: Populus ubique ſitiens religionis. Epiſcopi, potiùs, quàm ut relinquant Papam, quem toties jam antea abjurarunt, malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis cauſa faciunt, quam nullam habent, ſed conſtantiæ, quam miſeri nebulones vocari jam volunt conſcientiam. Sacrifici jam tandem mutata religione paſſim abſtinent à cætu ſacro, quaſi piaculum ſummum ſit, cum populo Dei quicquam habere commune. Eſt autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil ſuprà. Omnino ſperant, & prædicant, eſt enim, ut ſcis, genus hominum prædictioſioſum, & valdè deditum futuritionibus iſta non fore diuturna. Sed, quicquid futurum eſt, nos agimus Deo Optimo Maximo gratias, quòd res noſtræ eò jam tandem loco ſint, quo ſunt. In Scotia fervent omnia. Knoxus cinctus mille ſatellibus agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta eſt ſeſe includere in præſidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis, & viribus reſtituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monaſteria paſſim omnia æquantur ſolo, veſtes ſcenicæ, calices ſacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur: Ne veſtigia quidem priſcæ ſuperſtitionis & idololatriæ relinquuntur. Quid quæris? Audiſti ſæpè, σπουδὴ πᾶσιν: Hoc verò eſt σπουδὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν. Rex Galliæ, qui nunc eſt, ſcribit ſe Regem Scotiæ, & hæredem Angliæ, ſi quid Reginæ noſtræ, quod Deus avertat, contingat humanitùs. Sed mirari non debes, ſi noſtri homines moleſtè ferant: Et quo res eruptura tandem ſit, Θεὸς ἐν γέναι κείται. Fortaſsè, ut ſit, communis hoſtis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum. Quod ſi ſit, etſi accedant etiam nuptiæ, ſed deſino divinare. D. Hetonus te ſalutat, idque non minùs amice, quàm ſi illi pater eſſes. Aliquot noſtrum deſignamur Epiſcopi. Coxus Elienſis,

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

Scoræus Erfordienſis, Alanus Roffenſis, Grindalus Londinenſis, Barlovus Chicheſtrenſis, & ego minimus Apoſtolorum Sariſburienſis. Quod ego onus prorſus decrevi excutere. Interea in Academiis more eſt ubique ſolitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potiùs, quàm ut velint in religionem conſentire. Sed comites jamdudum exſpectant, & clamant, ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale, mi Pater, & dulciſſimum decus meum; ſaluta venerandum virum, & mihi mille nominibus in Chriſto Colendiſſimum. D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam ſeorſim ſcriberim, ſi eſſet otium. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D Lavaterum, D Hallerum, D. Geſnerum, D. Triſium, D. Hermannum. Habeo quinque piſtolettos aureos à D. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum ſenem D. Bernardinum, & ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberem ad eum de rebus omnibus, niſi excluderer auguſtiâ temporis. Quanquam hoc, quæſo te, ut illi ſignifices, præter iſtos aureos, nihil adhuc confectum eſſe. Res aulicæ, quantùm video, ita ſunt difficiles, ut neſciam, an quicquam poſſit exprimi. Regina jam abeſt procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil poſſit. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Quantùm ego tibi optare poſſum, tantum vale. Et Julium tuum, Annamque & Martyrillum meo nomine Londini Calendis Auguſti, 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus,

Tibi omnibus modis deditiſſimus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longè Doctiſſimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio Profitenti Sacram Theologiam in Eccleſia Tigurina.

Tiguri.

Number 52.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *before he went his Progreſs into the Weſtern Parts of* England.

Ejuſdem ad Eundem.

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur. ET quid tandem ego ad te Scribam? Nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini ſumus domi noſtræ. Redi ergo, inquies, Tigurum. Utinam, utinam, mi Pater, id mihi aliquando liceat. Te enim, quantum

video, nulla ſpes eſt venturum unquam in Angliam. ô Tigurum, Tigurum, quantò ego nunc ſæpius de te cogito, quàm unquam de Anglia, cum eſſem Tiguri. Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in Patria noſtra ſimus hoſpites, excipimus tamen interdum quædam ἄγαλα καὶ ἀδιήγαλα. Vèrum πολλάκι τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον. De religione tranſactum eſt, utinam bonis auſpiciis, ut eſſet eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus ſub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre poſſum, non eſt ea alacritas in noſtris hominibus, quæ nuper in Papiſtis fuit. Ita miſerè comparatum eſt, ut mendacium armatum ſit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verùm etiam ſæpe odioſa. Agitur nunc de ſacro & ſcenico apparatu, quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, à neſcio, quibus, nos enim non advocamur in conſilium, ſeriò, & graviter cogitantur, quaſi religio Chriſtiana conſtare non poſſit ſine pannis. Nos quidem non ita otioſi ſumus ab animo, ut tanti poſſimus facere iſtas ineptias. Alii ſectantur auream quandam, quæ mihi plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem : Et clamant, dimidium plus toto. Quidam ex noſtris deſignati ſunt Epiſcopi, Parkerus Cantuarienſis, Coxus Norvicenſis, Barlovus Ciceſtrenſis, Scoræus Herfordenſis, Grindallus Londinenſis. Nam Bonerus juſſus eſt cedere : qui quando adituri ſint poſſeſſionem, neſcio. Ego ex iſto flore, quod tu de vino ſoles, facile divino, quæ ſit futura vindemia. Adverſarii interim noſtri καραψυλακτοῦσι, & pollicentur ſibi, iſta non fore perpetua. In Scotia, neſcio quid, audimus tumultuatum de religione : Nobiles ejectis Monachis occupaſſe Monaſteria : Et aliquot milites præſidiarios Gallos in tumultu occidiſſe : Reginam iratam edixiſſe, ut Knoxus concionator inflato cornu, eſt enim ille in Scotia mos ſolennis, ſi quem volint extorrem facere, ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum ſit, neſcio. Nunc inſtituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formanda religione. Sandus ibit in Lancaſtriam : ego in Devoniam : Alii aliò. Regina non vult appellari caput Eccleſiæ, quod mihi certè non diſplicet. Interim, quid il cavetſo de la Chieſa cogitet, aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus ſit, tu quoniam propius abes, facilius audire potes. Papiſtæ noſtri odioſiſſimè pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui à nobis diſceſſerunt. Tanti eſt ſemel guſtaſſe de Miſſa. Qui bibit inde, furit : Procul hinc diſcedite, queis eſt Mentis cura bonæ : Qui bibit inde, furit : Vident exceptô illô palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos & Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum, octo poſt annos redeat in poteſtatem Anglorum. Quod ut Julius noſter credat, opus eſt incredibili, & robuſtà fide. Quicquid erit tamen nos eo nomine exſpectamus pignora è Gallia. De nuptiis Reginæ adhuc nihil. Tamen ambit hac tempore Suecus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi, Mitto Pikerinum Hominem Anglum. Tamen, quid malim, ſcio. Et iſta ſunt ut ſcio μυστικότερα : Et apud nos proverbii loco dici ſolet matrimonia eſſe fatalia. Bene vale, mi Pater, & Domine in Chriſto Colendiſſime. Saluta quæſo optimum ſenem D. Bernardinum, D Muraltum, D Wolphium meo nomine. Liber tuus, quem Reginæ miſiſti dono, redditus eſt à D. Cæcilio : Ad meas manus, neſcio quo caſu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties ſum in aula, diligenter exquiro, numquid illa velit ;

lit: Et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas. Londini.

Iſtæ ſunt quintæ, tu vide an aliquæ perierint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiſſimo, Viro D. Petro Martyri,
Profeſſori Sacræ Theologiæ in
Eccleſia Tigurina, Domino ſuo
Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 53.

A Declaration made by the Confederate Lords of Scotland, *to the Queen of* England; *of their taking Arms againſt the Queen Dowager of* Scotland, *and the* French.

Cott. Libr. *Calig.* B. 10. Fol 24.

IT may be, that on the *French* Parte it wyll be ſaide, that it behoveth them to ſubdue the Rebellion in *Scotland*; and to that End only bringe all this Power thither: Firſt it may be, and that truly ſaide, the Begynning and Ground, yea, and the Proceding hitherto being truly conſidered, is no Rebellion. For true it is, that when the *French* Kyng had long ſought to compaſſe the Yonge Queene of *Scotland*, and to have her caryed owt of *Scotland* into *Fraunce*, there was great Difficultie made yn it by the *Scots*, and att length brought to paſſe only by the continuall Travayle of the Mother, being Dowager Queene; partly by Corruption with Money, partly by Authoritie, partly by fayre Promiſes; and yet was the Matter thus ended, that before her Perſon coulde be tranſported thence, Aſſurance was made by Treaty, by Othe, by Parlement, by the Great Seal of *Fraunce*, by the Seal of the *Dolphyn*, that *Scotland* ſhould not be otherwyſe governed, but by the Lawes, by the Nobilitie, by the People of the Land; that the Offices of the Land ſhuld remayne in the Nation of *Scotland*; that no Garriſons ſhuld be kepte by the *French*. After that Tyme much Labour and Practiſe was made by the Queene Dowager to procure the Favour of the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, to accorde to the Mariadge of the Queene with the Dolphyn; and fynally that obtaygned in a Parlement in *Scotland*, and was the Crowne aſſigned to the Queen, and the Heirs of her Body; and for default therof, to the Duke of *Chaſtellerault*, and his Hires, and ſo he declared

declared the Seconde Perſon. Then allſo was on the Parte of *Fraunce*, Othes taken, Chartres delyvered under the Greate Seale of *Fraunce*, and confirmed by the Yong Queene under her Seal, and by the Dolphin under his Seale, that *Scotland* ſhuld be governed by the Counſayle of the Land; that no Liberties ſhuld be violated; that *Edinburg* Caſtell ſhuld be delyvered to the Lord *Arſkin* to be kept, for the Preſervation of the Rights of the Realme; and *Dunbritton* Caſtell ſhuld be delyvered to the Duke for his Intereſt as Heyre Apparent. Theſe Things were done, and Duplicats made of the Grants of *Fraunce*. One Parte delyvered to be kept in *Edenburg* Caſtell in the Treaſury; the other delyvered to the Duke: Hereupon an Ambaſſade was ſent in Anno 1558, of 8 Perſons, 2 Biſhops, 2 Earles, 4 Lords of *Scotland*, and the Mariadge then concluded in *Fraunce*; which done thur, was attempted that the Ambaſſade ſhuld return home, and in Parlement obtayne, at the Yong Queenes Requeſt, that the Crown of *Scotland* might be given to the Dolphin her Huſband; which Matter, the Ambaſſade ſo much miſliked, and utterly refuſed; alledging that it could never be obtayned; that in the End they were thus abuſed, yt was deviſed they ſhould retourne, and procure that a Matrimoniall Crowne ſhuld be granted to the Kyng: By which Words they weare made believe there was a great difference; and yet they could not lyke the Matter, but required leave to retourne Home, and they would doo that they might. In their Departure at *Deepe*, theyr Nombre was made in one Night ſodenly leſſe by one Biſhop, 2 Erles, and 2 Barons, and ſo departed Home the other Three, much amaſed att the Matter. At theyr return, the Dowager Queene practiſed all the Ways ſhe could in Parlement, to obtayne this Purpoſe; which ſhe ſought by Two Ways, one by rewarding thoſe who had not received Favour of the Duke in the Time of his Governaunce, partly for the Favour they bare at that Time to *England*, parte for other Reſpects; and ſo ſett an Enmitie betwixt the Duke and them. One other way, ſhe offered to certayne of the Lords a Permiſſiion to lyve freely accordyng to their Conſcience in Religion; and at length ſhe became very ſtronge, and in Parliament obtained this Matrimoniall Crowne, with theſe Conditions, that the Duke's Right ſhuld not be empayred therby. Thus proceded ſhe towards her Purpoſe, and daily uſurped againſt the Liberties and Promiſes made. She ſpared not to begin with the greateſt. She committed to Priſon the Chancellor of the Realme, the Erle *Huntley*; being one of the Principal Frends to the Duke. She took a great Fyne of him, and took the Seale from hym; committed that to one *Rubay*, a *Frenchman*, an Advocate of *Paris*. Not content therwith, She committed the ſayd Erle to Priſon, untill She had put hym to a great Raunſome; which She took of hym: And to flatter hym, gave hym the Name of Chancelor, and put the Office in *Rubaye*'s Handes. Nexte to this, She hath taken the Office of the Comptroller of the hole Realme, to whom belonged the Charge of the whole Revenues of the Crowne; and hath allſo committed it to another *Frenchman*, a Servant of her owne, named *Vulemore*. She hath alſo ſequeſtred all Matters of Counſaill of the Governaunce of the Land, from the *Scottiſh* Men borne, and retayned all the Secreties to *French* Men. But theſe weare

but

but ſmall Thynges, yff greater had not followed. Having Peace with *England*, She kepte all the Garriſons of *French* Men ſtill in the Countrey, who lyved upon Diſcretion; which was a new Offenſe to *Scotland*. Wages they had none out of *France* at all: The Revenue of the Crowne, which was not greate, was ſent into *Fraunce*; and to paye the *French* Band, a new Deviſe was made. She procured out of *Fraunce* a certayne Nombre of *Franks*, being altogether in a certayne Coyne of *Sowces*, which had bene, for theyr Emtineſs, decried and barred in *Fraunce* Two Yeres before, and were but Bullion: Theſe She made currant in *Scotland*, to paye the Soldiors. She allſo erected a Mynte, and therin abaſſed a grete Quantite of the *Scottiſh* Money, and therwith allſo payed her Soldiors. In that Mynte allſo, She permitted certayne of the Principalls of the *French* to Coyne theyr owne Plate, to theyr owne moſt Advantage: Which Matter both did notable great Hurt in all *Scotland*, and much offended the Realme.

Now follows the Practiſes of the Queene with diverſe Noblemen, to becom Parties agaynſt the Duke: Meanes was made, fyrſt to have wonne the Lord *Arſkin*, to deliver the Caſtell of *Edenburgh*; next, to have ſtolen it: But this prevailed not. In this Seaſon, and before allſo, which had much exaſperated the People of the Land, the Queene gave away Abbeys, that fell voyd, to *French* Men: Som to her Brother, the Cardinal *Guyſe*, ſom to other. And generally, She hath kept in her Hands theſe Three hole Yeres, allmoſt all the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities that have fallen voyde; ſaving ſuch as wer of any Value, which She gave to *French* Men. Generally She governed all Things ſo, as She never would in any Matter followe the Counſell of the Lordes and Nobilite, which, at her firſt Coming to the Regiment, were appoynted to be of Counſell. Agaynſt theſe her Doynges, many Interceſſions were made by the Nobilitie, both joyntly together in good Companyes, and Advices allſo gyven aparte, by ſuch as were ſory to ſee that this Governance wold be ſo dangerous, as it could not be borne: But nothing avayled. And then followed a Practiſe, of all other moſt dangerous and ſtrange, and, for a Perſonage of Honor, a great Indignity. The Principall Matter that was coveted by the Queene, was to have cutt away the Duke, and his Houſe, and to make a Party agaynſt hym: By Perſuaſion, this was deviſed. The Lord *James*, being a Baſtard, Son of the laſt Kynge, a Man of greate Courage and Wyſdom; and certayne Erles and Barons of the Realme; in whom were conſidered theſe Two Thynges, No great Love towards the Duke, nor certayne Ceremonies of the Churche; and yet being Men of Courage, were borne in Hand by the Queene, that She her ſelfe wold beare with theyr Devotion in Religion, and upon Condition that they would joyne with her Governaunce agaynſt the Duke, for the Favour of *Fraunce*, they ſhuld lyve freely according to theyr Conſcience in Religion, without any Impedyment. Herupon they were ſomwhat boldned, and therby incurred the Cenſures of the Churche, and were alſo, by a private Lawe of the Land, ignorantly in danger of Treaſon: Wherupon Proceſſe was made, they endangered. And then was it Tyme for the Queene to tempt them to forget theyr Country, and become

French. But when no Inticement could prevayle, then began She to threat'n them with the Lawe, and would neds declare them Traytors. This Matter the Queene purſued; taking it for a great Advantage. But, for their Defence, the Nobilitie of the Realme made much Labour. Nothyng would ſtaye the Queene; but forthwith She produced her Garriſons to the Feld, proclaymed them Traytors, gave away their Lands, entred with Men of War into a principal Towne, called *St. John's Towne*, changing the Provoſt of the Towne, agaynſt the Wyll of the Burgeſſes; and left there Four Bands of Men of Warre, to fortefie her New Provoſt. And She fynding the whole Realme much offended herwith, and charging her dayly with Miſgovernance, and Violating the Liberties of the Realm, and her Power there not ſufficient to procede, as She ment, to Conquer the Land; She ſent for the Duke, and the Erle *Huntley*, and pretended in this Neceſſitie a new Good Will to them; who travayled for her, and ſtayed all the adverſe Part in Quietneſs: And then She promiſed all Matters to be ſtayed and redreſſed at Parlement the next Spring: And promiſed alſo diverſe other Thyngs, for the Benefite of the Land. And then the Duke, and the Erle *Huntley*, tooke upon them to make a Quiet with the adverſe Part. And whiles this was in doyng, the Duke's Sonne and Heyre was fought and ſent for, to the Courte in *Fraunce*: From whence he was certainly advertiſed by diverſe of moſt ſecret Knowledge, that his Ruine ſhuld follow, and that he ſhould be accuſed, and executed for Matters of Religion. At the length he abode, untill certayne of good Authoritie were depeched from the Court, to bryng hym eyther quick or dead. Before their comming, he eſcaped, without daunger: And they toke his yonger Brother, a Child, abowt Fifteen Yeres of Age, and commytted him to Priſon. In this Tyme, Thyngs being well appeaſed in *Scotland*, and every Noble Man returned to theyre Countrees, by the Duke's Meanes principally, who ſhewed moſt Favour to the Quene, and had gaged his Fayth to the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, for keping of all Thynges in quiet, untill the Parlement; there arrived certayne Bands of Souldiours out of *Fraunce* into *Leethe*; whoſe comming made ſuch a Chaunge in the Queene, as She newly cauſed the Towne of *Leeth* to be fortified, being the principall Porte of the Realme, and placed Twenty two Enſeignes of Souldiors, with One Band of Horſemen, therin. Herupon the Nobilitie challenged the Duke: Who had nothing to ſaye; but entreated the Queen, by his moſt humble Letters, to forbeare theſe mannor of Doinges; wherin he could not prevayle. The Force of the *French* was then encreaſed, *Leeth* fortified, all Ammunition carried into the Towne, nothyng left to the *Scotts*, whereby either well to defend themſelfes, or to annoye the Towne. Beſide this, out of *Fraunce* there came dayly *French* Powre by Sea; yea ther went allſo, not denyed by the Queen's Majeſtie of *England*, Captayns by Land through *England*. Well, at the Length, the Duke, and all the Nobilitie, made new Interceſſion by theyr Letters, that She would forbeare this Fortificacion: For otherwyſe her Purpoſe of Conqueſt would appeare to the whole Realm; wher-

upon would grow great Diſquiet. But her Comforth grew ſo g[illegible] owt of *France*, that She deſpiſed all Requeſtes. And thus cam[illegible] the Matter to the Termes which the *French* courted : For now th[illegible]ught they it would be but 3 or 4 Dayes Work to ſubdue *Scotland* : Wherunto neverthelefs beſydes theyre owne Powre, She entretayned Two or Three meane Lords, ſuch as lay betwyxt *Leeth* and *Barwick*, which was the Erle *Bothwell*, and Lord *Setan*, who be the only Two, of all the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, that keepeth Company with the Queen ; and yet, as they do notify themſelfes by their Doyngs, have their Harts with their Countreymen. And nowe the Duke, and the reſt of the Nobilitie, with the Barons and Burgeſes of the Realme, fynding no Hope of Remedy at her Hands, but perceyving an eminent Danger to the Realme, which could not be avoyded by any Entreaty, aſſembled themſelves, as regrating the afflicted Realme. They began depely to conſyder, on the one Part, the Right of their Soveraign Lady, being married to a Strange Prince, and out of her Realme, in the Hands of *Frenchmen* only, without Counſell of her own Natural People ; and therwith the Mortalitie of her Husband, or of her ſelf, before She cold have Iſſue : And on the other Side, what the Dowager, being a *French* Woman, Syſtar to the Houſe which ruleth all in *France*, had done, attemped, and dayly perſiſted in ruinating unnaturally the Liberties of her Daughter, the Queen's Subjects, for Ambition, to knitte that Realme perpetually to *France*, whatſoever becam of her Daughter ; and ſo to execute ther old Malace upon *England*, the Stile and Title wherof they had alredy uſurped ; were in the end conſtrayned to conſtitute a Counſayle, for the Governaunce of the Realme, to the Uſe of theyr Soverayn Lady : And therwith humbly to ſignifie to her the reaſonable Suſpenſion of the Dowager's Authoritie ; which to mayntayn, they have of themſelves, as Naturall Subjects, convenient Strenght, being ſore oppreſſed with the *French* Powre ; which untill this preſant Day they do, as theyr Powers can endure ; being very mean and unable that to do, compared to the meaneſt Force of *France* : So as although they have been of long Tyme occaſioned thus to doe ; and now for Safety, as well of theyr Soveraign's Right, as of the Ancient Right of the Crown, have been forced to ſpend all ther Snbſtance, to hazard theyr Lifes, theyr Wifes and Children, and Country : Yet can they not longer preſerve themſelves and the Realm from Conqueſt, by this Power that is now arrived in *Scotland*, and is in Readineſs to be ſent thither before next Spring. And therfore thay have communicated their hole Cauſe to certayn of the Queen's Majeſties Miniſters upon the Borders, and ſeek all the Ways they can, how they might, without Offence of hir Majeſty, committ theyr Juſt and Honorable Cauſe to the Protection of hir Majeſty, onely, requiring this, That theyr Realme may be ſaved from the Conqueſt by *France*, and the Right of theyr Soveraign Lady preſerved, with all other Rights of their Nation of *Scotland* depending thereupon.

Auguſt

August, 1559.

The Petition of the Lords of Scotland *ſigned with there own Hands.*

WE deſire yat he hall nommeris of *Frenchmen* of weir being preſentlie within yis Realme, may be removed with ſpeed; that we may in Tymes coming leif quyetlie without feir of thair troubill.

Item, That we may haif Place to ſute of the King and Queen our Soveraignis ſik Articlis as ar neceſſarie for us, for Pacification and Perfect Government of the Realm without Alteration of our Anteant Liberties.

* The Earl of *Aran* always ſigns thus, for the Title of *Aran* was in his Father at that Time.

* *James Hamilton.*

Ard. Argyll.

Glencarn.

* This ſeems to be the Lord *James*, afterwards made Earl of *Murray.*

† The Earl of *Huntley*'s Son.

* Cannot be read.

* *James Stewart.*

† *Alex. Gordon.*

* *John*

R. Boyd.

Uchiltre.

John Maxwell.

Ruthuen.

* Probably the Earl of *Atholl*'s Son.

* *James Stewart.*

Number 54.

A ſhort Diſcuſſion of the Weighty Matters of Scotland, Aug. 1559.

In Sir W. Cecyll's *Hand.*

QUeſtion, Whether it be mete that *England* ſhould helpe the Nobilitie, and Proteſtants of *Scotland*, to expell the *French* : or no ? *Cott. Libr. Calig. B.* 10.

That No.

I. It is againſt God's Law to ayd any Subjects againſt their Naturall Prince, or their Miniſters.

II. It is dangerouſe to doo it; for if the Ayd ſhal be no other than maye be kept in Secretie, it cannot be great; and ſo conſequently it ſhall not ſuffice. If it ſhall be open, it will procure Warres, and the End therof is uncertain.

III. It maye be dowted that when Money ſpent is, and Aide ſhall be given, the *French* maye Compownd with the *Scottes*, and Pardon that Error, to joyne both in Force ageynſt *England*; which is more eaſy to be beleved, becauſe they had rather make a ſhamefull Compoſition with *Scotland*, than ſuffer it to be rejoyned, and united to the Crown of *England*.

IV. It may be dowbted, that to ſtaye the Progreſs of Religion, ageynſt the See of *Rome*, the Emperor, the King Catholicke, the Pope, and the Potentates in *Italy*, the Duke of *Savoye*, will rather conſpyre with the *French* King, than to ſuffer theis Two Monarchies to be joyned in one Manner of Religion. And in this Part may be doubted that many, aſwell *Scottes*, as *Engliſh*, that can lyke very well to have theſe Two Kingdomes perfectly knitt in Amytye, will not allowe them to be knitt in a lyke Religion.

That Yea.

I. Firſt, It is agreeable, both to the Law of God, and Nature, that every Prynce, and Publyck State, ſhuld defend it ſelf; not only from Perrills preſently ſene, but from Dangers that be probably ſene to come ſhortly after.

II. Secondly, Nature and Reaſon teacheth every Perſon, Politick, or other, to uſe the ſame Manner of Defence, that the Adverſary uſeth in Offence.

Uppon theis Two Prynciplees agreed will evidently follow, that *England* both maye, and ought to Ayde *Scotland* to kepe owt the *Frenche*.

1. Firſt, The Crowne of *England* hath a good Title to the Superiorety of *Scotland*; and owght to defend the Libertyes thereof, as Themperor is bound to defend the State of *Millane*, or of *Boheme*, being held of the Empyre. And to prove this Superiorety, remayne undowted Prooffes under Seale, of ſondry Homagees done to this Crowne by the Kings of *Scotland* ſucceſſyvely, Of their Acceſſes to the Parlements of *England*, Of the Epiſcopall Juriſdiction of the See of

of *York* over *Scotland*: In Conſideration wherof, if it may appere that the *French* meane to ſubdue *Scotland*, and ſo to exempt that Realme from the Amytye of *England*, it ſemeth that *England* is of Duety, and in Honour bound to preſerve the Realme of *Scotland* from ſuch an Abſolute Dominion of the *French*.

2. *Item*, Beſide this Intereſt that *England* hath in the Crowne of *Scotland*, for the quiet Poſſeſſion, wheras *France* hath onely by there Warres kept the Realme of *England* *. It is moſt manifeſt that *France* cannot any wiſe ſo redely, ſo puiſſantly, ſo eaſely, offend, yea, invade, and put the Crown of *England* in Daunger, as if they may recover an abſolute Authorite over *Scotland*: And before that be proved, it ſemeth not out of Order, though not very nedefull to make manifeſt that the *French* ar to be taken as Enemyes in Will, though not in manifeſt Words.

* A Word ſeems wanting; probably, *in Danger*.

How long Time they have bene Enemyes to *England*, how brickle, how falſe, how double ther Pacts of Peace have bene, the Storyes be Witneſſes, theis Seven Hondred Yeres. Was there ever King of *England*, with whom they have not made Warres? And now of late, uppon what Occaſion they made Peace with *Eugland*, is too manifeſt. It was by reaſon of Wearyneſs and Povertye, which was ſuch, as the late *French* King forboare not to expreſſe in his Letters to the Queen of *England*, mentioning the Invaſions made in *Bryttaine* by Sea. And indede this is to be received as a Principle, that *France* cannot be poor above One or Two Yeres, nether can ſo long be out of Wars. The Revenues of the *French* Crown, are Thyngs unknown: The Inſolency of the *French* Nation, being in Hope of Victory, is not unknown. The long old Hatred of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, which now occupyeth the Kyng's Authorite, agaynſt *England* hath been often well underſtood.

And to come nerer to the Matter; it is manifeſt many wayes what manner a Platt that Houſe hath made, to bereave the Queen's Majeſty of hir Crowne. In Queen *Mary*'s Tyme, the *French* did not let to divulge ther Opinions agaynſt this Lawful Title of the Queen's Majeſty; and as it was well knowen, had not Almighty God favored the Queen's Majeſty to come to the Crowne with ſuch univerſall Joy of hir People, the *French* had proclaimed ther Title both in *France* and *Scotland*.

And likewiſe in the Treaty of the Peace at *Chaſteau* in *Cambreſis*, it appeared what they would have compaſſed, when they preſſed the *Burgundians* to conclude with them, and over-paſs the Treaty with *England*; alledging, that they could not tell how to Treat with *England*, but to the Prejudice of ther Right; the Dauphineſs, his Daughter, then having Right to the Crown of *England*. How bold they wold have been, if at that tyme She had been Queen of *France*, and her Huſband King, as he now is? For then the Wiſdom of the Conſtable governed the Raſhneſs of the *Guiſians*.

Sence the Peace concluded, whileſt the *French* King lived, what Means they made at *Rome* to have made the Queen's Majeſty to be declared Illegitimate, is manifeſt; and ſo as it is known that the ſame Sentence is brought into *France*, under the Pope's Bulls. Likewiſe, at the Confirmation of the Peace betwixt *Spain* and *France*, at

the Solemnities even when the *French* King was ſlayne, it apperetht, what manifeſt Injurye and Diſhonour they did to the Queen's Majeſty, to aſſign the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* to the *French* Queen, and that in all their Pageants: And being admoniſhed thereof by the Ambaſſador, wold nether make Collorable Excuſe, nor leave it; but both continued therin,and alſo to deſpiſe the Queen's Majeſty's Ambaſſador,and Ratification of the Peace with the Stile. M. *Meulas* ſerv'd them with Silver Veſſell ſtamped with the ſame uſurped Armes, How lightly they have eſteemed the Queen's Majeſty, in all this Tyme appereth: For here they be bound by Treaty to deliver 4 Hoſtages, notwithſtanding that they have been preſſed therto, they have ſent but Three; wherof One or Two be ſuch, as if they had not been here; but whether the Queens Majeſtie had not ſuffered the Diſhonour, to have one of her Subjects murdered, and no Redreſs therof, but as it appered when they had committed the Murder, they diſdained, and quarrelled againſt ſuch as did but ſeke to underſtand the Offenders.

Now the very Cauſe why they ſtay the Proſecution hereof is this, their Interruption and Parboylls unlooked for in *Scotland*, which doth ſo occupy them as they nether can ne dare to utter ther former Malicioſe Purpoſe untill that be ended.

But ſurely beſid there old Cankered Malyce to this Realm, this Matter ſo inflameth the Houſe of *Guiſe*, that they will not forbear one Day longer than of mere neceſſity they ſhall be conſtreyned, to bord this Realm with that fayned Tytle, and to avance the ſame. It is knowen that they have ſent a great Seale into *Scotland* with the Armes, and very Stile and Title of *England* and *Ireland*, and what more manefeſt Arguments can be to ſhew what they mean and intend then theſe. In Princes Practices it is mere Childeſhneſs to tarry until the Practices be ſet abrode, for then were it as good to tarry till the Trumpet ſound Wars. All Things have there Cauſes precedeing before, but nothing hath his Cauſes precedeing more ſecretly than the Practices of Princeſs; and of all other none is ſo conning as the *French*.

It followeth to be conſidered, that now the *French* have no convenient way to Invade *England* but by *Scotland*; by *Carliſle* they were accuſtomed, by Sea is not ſo convenient for them, the ſame being too chargeable for them to aſſayle: Wherefore if it be ſene that they will perſue their Purpoſe and that by *Scotland*, then Reaſon muſt force *England*, to confeſs that to avoyde this Danger ſo apparant, can no way be deviſed, but to help that the *French* have not ſuch Rule and Overhand in *Scotland* as that they may by that Realm invade *England*.

Laſtly, It is to be conſidered how dangerouſe it is for *England* to be invaded by the way of *Scotland*.

Firſt, If the *French* ſhall preſent to *England* a Battle, either they will do it with Strangers, or *French* and Strangers: If they win, which God forbid, they put in hazard this Crown. And though they Leſe, yet do they not put there own Kingdom of *France* in Danger. And therefore it is double the Danger for *England*, to venter Battle upon the Frontiers of *England*, to a Battle upon the Marches of *Calais*, or *Bulloyneſs*. The

A Concluſion.

It ſeemeth the weightieſt Matter to be conſidered, that either hath, or can chance to *England*, What is preſently to be done for the Aid of *Scotland*: For if it ſhuld be nedefull the Delay will adventure the Whole: And if Loſs come, it is unrecoverable. Wherefore it were good that the Cauſe were well and ſecretly weighted: Firſt, by Diſcreet and Wiſe Men, that have Experience, affected to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſpecial Love to the Queens Majeſties Perſon; and that done, to ſend by ſome Colour for the Nobilitie, and to conſult with them, or ells to ſend ſome truſty Perſons with Credit to underſtand their Minds.

Number 55.

The Bond of Aſſociation, with this Title, Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Chriſt.

Copied from the Original at Hamilton.

AT *Edinburgh*, the Twintie ſeventh of *Apryll*, the Year of God Ane thouſand Fyve hundred Threeſcore Years: We whaes Names are underwritten, haif promittit and obliedged our ſelves faithfully, in the Preſence of our God, and be thir Preſents promitts, that we altogether in General, and every one of us in Special, be himſelf, with our Bodies, Goods, Friends, and all that we may do, ſall ſet forwart the Reformation of Religion, according to Goddes Worde; and procure, be all Means poſſible, that the true Preaching of Goddes Word, may haif free Paſſage within this Realme, with dew Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and all Thinges depending upon the ſaid Worde. And ſicklyke deiply weighing with our ſelves the Miſbehaviour of the *Franche* Miniſters heir, the intolerable Oppreſſions committed be the *Franchmen* of Weir, upon the puir Subjects of this Realme, be Meyntenance of the Queen Dowriare, under Collour and Pretence of Authority; the Tyranny of their Captains and Leaders, and manifeſt Danger of Conqueiſt, in whilk this Countrie preſently ſtands; be Reaſon of diverſe Fortifications on the Sea-Coaſt, and other Novelties of late attemptat be them; promitts that we ſall als weell every one with others, as altogether with the Queen of *England*'s Armie, preſently come in for our Deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking one fold and plain Part of the Expulſion of the ſaid Strayngars, Oppreſſors of our Liberty, furth of this Realme, and Recovery of our Ancient Freedomes and Liberties; to the end in Tyme coming, we may, under the Obedience

of

of our King and Queen our Soverains, be only Reulyt be the Laws and Cuſtomes of the Countrie, and by the Men of the Land: And that never any of us all haiff pryvy Intelligence, be Writing, or Meſſage, or Communication, with any of our ſaid Enemys or Adverſars in this Cauſe, bot be the Advyce of the reſt, at leiſt of Fyve of our Numbers: Attour, that we ſall tender this preſent Cauſe, as if it were the Cauſe of every one of us in particular; and that the Cauſe of every one of us now joyned rogether, being leiful and honeſt, ſhall be all our Cauſes in General. And he that is Enemy to the Cauſe forſaid, ſall be Enemy to us all: In ſo far, that whatſomever Perſon will plainly reſiſt thir our Godly Interpryſis, and will not concurr as ane guid Member of this Common Weill; we ſall fortify the Authority of the Counſell, to reduce them to their Deuty: Lyke as we ſall fortify the ſaid Authority of the Counſale, in all Things tending to the Furtherance of the ſaid Cauſe. And giff any particular Debate, Quarrell or Contraverſee ſall aryſe, for whatſomever Cauſe, bygain, preſent or to come, betwixt any of us; (as God forbid) in that Caſe, we ſall ſubmit our ſelves, and our ſaid Queſtions, to the Deciſion of the Counſale, or to Arbitrators, to be named be them. Provyding allwayes, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar Juriſdiction of Judges: But that Men may perſue their Actions by Ordour of Law, Civilly or Criminally, befor the Judges Ordinars, gif they pleaſe.

Number 56.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *ſetting forth the Progreſs that Superſtition had made in Queen* Mary's *Reign.*

Juellus ad Martyrem.
S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

TAndem tamen aliquando Londinum redij, confecto moleſtiſſimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortaſſe me, quòd nihil ſcriberem, putabas eſſe mortuum. Egò verò interea tres totos menſes longinqua, & perdifficili Legatione diſtinebar. Cum eſſem Briſtolij, redditæ mihi ſunt Literæ tuæ, quas ſecum Randolphus noſter adduxerat; ita amicè ſcriptæ, itaq; ſuaves, ut mihi omnem illam moleſtiam itinerum, atque occupationum prorſus exciperent ex Animo. Tanquam enim ſi præſens adfuiſſes, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias: Itaque ego miſer, privatus ſum bona parte ſuavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præſens præſenti verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidiſſe, video: Quas enim ego octavas dederam, eas video ad te vix quintas

perveniſſe. Sed de Legatione, inquies, illa veſtra quid tandem factum eſt? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos Multitudinis ſatis propenſos ad Religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictu eſt, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis, quanta ubique proruperit Seges, & Sylva Superſtitionum. Invenimus paſſim votivas Reliquias ſuperſtitioſas Divorum, clavos, quibus fatui Chriſtum confixum fuiſſe ſomniabant; &, neſcio quas, Portiunculas Sacræ Crucis. Magarum & veneficarum numerus ubique in immenſum excreverat. Eccleſiæ Cathedrales nihil aliud erant, quam ſpeluncæ latronum, aut ſi quid nequius, aut fædius dici poteſt. Si quid erat obſtinatæ malitiæ, id totum erat in Preſbyteris, illis præſertim, qui aliquando ſteriſſent à noſtra Sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parùm conſideratè videantur mutâſſe voluntatem, turbant omnia: Sed turbent, quantum velint. Nos tamen interim, illos de gradu, & de Sacerdotiis exturbavimus. Hardingus, Homo conſtans, locum mutare maluit, quàm ſententiam. Sidallus ſubſripſit quidem, ſed conſtanter; hoc eſt, per invitus. Smithæus autem tuus; quid ille? inquies. An poteſt à Nazareth quicquam proficiſci boni? Mihi crede, ut veterem illam ſuam Conſtantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret Religionem eſſe immutatam, mutata veſte, ſtatim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam. Sed cum hæreret in finibus, captus eſt, & retractus ex itinere. Ibi ſtatim Homo gravis, & Columen atque Antiſtes Religionis, acceſſit ad nos, reliquit omnes ſuos, & repentè factus eſt Adverſarius infeſtiſſimus Papiſtarum. I nunc, & nega Tranſubſtantiationem. Papiſtarum acies penè ſua ſponte ceciderunt. O, niſi nobis deeſſet operæ, non malè de Religione ſperari poſſet. Difficile enim eſt cutrum agere ſine jumento, præſertim adverſo monte. Heri, ubi primùm Londinum redij, audivi ex Epiſcopo Cantuarienſi, te invitari ad nos, & tibi Lectionem illam tuam veterem aſſervari. Quid ſit, neſcio: Hoc tantum poſſum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum eſſe, qui Oxonij doceat ſacras Literas. Equidem te, mi Pater, videre percupio, & præſertim in Anglia. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam Prudentiam: Nôſti Genium, & Ingenium Inſularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus, eſſe inchoata, utinam ſint boni Principia. Nihil eſt hodie illâ Scholâ deſperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi eſſes, penè luſiſſe operam: Ita in lætiſſima aliquando Segite, nunc infælix Lollium, & ſteriles dominantur avenæ. Liber tuus de Votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidiſſimè diſtrahitur. Omnes nunc expectamus, quàm mox editurus ſis alias Commentationes in Librum Judicum, & in duos Libros Samuelis. Omnes enim nunc noſtri ſciunt, te illos Libros habere præ manibus, & velle edere. Suecus, & Carolus Ferdinandi F. mirificiſſimè ambiunt. Sed Suecus impenſè: Ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortaſſe Thalamos propiores cogitat. Alanus noſter obiit diem ſuum, poſtquam deſignatus eſſet Epiſcopus Roffenſis. Ex Scotiâ hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi poſſit videre novum. Docetur Evangelium, Eccleſiæ aſſiduè colliguntur, & omnia priſcæ Superſtitionis Monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamenſperant, ſepoſſe & Regnum, & Religionem re-

tinere. Quicquid futurum eſt, ſcribam ad te aliàs pluribus. Inſtat nunc Annus ſexageſimus, de quô mihi tu ſolebas aliquando ex Torquato quodam Stato, neſcio quæ, mirifica prædicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum & ſolidum Gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando Orbi terrarum patefiat ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπωλείας, & in omnium oculos incurrat Evangelij Jeſu Chriſti Veritas. Vale, mi Pater, & Uxorem tuam meis verbis reſaluta, Mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, ſed nunc ex tuis Literis, & Abeli noſtri Prædicatione, notiſſimam. Gratulor & te illi, & illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenſhamum meum longum valere jubeo. Puto enim illum jam ſolviſſe à vobis, & eſſe cum Chriſto. Omnes noſtri te ſalutant, tibique omnia precantur. Londini, 2 Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex Animo,

Jo. Juellus.

D. Etonus inſtantiſſimè rogavit, ut te ſuo Nomine ſalutarem. Si poſſet ipſe Latinè ſcribere, non uteretur manu mea. Crede mihi, Nemo de te aut ſæpius, aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus Salutem, & tibi dicit, & Uxori tuæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiſſimo atque Ornatiſſimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti Sacras Scripturas in Eccleſia Tigurina.

Number 57.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *concerning the Earneſtneſs of ſome about Veſtments and Rituals.*

Idem ad Eundem.

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

BIduo, poſtquam ex longo & perdifficili itinere rediiſſem, & laſſus de via, atq; anhelans, neſcio quid, ad te ſcripſiſſem, redditæ mihi ſunt à te literæ ternæ eodem tempore: Quarum ſuaviſſimâ lectione ita ſum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam ſuperiorum dierum moleſtiam prorſus abjecerim ex animo. Etſi enim quoties de te cogito, quod certò aſſiduè, & in ſingulas Horas facio, & niſi facerem,

rem, ingratus eſſem, ipſa cogitatione, & memoriâ tui nominis perfundor gaudio, tamen cum literas tuas ad me ſcriptas lego videor mihi eſſe Tiguri, & te videre coram, & tecum amæniſſimè colloqui: Quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æſtimo, quam omnes opes Epiſcoporum. De Religione quod ſcribis, & veſte ſcenica, ô utinam id impetrari potuiſſet. Nos quidem tam bonæ cauſæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus iſta tantoperè placuerunt, credo, ſequuti ſunt inſcitiam preſbyterorum: Quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant eſſe, quam ſtipites, ſine ingenio, ſine doctrina, ſine moribus, veſte ſaltem comica volabant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, & ſurrogetur ſeges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, ô Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura ſuſcipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non poſſunt, iſtis ludicris ineptiis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem iſtæ, ut tu optimè ſcribis reliquiæ Amorehæorum. Quis enim id neget? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri, & extirpari poſſint, noſtræ quidam nec vices ad eam rem, nec voces deerunt. Quod ſcribis eſſe quoſdam, qui nullam adhuc ſignificationem dederint ſuæ erga te voluntatis, ſubolfacio equidem quos dicas. Sed, mihi crede, non ſunt eo numero, aut loco, quô tu fortaſſe putas, quoque omnis Iſrael illos ſperabat fore. Nam ſi eſſent. Non ſcripſerunt hactenus ad te, non quòd noluerint, aut tui obliti fuerint, ſed quòd puduerit ſcribere, nunc uterque laborat graviſſimè, è quartana, ſed Ἀρχιμάγειρος, quoniam eſt naturâ triſtiori, multò graviùs. Ingemuiſti, pro tua erga communem cauſam pietate, cùm audires nihil proſpectum eſſe cuiquam noſtrum. Nunc ergo rurſus ingeme. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos Epiſcoporum, & à Scoto, & Thoma defecimus ad Occamiſtas & Nominales. Sed, ut ſcis, magna ſunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipſa & cauſæ favet, & nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etſi ſatis dura ſunt iſta initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec deſinimus ſperare lætiora. Facilè intereunt, quæ facilè maturitatem aſſequuntur. De Libro tuo, memini me, antequam diſcederem Londino, ad te ſcripſiſſe pluribus. Sed illæ literæ fortaſſe, ut fit, perierein itinere. Hoc etiam adſcripſi, Reginam ultrò & cupidè legiſſe, Epiſtolam, & apud ipſam, atq; in univerſum doctrinam, atque ingenium tuum mirificè prædicaſſe? Librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis tanti fieri, quanti haud ſcio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere. Nihil autem tibi hactenus donatum eſſe, hei mihi, quod ego dicam? Pudet me, nec ſcio, quid reſpondeam. Tamen Regina ſedulò ſciſcitata eſt nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, quâ valetudine, quâ conditione eſſes, an poſſes per ætatem iter facerè. Omninò velle ſe omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam, ut, qui tua voce coluiſſes Academiam, eandem nunc diſſipatam, & miſerè habitam eadem voce irrigares. Poſtea tamen, neſcio quo pacto, Deliberationes Saxonicæ, & Legationes Seguilianæ iſta Conſilia peremerunt. Tamen quiquid eſt, nihil eſt hoc tempore celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem invitari, & propediem venturum eſſe in Anglam. ô Utinam res noſtræ aliquando ſtabilitatem aliquam, & robur aſſequantur. Cupio enim, mi Pater, te videre, & ſuaviſſimis Sermonibus, & amiciſſimis Conſiliis tuis frui. Quem ego diem ſi videro, vel potius, uti ſpero, ubi videro quas Samarabrinas, aut Sariſburias non contemnam? Vale dulce decus meum, atque animi pluſquam dimidium mei. Salu-

ta uxorem tuam optimam mulierem meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut fæliciter pariat, & pulchra faciat te prole Parentem. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, Julium, Juliam, & Martyrillum, D. Hermanum tuum, meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant. Londini 5 Novemb. 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus,

Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras literas in Schola Tigurinâ Domino suo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 58.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *full of Apprehensions.*

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

S. P.

ETSI ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, & hoc tempore nihil hic sit, quod tu magnopere scire velis, tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum, nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuntium, quem fortè audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem à me dimittere. Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissimè. In ceremoniis & larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Cruciula illa argenteola malè nata, malè auspicata, adhuc stat in larario Principis. Me miserum: Res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri. Idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligentur, & adhuc damus operam. Sed jam quantum video conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri, nimisq; mysticè. Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. Ἵπποι βεβαδύποδες morantur currum. Cæcilius causæ nostræ impensè favit. Episcopi adhuc designati tantùm sunt: Interim prædia pulchrè augent fiscum.

fiſcum. Academia utraque, & ea præſertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctiſſimè atq; optime coluiſti, miſerrimè nunc diſjecta jacet, ſine Pietate, ſine Religione, ſine Doctore, ſine ſpe ulla Literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii, & tibi non ignoti viri, & te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accerſitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, ſi quis alius mortalium, & animo, atq; unicè cupio, author ſum, ut ſi voceris, quod tamen inter iſta arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego Prudentiam tuam: Et tu viciſſim, ſpero, Obſervantiam erga te meum. Equidem hoc poſſum verè affirmare, neminem eſſe Hominem, cui conſpectus tuus jucundior futurus ſit; quam mihi. Tamen, ut ſunt res noſtræ fluxæ, incertæ, inſtabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, inſulares, magis te ſalvum audire abſentem cupio, quàm præſentem videre cum periculo. Sed iſta parùm opportunè. Literas enim ſilere æquum eſt inter arma. Nos terra mariq; juvamus vicinum Scotum. Nôſti enim, Tùm tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet. Gallum adventurum aiunt cum omnibus copiis. Et fortaſsè non minoribus excipietur. Londini 16 Novemb. 1559.

Jo. Fuellus,
Totus tuus.

Iſtæ ſunt Nonæ.

INSCRIPTIO,

Ornatiſſimo & longé Doctiſſimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti Sacras Scripturas in Schola Tigurina, Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 59.

The Queen's Letter to the Emperor, concerning her Averſion to Marriage.

An Original.

NOS, in ipſius animi noſtri ſenſus diligentur inquirendo, non Invenimus in nobis Voluntatem ullam deferendi hanc Solitariam Vitam, ſed potiùs, juvante Deo, libentem animi Inductionem in eadem diùtius porro vita perſeverandi: nos certè neceſſario ab eam ipſam cauſam eo in his literis utemur ſermone, qui cum corde noſtro omnino conſentiat, quem ut amanter accipiet, & benevale interpretetur veſtra *Paper-Office.*

veſtra Majeſtas, admodum rogamus. In quo noſtro ſermone, ſi novum aliquid ineſſe videatur, quod facile poteſt accidere, ſi ætas noſtra cum reliquis conditionis noſtræ rationibus conſideretur. Nullum tamen nos novum hoc tempore, aut ſubitum Conſilium ſuſcipere, ſed vetus potius retinere videri jure debemus; cum tempus quidem fuit, quo tempore conſenſiſſe ad præclar ſane & honorata Connubia eripere nos potuiſſet, è certis quibuſdam magnis mæroribus & periculis: De quibus rebus non amplius dicemus; nos tamen nec diſcriminis mala, nec libertatis cupiditate moveri potuimus, ut animi noſtri Voluntatem ullo modo ad eam rem adduceremus. Itaque haud voluimus, vel aperte recuſando videri, Veſtram Majeſtatem offendere, vel contra, occaſionem dando id verbis concedere, quod mente & voluntate non inſtituimus.

5 Januarii, 1559.

Veſtræ Majeſtatis bona Soror

& Conſanguinea,

ELISABETHA R.

R. Aſcamus.

Number 60.

A Letter of Biſhop Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr, *concerning the Croſs in the Queen's Chapel.*

Ejuſdem ad Eundem.

S. P.

O Mi Pater, quid ego ad ſcribam? Rei non multùm eſt, temporis verò multò minùs; ſed quoniam te ſcio delectari brevitate, te authore ſcribam brevius. Nunc ardet Lis illa Crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui ſapere aliquid videbantur, inſaniunt. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum, nullus eſt. Craſtino die inſtituetur de ea re Diſputatio. Arbitri erunt è Senatu ſelecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuarienſis & Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinenſis Epiſcopus, & ego. Eventus ἐν κειτῶν γένασι κείται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi, & quàm gravibus, ac ſolidis rationibus defenſuri ſint ſuam Cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, ſcribam poſthac pluribus. Nunc enim ſub judice lis eſt; tamen quantum auguror, non ſcribam poſthac ad te Epiſcopus. Eò enim jam res

pervenit,

pervenit, ut aut Cruces argenteæ & ſtanneæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, reſtituendæ ſint, aut Epiſcopatus relinquendi.

Sed quid ago? deſtituor tempore, & obruor negotiis, & invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc ſcire debes, Vitum, amicum tuum ſummum, & popularem Epiſcopum Vintonienſem, & Oglethorpum Carliolenſem, & Bainum Litchfildenſem, & Tonſtallum Saturnum Dunelmenſem, ante aliquot dies eſſe mortuos. Samſonus ruri agit longè gentium; Parkurſtus in Regno ſuo. Itaque mirum videri non debet, ſi ad vos ſcribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæſo, Reverendiſſimum Patrem D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Wolphium, D. Hermannum, & Julium: Ad quos ego omnes libenter ſcriberem hoc tempore, ſi eſſet otium. Saluta optimam illam Mulierem, Uxorem tuam, & Annam, & Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scoræus, Falconerus, Elmenus, te ſalutant, & cùm tibi omnia cupiunt, nihil magis cupiunt, quàm Angliam. Quanquam, ut adhuc ſunt Res noſtræ, crede mihi, pulchrum eſt eſſe Tiguri. Benè vale, mi Pater, benè vale. Londini, 4 Februarij 1560.

Tibi Deditiſſimus,

Jo. Juellus tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiſſimo Viro D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, profitenti Sacras Literas in Schola Tigurina, Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 61.

A Letter of Biſhop Sands, *expreſſing the Uneaſineſs he was in, by Reaſon of the Idol in the Queen's Chapel.*

Edwinus Wigornenſis ad Martyrem.

Salutem in Chriſto.

QUod nullas tam diu, Vir Reverende, Literas ad te dederim, non officij quidem erga te mei oblitus, aut quid tua de me mereatur Humanitas leviter perpendens, id feci, ſed negotiorum multitudine obrutus, ſcribendi munus pro tempore invitus intermiſi, quòd cum *Ex MSS. Tigur.*

Tabellarij jam ſeſe offert opportunitas, diutius differendum non cenſeo. Sub Auguſti initium, cum Literas ad te dediſſem, in partes Angliæ boreales, ad abuſus Eccleſiæ tollendas, & Ritus Pietati & veræ Religioni conſonantes, eidem reſtituendos, tanquam Inſpector & Viſitator, ut vocant, cum Principis Mandato dimiſſus; & illic ad Novembris uſque initium, aſſiduè in obeundo quod mihi creditum erat munere, non ſine maximis cum Corporis tum Animi Laboribus verſatus, Londinum tandem redij. Ubi novæ rurſus Curæ advenientem acceperunt, majorque negotiorum moles humeros premebat: Opera enim mea in Epiſcopatu Wigornienſi adminiſtrando à Principe requirebatur, tandemque reluctanti, Epiſcopi munus imponitur. Volui quidem ut antea Carliolenſem, ad quem nominatus eram, hunc etiam Epiſcopatum omnino recuſare; at id non licuit, niſi & Principis Indignationem mihi procurare, & Chriſti Eccleſiam quodammodo deſerere voluiſſem. Sub hac, Literas tuas, omni humanitate pleniſſimas, Burcherus mihi tradidit; quibus, per eundem, quum hinc diſcederet, reſpondere diſtuli; partim, quod Res Anglicæ tum temporis non ita mutatæ, ſed in eodem quaſi gradu conſiſtentes, exiguam ſcribendi materiam ſuppeditabant; partim verò, quod novum illud Onus (ſic enim verius quam Honos dici poteſt) novis Curis & Negotiis me mirum in modum diſtrahebat. En diuturni Silentij mei cauſam habes, Vir plurimùm obſervande. Euchariſtiæ Doctrina hactenus Dei Beneficio non impugnata, nobis ſalva & incolumis manet, manſuramq; ſperamus. Pro viribus enim & ipſe, & alij Fratres Co-epiſcopi, illam quoad vixerimus, Deo juvante tuebimur. De Imaginibus, jampridem nonnihil erat Controverſiæ. R. Majeſtas, non alienum eſſe à Verbo Dei, immò in commodum Eccleſiæ fore putabat, ſi Imago Chriſti crucifixi, unà cum Maria & Joanne, ut tales, in celebriori Eccleſiæ loco poneretur, ubi ab omni Populo facillimè conſpiceretur. Quidem ex nobis longè aliter judicabant; præſertim cum omnes omnis generis Imagines, in proxima noſtra Viſitatione, idque publica Authoritate, non ſolùm ſublatæ, verumetiam combuſtæ erant: Cumque huic Idolo, præ cæteris, ab ignara & ſuperſtitioſa plebe Adoratio ſolet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementior eram in iſta re, nec ullo modo conſentire poteram, ut lapſus Occaſio Eccleſiæ Chriſti daretur; non multum aberat, quin & ab Officio amoverer, & Principis Indignationem incurrerem. At Deus, in cujus manu Corda ſunt Regum, pro Tempeſtate Tranquillitatem dedit, & Eccleſiam Anglicanam ab hujuſmodi offendiculis liberavit: tantum manent in Eccleſia noſtra Veſtimenta illa Papiſtica, Capas intellige, quas diu non duraturas ſperamus. Quantum, ex eo quod te tuaque præſentia jam deſtituitur, Anglia detrimenti capiat, hic Eccleſiæ & Religionis negotium, diligenter & ſæpiſſimè apud eos, quibus Reipublicæ Cura imminet, commemorare ſoleo. Neſcio tamen quomodo animis eorum, in alias res graviſſimas intentis, nihil hactenus de te accerſendo ſtatutum video. Semel ſat ſcio Reginæ in animo fuit, ut te vocaret: Quid verò impedivit, puto te facilè ex te colligere poſſe. Cauſa Chriſti multos ſemper habet adverſarios; & qui optimi ſunt, peſſimè ſemper audiunt. Sacramentum illud Unitatis, magnas facit hodie diviſiones. Novum tibi Conjugium gratulor: Precor ut fælix fauſtumque ſit; quemadmodum & mihi

mihi ipſi opto, qui eam Conjugij Legem nuper ſubij. Mirus hic belli apparatus eſt, partim ad propulſandam Gallorum vim, ſi fortè dum Scotiam ſibi ſubjugare conentur, noſtras fines invaſerint, partim ad auxilium Scotis contra Gallos ferendum, ſicubi Pacis fœdus nobiſcum initum violaverint Galli. Det Deus, ut omnia in Nominis ſui Gloriam, & Evangelij Propagationem cedant. Hæc priuſquam me Wigorniam recipiam, quo brevi profecturum me ſpero, Literis tibi ſignificanda duxi. Fuſius verò ſcripſiſſem, niſi quod ſciam Fratrem noſtrum Juellum, Epiſcopum Sariſburienſem, ſæpe & diligenter de rebus noſtris omnibus te certiorem facturum. Si qua in re tibi gratificari queam, crede mihi, mi Honorande Petre, me ſemper uteris quoad vixero; immò etiam poſt Vitam, ſi fieri poteſt, pro arbitratu tuo.

Saluta quæſo plurimùm meo nomine, Clariſſimum Virum D. Bullingerum. Debeo ipſi Literas, imò omnia ipſi debeo; & tantum ſolvam quantum poſſim, ſi quando offerat ſeſe Occaſio. Saluta Uxorem tuam, Julium cum Julia, D. Hermannum, Paulum & Martyrillum meum; quibus omnibus omnia fælicia precor. Vale, Humaniſſime, Doctiſſime, ac Colendiſſime D. Petre. Londini, feſtinanter, Aprilis primo 1560.

Tuus ex Animo,

Edwinus Wigornenſis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clariſſimo ac Doctiſſimo Viro, D. Doctore Petro Martyri, Domino ſuo plurimùm Colendo.

Tiguri.

Number 62.

A Letter of Dr. Sampſon's *to* Peter Martyr, *ſetting forth his Reaſons of not Accepting a Biſhoprick.*

Idem ad Eundem.

Argent. Dec. 17.

EGo te per Chriſtum rogo, mi Pater optime, ne graveris mihi quàm citiſſimè reſpondere ad hæc pauca. Quomodo nobis agendum ſit in Titulo illo, vel concedendo, vel denegando. Supremum *Ex* MSS. *Tigur.*

Caput poſt Chriſtum Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, &c. Univerſa Scriptura videtur hoc ſoli Chriſto tribuere, ut Caput Eccleſiæ vocetur. Secundò, Si Regina me ad aliquod Munus Eccleſiaſticum, dico, ad Eccleſiam aliquam regendam vocaret; an ſalva Conſcientia recipere poſſum, quum hæc mihi videantur ſufficere excuſationis loco, ne in id conſentirem. 1. Quod propter Diſciplinæ Eccleſiaſticæ defectum, Epiſcopus, vel Paſtor, non poſſit ſuo fungi Officio. 2. Quod tot ſint civilia Gravamina, Epiſcopatui, vel Paſtori impoſita, ut puta, primorum (ut dicimus) Frugum, i. e. Redituum primi Anni, tum Decimarum, ad hæc in Epiſcopatibus tot & tanta, inſumenda ſunt in equis alendis, in armis, in aulicis, quæ ſemper præſtò debent eſſe; & ut tu nôſti, ut quam minima pars Epiſcopatuum relinquitur, ad neceſſaria Epiſcopo munia obeunda, nempe ad Doctos alendos, ad Pauperes paſcendos, aliaque facienda quæ illius Miniſterium reddant gratum. 3. Ut hoc ad Epiſcopos præcipuè referatur, quod nunc ſcribo, tanta eſt in eorum electione degeneratio à primâ Inſtitutione, neque Cleri enim, neque Populi conſenſus habetur, tanta ſuperſtitioſi ornatus Epiſcopalis vanitas, ne dicam indignitas, quanta vix puto benè ferri poſſit, ſi modo omnia nobis facienda ad id quod expedit. Quod ad me attinet, non hæc ſcribo quaſi talia ſperarem; immò Deum precor ex animo, ne unquam talia mihi contingant onera; ſed à te fidiſſimo meo Parente conſilium peto, quo poſſim Inſtructior eſſe, ſi talia mihi obtingant. Ego ſic reſponderem, Me quidem paratum eſſe in aliquo quocunque velit illa, inſervire Concionandi munere, cæterum Eccleſiam Regendam me non poſſe ſuſcipere, niſi ipſa prius juſta Reformatione Eccleſiaſticorum munerum, facta, Miniſtris Jus concedat omnia ſecundùm Verbum Dei adminiſtrandi, & quantum ad Doctrinam, & quantum ad Diſciplinam, & quantum ad bona Eccleſiaſtica. Si autem quæ ſit illa Reformatio, quam peto, interrogetur; ex prioribus tribus Articulis, poteris tu conjicere, quæ ego petenda putem. Simpliciter, mi Pater, apud te ſolum depono Cordis mei ſecreta; teque per Chriſtum rogo, ut mea ſecretò apud te ſolum teneas, & mihi quam citiſſime reſcribas, quid mihi hic faciendum putes: Adde etiam quæ addenda putas, ut urgeatur illa Reformatio, & aliquid de ipſa Reformatione. Literas tuas ad Hetonum mitte: Ille curabit ad me transferri. Cæterùm, te per Chriſtum rogo, ut quanta poteris feſtinantia ſcribas. Ego brevi iturus ſum verſus Angliam. Habemus Papiſtas, Anabaptiſtas, & plurimos Evangelicos Adverſarios, & Doctrinæ & piæ Reformationi: Contra hos, ut tueatur, Gloriam Chriſti, promoveatque Vexillum Chriſti, quis idoneus? O mi Pater, pro me roga Deum inceſſanter.

Tuus totus,

Th. Sampſon.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clariſſimo Viro, D. D.
Petro Martyri.
Tiguri.

Number

Number 63.

A Second Letter of Sampſon's, *expreſſing great Uneaſineſs that Matters were not carried on as he wiſhed.*

Idem ad Eundem.

QUas ſcripſiſti Literas quarto Novembris, accepi tertio Januarij. Jam unum Annum egi in Anglia, non ita quietum; vereor autem, ne ſequens Annus plus moleſtiarum mihi pariat. Non tamen ſolus timeo mihi, ſed omnes nobis timemus. Nec tamen audeo ſcriptis mandare, quæ imminere nobis videntur mala. Vos ergo Sanctiſſimi Patres, Teque imprimis, D. Petre, Pater & Præceptor Chariſſime, per Jeſum Chriſtum obteſtor, ut ſtrenuè Deum deprecari velitis: Hoc, hoc, inquam, contendite, ne Veritas Evangelij vel obfuſcetur, vel evertatur apud Anglos. Gratias tibi ago, ſuaviſſime Pater, quod tam ſis diligens in ſcribendo. Satisfeciſti tu, ſatisfecit &. D. Bullingerus mihi, in Quæſtionibus; utriſque immortalis Deus noſter rependat. Conſecratio Epiſcoporum aliquorum jam habita eſt: D. Parkerus Cantuarienſis, D. Cox Elienſis, D. Grindall Londinenſis, D. Sands Vigornienſis, notos tibi nomino: Unus alius, Wallus, etiam eſt Epiſcopus, ſed tibi ignotus. Sequentur brevi, D. Pylkyntonus Vintonienſis, D. Benthamus Coventrenſis, & tuus Juellus Sariſburienſis, brevi, inquam, ut audio, ſunt iſti conſecrandi, (ut noſtro utar vocabulo.) Ego in limine hæreo, neque enim vel egreſſus, vel ingreſſus datur. O quam vellem egredi. Deus ipſe novit, quam hoc aveam. Epiſcopi ſint alij; ego vellem aut Concionatoris ſolius, aut nullius munus ſubire: Domini fiat Voluntas. O mi Pater, quid ego ſperem, cum exulet ex Aula Verbi Miniſterium; admittatur autem Crucifixi Imago, cum accenſis Luminaribus. Altaria quidem ſunt diruta, & Imagines per totum Regnum. In ſola Aula, Crucifixi Imago cum Candelis retinetur. Et miſer Popellus id non ſolùm libenter audit, ſed & ſponte imitabitur. Quid ego ſperem, ubi tres ex Novitiis noſtris Epiſcopis, unus veluti ſacer Miniſter, ſecundus loco Diaconi, tertius Subdiaconi loco, Menſæ Domini aſtabunt, coram Imagine Crucifixi, vel certè non procul ſito Idolo, cum Candelis, ornati aureis Veſtibus Papiſticis, ſicque ſacram Domini Cænam porrigebant, ſine ulla Concione? Quæ ſpes boni, cùm à multis iſtis Idololatriæ Reliquiis Religionem noſtri petere volunt, & non à viva Dei Voce ſonante? Quid ſperem ego, cum concionaturis injungi debeat, ne Vitia aſperè tangantur; cum Concionatores, ſi quid dicant quod diſpliceat, non ferendi putantur. Sed quo me capit æſtus iſte animi, ſilendum eſt: Vix capita noſtræ imminentis Miſeriæ tetigi. Deus æterne, noſtri miſere, per Chriſtum Deum & Salvatorem noſtrum. Unicam hanc à vobis Quæſtionem proponam ſolvendam: Mi Pater, te volo uti Mediatore apud D. Bullingerum, & D. Bernardinum. Hæc eſt: Num Imago Crucifixi, cuin accenſis Candelis, in Menſa Domini poſita, num, inquam, ſit inter Adiaphora

Ex MSS. Tigur.

ponenda. Si non ſit, ſed pro re illicita & nefaria ducenda, tum hoc quæro, ſi Princeps ita injungat omnibus Epiſcopis & Paſtoribus, ut vel admittant in ſuas Eccleſias imaginem cum candelis, vel Miniſterio Verbi cedant, quid hic faciendum ſit? Annon potius deferendum Miniſterium Verbi & Sacramentorum ſit, quam ut hæ Reliquiæ Amoræorum admittantur? Certè vident nonnulli ex noſtris aliquo modo huc inclinare, ut hæc pro Adiaphoris accipi vellent. Ego omnino puto, potius abdicandum Miniſterium, ſi modo id injungatur. Jam te rogo, mi Pater, tuas hic partes unica vice age; hoc eſt, ut quàm diligentiſſimè & citiſſimè me certiorem facias, quid veſtra pietas hic cenſet, quæque ſit omnium veſtrum ſententia tui, inquam D. Bullingerim, & D. Bernardin. Hujus Authoritas, ut audio, maxima eſt apud Reginam. Quod vellet aliquando ſcribere, hortatum illam, ut ſtrenuè agat in Chriſti negotio: Teſtor ex animo, quod certè ſciam (fidenter dico) quod verè Filia Dei ſit. Opus tamen habet ejuſmodi Conſiliariis qualis ille eſt: nam quod Auguſtinus Bonifacio dixit, id ferè in omnibus Principibus verum eſt; nempe, quòd plures habeant qui Corpori, paucos qui Animæ conſulent. Quod autem ab illo contendo vellem, & à vobis petere ſi auderem. Ego tamen hac in re veſtræ me ſubjicio prudentiæ. Callet ut nôſti Linguam Italicam, Latinè & Græcè etiam benè docta eſt. In his linguis ſi âliud ſcribatur à vobis, vel à Domino Bernardino, omnino puto rem gratiſſimam vos facturos Regiæ Majeſtati, & operam navaturos Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ utiliſſimam. Deus vos ſpiritu ſuo ducat in perpetuum. Benè vale; Et reſcribe unica hac vice quàm poteris feſtinanter. Saluta meo nomine officioſiſſimè D. Bullingerum, tuamq; uxorem. Saluta Julium. Quæ jam ſcripſi, tantùm apud D. Bullingerum & D. Bernardinum promas. Nollem enim ego rumores ſpargi meo nomine. Imò nec hoc vobis ſcriberem, niſi ſperarem aliquid inde boni eventurum. Forſan vel ſcribetis (ut dixi) vel ſaltem bonum mihi dabitis conſilium in propoſita Quæſtione. Agite vos pro veſtra pia prudentia. Iterum vale. Raptim. 6. Januar.

Tuus ex Animo,

Tho. Sampſon.

Si quid ſcribatur Regi Majeſtati, vel à te vel à Domino Bernardino, vel D. Bullingero, non quaſi vos ab alio incitati fueritis ſcribendum, ut vos melius noſtis, &c. Salutat te ex animo noſter Chamberus. Mea Uxor quartana vexatur. Giana bene valet. Puto etiam Hetonum cum ſua bene valere. Rure ago inter Ruſticos, Chriſtum pro meo modulo tractans. Tu pro me Deum roga. Literas tuas Sprengiamus, vel Abelus ad me perferri curabit.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clariſſimo Theologo D. Petro Martyri, Sacrarum Literarum Profeſſori Fideliſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number

Number 64.

Archbiſhop Parker's *Letter to Secretary* Cecil, *preſſing the filling the Sees of* York *and* Dureſme *then vacant.*

An Original.

AFter Salutations in Chriſt to your Honore, This ſhal be inſtantly to deſire you to make Requeſt to the Queen's Majeſtie, that ſome Biſhops myght be appoynted in the *North*: you wold not beleve me to tell howe often it is requyred at dyverſe Men's Hands, an howe the Peple there is offended that thei be nothing caryd for: Alaſſe ther be Peple rude of ther owne Nature, and the more ſad nede to be loked to, for reteyning thoſe in quyet and cyvilitie. I feare that whatſoever is nowe to huſbondly ſaved, wil be an occaſion of furder Expence in keeping them down, yf (as God forfend) ther ſhuld be to much *Iryſhe* and Savage. Paradventure, *Terence* councelleth not a myſſe, *pecuniam in loco negligare ſummum interdum lucrum.* I know the Queen's Highnes Diſpoſition to be graciouſly bent to have her Peple to know and fear God; why ſhuld other hynder her good Zeale for Mony ſake as yt is moſt commonly judged. If ſuch as have ben named to *Yorke* and *Dureſme*, be not acceptable, or of themſelfes not inclyned to be beſtowed ther, I wold wiſhe that ſome ſuch as be placed already, wer tranſlated thither. And in myn Opynion, yf you wold have a Lauſier at *Yorke*, the Biſhop of St. *David*'s, Dr. *Yonge*, is both Wytty, Prudent, and Temperate, and Man like. *Paper-Office.*

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* were well beſtowed at *Duriſme* nye to his own Contrye, wher tho ther ij Biſhopryks might be more eaſily provided for, and leſſe Inconvenience, though they for a Tyme ſtood voyde: And if to the Deanry of *Duriſme*, to joyne with him wer Mr. *Skynner* apoynted, whom I eſteem Learned, Wiſe, and Expert. I think you cowd not better place them; nowe yf eyther of them, or any of us all ſhall be feared to hurt the State of our Churches, by exerciſing any extraordinarye Practiſing, for Packing and Purchaſing; this Feare myght ſure be prevented. We have Olde Preſidents in Lawe practiſed in Tymes paſt, for ſuch Parties ſuſpected to be bownd at their Entrye to leave ther Churches in no worſe Caſe by ther defauts then thei fownd them, and then what wold you have more of us. I have a fortyme weryed you in this Sute, and yet I ſee theſe ſtrange Delayes determyned. I ſhal not ceaſe to trouble your therin: If ye here me not for Juſtyce ſake, for the Zeale ye muſt beare to Chriſtes Deare Soulys, Importunyte ſhall wynne one Day I dout not: For I ſee yt hath obtained even a *Judicibus iniquis quarto magis a miſericordibus:* Thus concluding, I ſhall offer my

my Prayer to God that ye may fynd Grace in your Sollicitations to the Queen's Majestie for the Comfort of her Peple, and Discharge of her own Soule. At *Lambeth* this 16th of *October*.

Your to my uttermost Power,

Mathew Cantuar.

Number 65.

A Letter of Bishop Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr *concerning the Council of* Trent, *the Lord* Darly's *going to* Scotland, *with an Account of his Mother.*

Idem ad Eundem.

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

SAlutem plur. in Christo. Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt Literæ tuæ, mi Pater, non solum quod essent à te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt gratissima, verumetiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Gallia Religionis luculentissimè describerent: Quòdq; ego me, cùm eas legerem, & te ita propè abesse scirem, propius etiam aliquantò te audire, & propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, & nuntiis adferebantur, tamen & certiores, & multò etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod à te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quòd scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle Mutationem in Religione aliquam fieri, non tam studiô & amore pietatis, quàm quòd Papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodq; non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri; quicquid est, quacunq; causa ista fiant, modò prædicatur Christus, εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε αλεθεία, καὶ ἐν τοῦτῳ Καίρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καρήβειναι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multùm & Evangelium promoverit, & adversarios adflixerit. Quod autem scribis, Interim quoddam à quibusdam, & Farraginem Religionis quæri, Deus id avertat: Scio omnes in Republ. magnas mutationes odiosas & graves esse: Et multa sæpè à Principibus, temporis causâ, tollerari. Atq; illud fortasse ab initio non fuit incommodum. Nunc verò, postquam erupit Lux omnis Evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utq; aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista λινοστολία, obtinere potuissemus: Nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum resecavimus, & ne unguem quidem latum absumus à doctrina vestra. De ubiquitate enim nihil est periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt.

Apud

Apud nos, de Religione omnia ſunt pacata. Epiſcopi Mariani ſervant Turrim, & antiquum obtinent. Quod ſi Leges æquè nunc vigerent, atq; olim, ſub Henrico, facilè ſuccumberent. Eſt Genus Hominum contumax & indomitum : Ferro tamen & metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper Apologiam de mutata Religione, & Diſceſſione ab Eccleſia Romana. Eum ego Librum, etſi dignus non eſt qui mittatur tam procul, tamen ad te mitto. Eſt multis in locis vitioſus, qualia ſunt ea ferè omnia, quæ apud nos excuduntur ; tanta eſt Typographorum noſtrorum Negligentia. Regina noſtra prorſus decrevit, nolle mittere ad Conſilium : quod, an ullum, aut uſpiam ſit, nos neſcimus. Certè ſi uſpiam, aut ullum eſt, perarcanum, & valdè obſcurum eſt. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare Cauſas, quibus inducti ad Concilium non veniamus. Ego quidem ſic ſtatuo & ſentio, iſtis Congreſſionibus & Colloquiis, nihil poſſe promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti iſtis mediis, ad propagandum Evangelium. Regina noſtra, magno noſtro cum dolore, innupta manet ; neq; adhuc quid velit ſciri poteſt. Tametſi, quò Suſpiciones noſtræ inclinent, ſatis te jamdudum ſcire arbitror. Suecus diuturnus procus, & valdè aſſiduus, nuper admodùm dimiſſus eſt. Ille, acceptâ repulſâ, minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam : Ut, cùm apud nos hærere non poſſit, ſaltem poſſit in Vicinia. Eſt Mulier quædam Nobilis, Domina Margareta, Neptis Henrici Octavi, Mulier ſupra modum infenſa Religioni, ſupra etiam Rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem, plùs minùs octodecim annos natum, ſumma rerum judicatur ſpectare, ſi quid Eliſabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus Mulieris Maritus, Leoneſius Scotus, proximis iſtis diebus conjectus eſt in Turrim. Filium, aiunt, vel ablegatum eſſe à Matre, vel profugiſſe in Scotiam. De eo, ut ſolet fieri, Sermo eſt multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut ſcis, innupta eſt : Poteſt inter illos convenire aliquid de Nuptiis. Quicquid eſt, credibile eſt, Papiſtas aliquid moliri : Sperant enim adhuc, neſcio quid, non minùs quàm Judæi Meſſiam ſuum. Nuntius Pontificis hæret adhùc in Flandria : Nondùm enim impetrare poteſt fidem publicam, ut tutò veniat in Angliam. Epiſcopus Aquitanus, Legatus Philippi, aſtutus, & callidus Veterator, & factus ad Inſidias, ſatagit quantum poteſt, ejus Cauſa ; ſaltem, ut audiatur ; ne tam procul fruſtrà venerit. Sperat enim uno Colloquio aliquid, neſcio quid, poſſe fieri. Eſt Puella quædam Nobilis, Domina Catherina, Ducis Suffolchienſis Filia, ex Sanguine Regio, eoq; nominatim ſcripta ab Henrico Octavo in Teſtamento, ut ſi quid accidiſſet, quarto loco ſuccederet. Ex eo, Comes Herfordienſis, Juvenis, Ducis Somerſetenſis Filius, ſuſcepit Filium, & multi putant ex Stupro, ſed ut ipſi dicunt, ex legitimis Nuptiis. Se enim clàm inter ſe contraxiſſe, & advocato Sacrificatore, & paucis quibuſdam arbitris, junxiſſe Nuptias. Ea Res turbavit animos multorum. Nam ſi ſunt veræ Nuptiæ, Puer, qui ſuſceptus eſt, alitur ad Spem Regni. O nos miſeros, qui non poſſumus ſcire, ſub quo Domino victuri ſimus. Deus nobis Elizabetham, ſpero, diù vivam & incolumem conſervabit. Id nobis erit ſatis. Tu, mi Pater, ora Deum, ut Rempublicam noſtram, & Eccleſiam conſervet. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Vale, dulce Decus meum.

Saluta

Saluta meo Nomine Uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallenum, D. Wikium, D. Geſnerum, D. Friſium, D. Wolphium, Julium, Juliam, & Martyrillum.

Saliſberiæ, 7. Febr. 1562.
Ex Anglia.

Tui Nominis Studioſiſſimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longè Doctiſſimo, D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, Profeſſori Sacræ Theologiæ in Schola Tigurina, Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.
Tiguri.

P. S. Regina Eliſabetha, omnem noſtram Monetam auream, argenteamque ad priſtinam Probitatem reſtituit, & puram, putamq; reddidit: Opus planè Regium, quodq; tu mireris tam brevi Tempore potuiſſe fieri.

Number 66.

Two INSTRUMENTS.

The Firſt is, *The Promiſe under the Great Seal of* Francis *the* IId. *to Maintain the Succeſſion to the Crown of* Scotland *in the Family of* Hamilton, *in caſe Queen* Mary *ſhould Die without Children.*

An Original.

FRancois fils ainé du Roy & Dauphin de Viennois, a tous ceux qui ces preſentes Lettres verront, Salut. Nous ayant de la Part de notre tres cher & tres honnoré Seigneur & Pere le Roy de France, entendu que des le dixſepteme Jour de Juin, il fit expedier ſes Lettres Patentes, a notre tres cher & tres amé Couſin, Jaques Duc de Chateleraut, Comte de Aran, & Seigneur D'ammilton, Chevalier de ſon Ordre cy Devant, Gouverneur du Royaume d'Ecoſſe; par les quelles Lettres lui auroit, accordé que en cas que notre tres chere & tres amée Couſine, Marie Reine d'Ecoſſe, decedat ſans hoirs de ſon Corps, que Dieu ne veuille, il ſuccede à la Couronne d' Ecoſſe, &

pour y parvenir lui aider & ſubvenir, deſirant notre dit Seigneur & Pere, que nous Vueillons ratifier & approver, ladite promeſſe par luy faite a notre dit Couſin, ſcavoir faiſons que nous voulans ſinguliere-ment, entretenir & obſerver la Foy & Parole de noſtre dit Seigneur & Pere, & lui Obeïr en tout ce que lui eſt affecté & recommande, & auſſi pour l'amour particuliere, que avons porté & portons a icelui notre dit Couſin, & a ſa maiſon pour l'Affection quil a tou-jours demontrée envers notre dit Seigneur & Pere, & la bien de la Couronne de France. Nous a ces Cauſes, & autres a ce nous mou-vant, avons entant que beſoin ſeroit tant pour nous, que pour nos Succeſſeurs confirmé & ratifié, confirmons & ratifions par ces Preſen-tes, le contenu es dites Lettres de notre dit Seigneur & Pere, du dix ſeptieme Juin, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf : Promettant en bonne Foi, avenant que notre dite Couſine, la Reine d'Ecoſſe, decedat ſans Hoirs de ſon Corps, le laiſſer Jouïr dudit Royaume, & pour cet ef-fet le ſecourir & aider ſelon le contenu des dites Lettres. En temoin de ce nous avons ſigné les Preſentes de notre propre Main, & a Icel-les fait Mettre, & appoſer notre Scel. Donné a Paris, le dixneu-vieme Jouïr d'Avril, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Cinquante huil.

FRANCOIS.

Par Monſeigneur le Dauphin,

CLAUSSE.

The Second is,

The Promiſe made to the ſame Effect, by Henry *the* IId. *King of* France, *before Queen* Mary *was ſent out of* Scotland.

An Original.

HEnry, par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de France ; a tous ceux qui ces preſentes Lettres verront, Salut. Scavoir faiſons, que ay-ant egard aux bons, grands, vertueux, agreable, & tres recomman-dables Services, fait par notre tres cher & tres amé Couſin, le Comte de Aran, Chevalier de noſtro Ordre, Governeur du Royaume d'E-coſſe, a feu notre tres honnoré Seigneur & Pere, que Dieu abſolve ; depuis le trepas du feu Roy d'Ecoſſe, dernier decedé, a nous & a la

Couronne de France Conſecutivement, & Specialement pour avoir Moyenné, l'accord du Mariage de ma tres cher & tres amée Fille & Couſine la Reine d'Ecoſſe, avec notre tres cher & tres amé Fils le Dauphin de Viennois. Pour de noſtre Part donner a Connoitre a Icelui notre dit Couſin, l'Affection que lui portons, & le grand deſir que nous avons de le favoriſer en toutes raiſonnables Choſes qui le pourront toucher : Lui avons par ces Preſentes en Parole de Roy, promis & promettons, advenant qu'il plus a Dieu appeller a ſa part la dite Reine d'Ecoſſe, ſans Hoirs Iſſus de ſon Corps, & que par Voye de fait avenu que ſes Ennemis vouluſſent entreprendre l'empecher, lui ou les Siens deſcendans, de lui par droite Ligne, qu'ils ne vinſſent a la paiſible Jouiſſance de la Couronne du Royaume d'Ecoſſe ; Comme plus proche d'Icelle apres le Trepas de la dite Reine, que nous lui tendrons la Main a lui, & aux Siens a l'encontre de leurs Ennemis quelconque ; & les aiderons & ſuporterons en toutes ſortes, ſelon que requierent les anciennes Alliances & Confederations, qui ont de tout tems eté & ſont encore entre nous, notre Royaume & Pais, & Celui d'Ecoſſe. Et quand a l'Article du Traité, que nous avons fait avecques le dit Gouverneur, par lequel ſommes tenus de le faire, tenir quite & decharger del'Adminiſtration, qu'il a euë & aura dudit Royaume durant la Minorité d'Icelle notre dite Fille & Couſine, ſans qu'il en ſoit autrement comptable, & du tout lui en faire bailler, & delivrer Lettres de decharges de la dite Dame, par le Conſentement de notre dit Fils ſon Mary, quand elle ſera d'age. Nous derechef ratifions & approuvons le dit Article par ces Preſentes, & nous obligeons ainſi le faire enſemble de l'en decharger envers la dite Dame & ſon futur Mary. En temoin de ce nous avons ſegné ces Preſentes, & a notre Main, Icelle fait mettre, & appoſer notre Scel. Donné a Paris, le dixſeptieme Jour de Juin, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf ; & de noſtre Regne le troiſieme.

HENRY.

Par le Roy,

De L'Aubeſpine.

Number

Number 67.

Inſtructions to the Queen's Commiſſioners treating in Scotland.

An Original.

Paper-Office.

AFter our Right Harty Commendations, we have receyved your Letters of the 11th of this Mounth, and by the ſame do underſtande at good length your Proceedings with the *French* Commiſſioners hitherto, and in the Ende of the Death of the Dowager of *Scotland*: For your Advertiſements whereof, we give unto you, on the Queen's Majeſties Behalf, moſt harty Thanks: And like as her Highnes doth well allowe your Opinion for the ſignifying unto King *Phillippes* Ambaſſadors, that we be entred into Treaty with the *French*, and are in very good way towards Accorde, and finde not Things alltogether ſo harde to be brought to Compoſition as was ſuppoſed; ſo hath her Majeſtie taken Order, that one ſhall be out of Hande ſent to declare the ſame unto them, with ſignification allſo what her Highnes hath harde of the Dowagers Death. As touching the other Points of your Letter wherin you require her Highnes Reſolution; we have conſidered the ſame, and uppon Reporte of our Opinions to the Queen's Majeſtie, her Highnes hath reſolved as followeth; Fyrſt, In caiſe the *Frenche* Commiſſioners uppon the underſtanding of the Dowagers Death, will nedes preſſe to returne back againe without following their Commiſſion; her Highnes in that Caſe is pleaſed, that after you ſhall have provoked them by ſuch good Meanes as you can beſt deviſe, to contynue; if in the Ende, they will nedes breake of, and returne, you ſhall agree they may ſo do, and thereuppon conſulting with our very good Lorde, the Duke of *Norffolke*, and imparting the State of the Caſe unto the Lords of *Scotland*, to take Order by their good Advice, howe the Purpoſe intendyd for expelling of the *French*, and aſſuring of that Realme, according to that hath byn heretofore determined, may beſt and moſt ſpedely be brought to paſſe, which in Caſe the *French* breake of from Treatte, her Majeſtie wolde ſholde be gon thorough withall without any longer delay, or loſs of Time; the rather for that it appeareth by all Advertiſements, that the *French* ſeeke nothing ſo much as to wyn Tyme, and draw forth Matters in length to ſerve theyr Purpoſe wythall; which muſt not be endured: And where your deſire to know what you ſhall doe, if the *French* Commiſſioners that be with you, will require the Preſence of ſume of theyr Colleages in the Town; her Highnes thinketh, as you doe, that the ſame is in no wiſe to be grauntyd, nor the ſaid Commiſſioners that be in *Lyth* to be ſuffered to iſſue, or treate of this Matter otherwiſe then is preſcribed by your

Inſtructions. As touching the laſt Point, where ye deſire to know what ſhall be done, in caſe the ſaid *French* Commiſſioners ſhall require Aſſiſtance of ſuch *Scottyſhemen* as were of the *French* Faction: Her Highnes thinks fyt, yf the ſame ſhall be demaunded, that the Lords of *Scotland* be made privie thereunto; and in caſe they and you ſhall not ſee ſume reaſonable cauſe of the contrary, her Majeſtie thinketh, and ſo do we allſo, that it may without Daunger be grantyd, wherin nevertheleſs you may uſe your good Diſcretions as you ſhall ſee may beſt ſtand with the Advancement of his Highnes Service. And foraſmuche as one *Parrys*, an *Ireſheman*, who hath, (as we think you doe well enough remember) byn a Fugitive out of this Realme nowe a long Time together,) is as we underſtande come from the *French*, and hathe now yelded himſelf into the Lorde *Greye*'s Hands: We hartely pray you, in Caſe you may conveniently, to talk with the ſaid *Parrys*, and underſtand of him what he can ſay touching the Practiſes that hath byn attemptyd in *Ireland*, or any other Thing concerning the State of the Queen's Majeſtie, or her Realme; and to lett us know what he is able to ſay therin, to the Intent if his Meaning and Doing ſhall appere unto you to deſerve the ſame, we may be Sutors unto her Highnes for his Pardonne, and for ſuche farther Conſideracion of hym, as his Doing ſhall deſerve. And thus we wiſh you moſt hartely well to fare. From *Grenewich* the 15th of *June*, 1560.

Your aſſured Loving Friends,

Wincheſter. W. North, *&c.*

E. Clynton. Willm. Petre Se.
Tho. Parrys.

Number 68.

The Commiſſion of the Eſtates to move Queen Elizabeth *to take the Earl of* Arran *to her Husband.*

Taken from the Original now at Hamilton.

THE Lords of Parliament, and others Under-written, havand Conſideration how the Kingdome of *England* is joynt with this, Be an Dray March, how Puiſſent it is; what Incommodity we and our Forefathers have felt, be the continual Weirs betwixt the Tuo Nations;

Nations ; and be the contrar, how Profitable there Amytie may be to us, what Welth and Commodity we may obtain therthrow ; hes thought good divyſed and ordained, that the Occaſion preſently opened up to us ſhal be followed, that is, ſute made to the Queen of *England* in the beſt Manner, That it may pleaſe her Majeſty, for Eſtabliſhing of one perpetual Friendſhip, to joine in Marriage with the Earll of *Arran* ; being of the lawfull Blood of this Realme, and failzieing of Succeſſion of the Queen, our Soverain Ladies Body, next his Father, the Dukes Grace of *Chaſtelierault* declared be Act of Parliament, Second Perſon of the Realme, Air Apparant to the Crown ; and for that Purpoſe that Honourable Perſons be ſent in Ambaſſate, fra them yn Behalf of the Eſtates. And to the Effect, the Sute may be made in the moſt Honourable Manner, and to her Majeſtys beſt Contentation, they have deviſed that preſently in plane Parliament it ſhal be deviſed, that certain Ambaſſadours be ſent to her Majeſty, fre the Eſtates, to give her Hieneſs Thanks for the guid Will ſhe has ever born to this Realme, ſen ſhe came to her Crown, and deſire ſhe hes that it may continue an free Kingdom in thantiant Liberty, ſufficiently of late declared, be her Support liberally granted for the Relief therof ; and for the guid Quietnes we preſently enjoy, purchaſt to us be her Majeſtys Means and Labours ; and they are withall to deſire of her Heeneſs to give ſtrait Commandments to her Wardains, and Officers upon the Borders, to continue with ours, for ſuppreſſing of broken Men, and ſtanching of Thift, with ſic other Things as are neceſſar for the Common Weel of this Realme : And that the States give Power to the Lords of Articles, and others Underwritten, to deviſe ſic Commiſion and Inſtructions as are neceſſar, for that Purpoſe, to be ſealed, and ſubſcribed be Six of the Principals of every Eſtate, whilk ſal be as ſufficient, as giff it were ſubſcribed and ſealed be the haill Eſtates ; and therafter the Lords of Articles, and ours under ſpecified, to deviſe the Inſtructione and Commiſſion tuching the Heid of the Marriage.

Number 69.

The Queenes Majeſties Anſwere declared to Her Counſell concerninge the Requeſts of the Lords of Scotlande.

In Sir W. Cecil's *Hand.*

HER Majeſtie reduced the Anſwere into Three Points.

1. THE Firſt was, That where the Three Eſtats had ſent the Lords of *Scotland* to preſent their harty Thanks to her Majeſtie for the Benefits receaved this laſt Yere by her Majeſties Ayde given to them. Her Majeſtie is very glad to perceave her Good Will, and

The 8th of *Decemb.* 1560. Fol. 133. *Caligula* B. 10.

and Chardgs ſo well beſtowed as to ſee the ſame thankfullye accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the ſame to have been ſeaſonablie planted that produceth ſo plentifull Fruct, with the which her Majeſtie doeth ſo ſatisfie herſelf, as if at any Time the like Cauſe ſhall happen wherin her Friendſhip, or Ayde, ſhall, or may Profit them for their juſt Defence, the ſame ſhall not be wantinge. And although in former Times it appeared that ſondry Benefits beſtowed upon divers of the Nobilitye here by her Majeſties moſt Noble Father, had not ſuch Succes, nor was anſwered with like thankfullnes: Yet her Majeſtye doth nowe evidently ſe the Cauſe thereof to be for that the Meaneninge of her Father's Benefits were interpreted, and ſuppoſed to be to the Diſcomoditye of the Land, and theſe her Majeſties be evidentlye ſene to bend directlye to the Safetye of that Realme. And ſo the Diverſitye of the beſtowinge hath made the Diverſitye in the Operacion and Acceptation of them.

2. The Second Point is, where the ſame Eſtates have by their Parlyament accorded, That ſuyte ſhould be made for the Mariage with her Majeſty of the Earl of *Arrayne*; her Majeſtye cannot interprete that Motion to come but both of a good Meaneinge of the ſame Eſtaits, pretendinge thereby to knit both theis Kingdomes preſently in Amytye, and hereafter to remaine in a perpetuall Amytye; and of a great Good Will of the ſame Eſtates towards her Majeſtye, offeringe to her the beſt and choiceſt Perſon that they have, and that not without ſome Daunger of the Diſpleaſure of the *French* Kinge in ſo doinge: For anſwere hereunto, her Majeſty findeing herſelf not diſpoſed preſently to Marry, (although it may be that the Neceſſitie and Reſpect of her Realme ſhall hereto hereafter conſtrayne her) wiſhed that the Earle of *Arrayne* ſhould not forbeare to accept ſuch Mariage as may be made to him for his own Weill and Surety; and that all other Means be uſed to the Continewance of Amytie firmly betwixt theſe Kingdomes; whereunto her Majeſty thinketh many good Reaſons ought to induce the People of both Realmes, and in a Manner to continewe as good Amytye therby, as by Mariage: For it appeareth, that if every Nobleman of *Scotlande* will well conſider how neceſſarye the Friendſhip of this Realme is to that, for the preſervation of their Liberties; they ſhall chiefly for Safegard of themſelves joyne together in Concord with this Realeme, and ſo every one particularly minding his own Suretye, of Conſequence the Love and Amyte ſhall be Univerſall; by which Means her Majeſty thinketh the Amitye may be well aſſured, though no Marriage be obteyned. And as to the Perſon of the Earle of *Arrayn*, her Majeſty ſurely hath heard a verie good Report of him, and thinketh him to be a Noble Gentleman of great Woordineſſe, and ſo thinketh ſurely that he ſhall prove hereafter.

3. Thirdly and Laſtly, Her Majeſtye thancketh the ſaid Lords for their Paines and Travell; and although ſhe doubteth nether of their Wiſdome, nor of the Providence of the Eſtates at Home in *Scotland*, yet for demonſtracion of her hearty Good Will, her Majeſty cannot forbeare to require them not to forget the Practiſes that be paſt, by ſuch as before Tyme ſought the Subverſon of them; and nowe much more will doe it, if there maye be left any Entry for

Corruption, be Reward, or other Scope of Practiſe. And therefore her Majeſty wiſheth, that they all do perſiſt, firſt in a good Concorde, makinge their Cauſes come amongſt themſelves; and not to diſſever themſelves in any Factions, but to foreſee well Thinges before they chaunce: For that her Majeſtie thinketh this prove verie true, That Darts foreſeen, hurt verie little, or not at all. And for her Majeſties Parte, there ſhall no reaſonable Thinge be neglected, that may furder this comun Action of Defence of both the Realmes, againſt any common Enemye.

Number 70.

A Letter of the Engliſh *Ambaſſador, to Queen* Mary *of* Scotland, *for her Ratifying the Treaty of* Leith.

PLeaſeth it your Majeſtie. The ſame may remember, that at my Lord of *Bedford*'s being in this Court, He and I demanded of you, on the Behalfe of the Queen's Majeſtie, our Miſtreſs, your good Siſter and Couſyne, your Ratification of thaccord latelye made at *Edingborough* in *Scotland*. Wherunto you made Anſwer, amonge other Things, that your Counſell being not about youe; namely your Uncle, my Lord Cardinall of *Lorraine*, by whom you are adviſed in your Affaires, and alſo for that your Majeſtie had not heard from your Counſell in *Scotland*, from whom you looked to hear then verie ſhortlye; you could make us no direct Anſwer therin. But that heering from them, and having conſulted with your Counſell heere; you would ſatisfie her Majeſtie in the ſame. Sins whiche Tyme, her Majeſtie having Knowledge of the coming to you of the Lord *James*, your Brother, who paſſed lately through *England* hitherwards, by whom (her Majeſtie judgeth) you will be adviſed, bothe in Reſpect of his Ranke and Eſtimacion in your Realme of *Scotland*, and allſo for that he hathe the Honour to be your Majeſties Brother, and of good Credite with you: And nothing doubting of your Conſultation with my ſaid Lord Cardinall, and others of your Counſell heere ſins that Tyme; her Majeſtie hathe preſentlie commanded, and authorized me to put your Majeſtie in Remembrance therof againe; and to renew the Demande of your Confirmation of the ſaid late Accord. Therefore I have preſently depechid to you this Gentleman, Bearer heerof, her Majeſties Servant: By whom, I beſeeche you, to let me underſtand your reſolute Anſwer in that behalfe. And uppon Knowledge of your Pleaſure, to delyver me the ſaid Ratification; and of the Tyme and Place, I will not faile (God willing) to reſort, whither your Majeſtie will appoint me to come for that Pourpoſe. *Paper-Office.*

By

By demanding of this Ratification, as the Queen's Majeſtie, my Miſtreſs, your good Siſter, dothe ſhew the great Deſyre She hathe, to lyve from hence forth in all aſſured good Love, Peas and Amytie with you, and your Realme; ſo, in her Opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke good Will, to anſwer to the lyke for your Parte agayne, ſo much as the Stabliſhing the ſame by this Knot of Frendſhip which God hath appointed, and hath been Cheif Worker therin, for both your Quyetneſſes and Comforts; being now the onlie Refuge of you both. And ſo I pray Almighty God, long to preſerve your Majeſtie in parfaict Healthe, Honour and Filicitie. From *Paris*, the 13th of *Aprill* 1561.

Number 71.

A Letter of Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *delaying to Ratify the Treaty of* Leith.

An Original.

Monſieur Ambaſſadeur,

Paper-Office. J'Ay len la Lettre, que vous máves eſcrité par le Gentilhomme preſent Porteur, & pour ce j'étant ſur mon Partement de ce Lieu, Je ne puis vous faire reponce pluſtat qu à Reims, ou jeſpere d'eſtre au Sacrè de Roy: Je ne feray cette plus long que pour vous dire, quant a Lord James, qui eſt devers moy, Il y eſt venne pour ſon devoir, comme devers ſa Souveraine Dame, que Je ſuis, ſans Charge ou Commiſſion, qui concerne autre Choſe que ſon droit. Je prie Dieu, Monſieur Ambaſſadeur, vous avoir en ſa Garde. Eſcrit a Nanci, ce 22. d'Avril 1562.

Voſtre bien bon Amy,

MARIE.

Number

Number 72.

An Original Letter of the Ambaſſador's to the Queen, upon that Affair.

IT maye pleaſe your Majeſtie to be advertiſed, that haveing written this other Lettre, and being ready to have depeched it to your Majeſtie; Mr. *Somer*, your Highneſſes Servant, arryved heere from *Nanci* in *Lorraine*, from the Queene of *Scotland*, with Anſwer to my Lettre, which (by your Majeſties Commandment) I wrote to her, in ſuch Sorte, as I have advertiſed by my former, and therwith ſent to your Majeſtie the Coppies of my Lettres to the ſaide Queen and Cardinall of *Lorraine*. Which her Anſwer being by Lettre, (having allſo ſaid as much by Mouth to Mr. *Somer*) together with the ſaid Cardinall's Anſwer; I ſend your Majeſtie herewith. And though your Majeſties ſaid Servant uſed the beſt Speech as he coude, to get ſome direct Anſwer of her, accordinge to her late Promeſſes, putting her in Remembrance of her Words to my Lord of *Bedford*, and to me at *Fontainebleau*: Yet other Anſwer nor Direction, then is conteined in her Letter, coude he not gette of her. And ſeinge She hath defferrid to make me further Anſwer, till my next Meetinge with her, which She reckenith ſhall be at *Reims*, at the *French* King's Sacre, as appearith by her ſaid Lettre; where, She and the Cardinal told Mr. *Somer*, She mynded to be the 8th of *Maye*; for that it is ſaid the Sacre ſhall be the 15th; and for that your Majeſtie hath commanded me, for ſome Reſpects, not to be at it; I know not when I ſhall have the Opertunitie and Meanes, to ſpeake with the ſaid Queen for her Anſwer. Therefore ſeing I cannot be at *Reims*, (as indeede, beſyeds your Majeſties Commandment, myne Indiſpoſition of my Bodye will not ſuffer me to come there) and allſo for that (as I heere) the ſaid Queen myndeth not to come into theſe Partes this good while; If it wold pleaſe your Majeſtie, to ſend hither your Lettres of Credit directed unto her, therby to authorize Mr. *Somer*, your Majeſties ſaid Servant, to demande and receyve her Anſwer therin, in myne Abſence, by reaſon of my Sickneſſe; I take it, your Majeſtie ſhall the ſooner have her direct Anſwer. If your Majeſtie finde this good, it may pleaſe the ſame, to ſend ſuch your Lettres hither, with good Speed, that the Anſwer may be had, before She departe agayne from *Reims*.

Paper-Office.

And though I thinke verily, that her Anſwer will be ſuch as I have allready advertiſed your Majeſtie She made to my Lord *James*, (which is Means to draw the Tyme ſtill into greater Length) yet the ſame, or anye other, being made to your Majeſtie by her ſelf; you ſhall the better know, how to proceede with her in the Matter afterwards.

The

The ſaid Queen of *Scotland* was accompaigned at *Nancy* with the Dowager of *Lorraine*, (whom they call there *Son Altezze*) the Duke and Ducheſſe of *Lorraine*, Monſieur *de Vaudemont*, the Cardinalles of *Lorraine*, and *Guyſe*, and the Duke *d' Aumalle*. One of the chiefeſt Cawſes of her going thither from *Joinville*, (being 18 *Lorraine* Leagues of) as I heere, was to Chriſten Monſieur *de Vaudemont*'s yong Sonne, borne lately at *Mallegrange*, a Quarter of a League from *Nancy*.

I wrote to your Majeſtie, by my Letters of the 23d of this Preſent, that the Queen of *Scotland* wold Authorize my ſaid Lord *James*, (as She had told him her ſelf) to have the Speciall Charge of the Government of the Affaires in *Scotland*, till her comminge thither; and would, for that Purpoſe, give him Commiſſion under her Seale. For which Comiſſion, and other Letters, he left a Gentleman of his with the ſaid Queen, to bring it after him to this Towne. The Gentleman is retourned from the Queen, with her Letters, but hath brought no Commiſſion: And I underſtande, that She hath now changed her Mynd in that Point; and will appoint none to have Authorite there, till She come her ſelf. And as to ſuch Sutes and Requeſtes, as are made to her for Benefices, and ſuch other Thinges as are to be beſtowed; She will not diſpoſe of any of them, nor make other Anſwer therin, till her comminge thither. Which (it is thought) She dothe, to beſtowe the ſame upon ſome ſuch as She ſhall ſee worthy of her Favour and Preferrmente, and upon others, to winne them the ſooner to her Devocion. The Speciall Cauſe why She hath changed her Opinion for my Lord *James*, (as I heere) is; For that She coude by no meanes diſ-ſwade him from his Devocion and good Opinion towards your Majeſtie, and the Obſervation of the League between your Majeſtie and the Realme of *Scotland*. And allſo for that She, nor the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, coude not winne nor divert him from his Religion; wherin they uſed verie great Meanes, and Perſwaſions. For which Reſpects, the ſaid Lord *James* deſervith to be the more eſtymid of your Majeſtie. And ſeeing he hath dealt ſo plainely with the Queen his Soveraine, on your Majeſties Behalf, and ſhewed himſelf ſo conſtant in Religion, that neither the Feare of his Soveraine's Indignacion coude waver him, nor great Promeſſes winne him; your Majeſtie may (in myne Opinion) make good Accompt of his Conſtancy towardes you: And ſo deſerveth to be well entertayned and made of, by your Majeſtie, as one that may ſtand you in no ſmall Steade, for the Advancement of your Majeſties Deſire. Sins his being heere, he hath dealt ſo franckly and liberally with me, that I muſt beleeve he will ſo contynue after his Return home. And in caſe your Majeſtie wold now in Tyme, liberally and honorably conſider him with ſome good Means, to make him to be the more beholding to your Majeſty; it wold, in my ſimple Judgment, ſerve your Majeſtie to great Purpoſe. He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of *Maye*, by the way of *Diepe*, and myndith to Land at *Rye*: Wherof I thought good to advertiſe your Majeſtie, that it may pleaſe the ſame to give Order, for him and his Company, to be receyved and accommodated, as apertenith: Which will be well be-

ſtowed upon him, for the good Reporte he made of his late Reception there, and of the great Favour your Majeſtie ſhewed him at his coming hitherwards.

I underſtand that the Queen of *Scotland* maketh accompt to fynd a good Partie in her Realme, of ſuch as are of her Religion. And amongs other, the Earle of *Huntley* hath promyſed, that having the Duke on his ſide, he, with ſuch other as he holdeth aſſured, will be able enough to make Head to the contrary Parte. And ſo hath he promiſed to bring greate Things to paſſe there, for the Queen's Purpoſe and Affection.

I underſtand, (and ſo gather partly by my ſaid Lord *James* own Words) that ſoone after his Retourne Home into *Scotland*, he ſhall Marye the Earle Marſhall's Daughter.

As I have written heertofore to your Majeſtie, that this Realm was in danger of great Unquietnes amonge themſelves for Religion; ſo the 28th of *April*, the ſame beganne to appeare in this Towne. Certain Gentlemen, and others, about a Hundred aſſembled together in a Private Houſe in the Suburbes, where they had a Sermon, and Pſalmes ſinging, as is uſed in all Aſſemblies. Wherewith the People offended, aſſembled to great Numbers, forced the Walles of a Garden joining to the Houſe; made a great Breach with ſuch Tooles as they coude gett, and would have entred with Violence to have wrought their Cruaulty uppon the Gentlemen. The other ſeing none other Remedye, their Perſwaſions ſerving to litle effect with ſuch an unruly Sorte: Defended themſelves with ſuch Weapons and Harguebouzes, as they had provided againſt all Events; and ſo ſlew 7 or 8 of the Aſſailliants, and defended the Houſe till the Juſtice, and Court of Parliament of this Town appeaſed and retyred the People. And the Night following, the Deffendants ſhifted themſelfes away thence, without farther Harme; hitherto nothing elles is done heerupon. What will enſue, it is to be feared. In the mean Time, the People murmure greatly at the Slaughter. And the other Parte are not a litle moved generally, to be ſo aſſaulted and moleſted, contrary to the King's Edicts, which permitte all Men to live according to their Conſciences, ſo they give none occaſion of Slander, or Offence to the People, or Publique Preaching, and that command all Men not to Reproach or Injury the one, the other, for their Living in that ſorte. Between theſe Two Partyes, the Juſtice is ſo litle feared, and Pollycy hath now ſo litle Place, that greater Things are to be feared, unleſſe better and ſpeedyer Order be provided to appeaſe all, then I can ſee towards.

I underſtand that the Queen of *Scotland* hath hitherto no great Devotion to *Ledington*, *Grange*, and *Balnaves*, wherof I am nothing ſory. But ſhe mindeth to uſe all the beſt Meanes ſhe can to wynne them to her, which ſhe truſteth well to compaſſe.

And wheras I have advertiſed your Majeſtie that the Baron *de la Garde* ſhulde cary this King's Order to the King of *Sweden*: I underſtand now, that it is to the King of *Denmarke*, and not to the other.

Having written thus farre, I underſtand, that wheras it was determined

termined that the King ſhuld have departed the 28th of *Aprill* from *Fontainbleau* towards *Reims* to his *Sacre* : The ſame is retarded, by reaſon that the Queen Mother is fallen Sicke of a Catarre. So that both his Departure from thence, and the Time of his *Sacre* is now uncertain, and dependith wholely upon the ſaid Queen Mother's Recovery.

Though I take it that your Majeſtie hath received from your Miniſters in *Germany* the Pope's Demand of the Princes Proteſtants of *Germany*, and their Anſwer therunto ; yett having recouvered the ſame here, I thought in my Duety to ſend it to your Majeſtie as I do heerewith. And thus I pray God long to preſerve your Majeſtie in Health, Honnour, and all Felicitie. From *Paris* the Firſt of *Maye*, 1561.

Your Majeſties Humble,

And moſt Obedient,

Subject and Servant,

N. Throkmorton.

Number 73.

A Letter of Biſhop Jewell's *to* Bullinger, *chiefly concerning the Affairs of* France, *and the Queen eſpouſing the Prince of* Conde's *Cauſe.*

Idem ad Bullingerum.

Salutem Plurimam in Chriſto.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

REdditæ mihi ſunt non ita pridem Literæ tuæ, Scriptæ Tiguri ad quintum diem Martii : Quæ quamvis eſſent ὑπομεμψιμοιροι, & querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur ; non tantùm quod à te eſſent, cujus omnia ſcripta dictaque mihi ſemper viſa ſunt honorifica, ſed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixè requirerent, & meam in ſcribendo negligentiam & ſocordiam excitarent. Ego verò, mi Pater, & Domine Colendiſſimè, etſi minùs fortaſſe ad te ſæpè ſcribo quàm velim, tamen quoties occaſio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper ad te Literas, alteras Francofordiam

diam ad nundinas Martias, alteras ſtatim à Paſchate. Quæ ſi adhuc, ut ſit, ſubſiſtant fortè in itinere, tamen expedient ſe aliquando, & poſtremò uti ſpero, ad te pervenient. Ego interim de te cogitare, & honorificè ut debeo, de te loqui nunquam deſino. De Gallicis rebus ad te ſcribere hoc tempore, eſſet fortaſſe putidum : Omnia enim ad vos etiam ſine ventis & navibus afferuntur. Sanctiſſimus nihil relinquet intentatum. Flectere ſi nequeat ſuperos, Acheronta movebit. Videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, ſed de vita & ſanguine. Utinam ne noſtri ſeſe patiantur circumveniri. Dux Guiſanus, ut, neſcio qua ſpe moderandæ Religionis, & recipiendæ Confeſſionis Auguſtanæ, moratus eſt Principes Germaniæ, ne ſe admiſcerent huic bello ; ita omnibus modis perſuadere conatus eſt Reginæ noſtræ, non agi nunc in Gallia negotium Religionis ; eſſe manifeſtam conjurationem, cauſam eſſe Regis, cui illam, cùm Regium locum teneat, non oporteat adverſari. Intereà id egit, ut Neptis ſua, Regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam, atque amicitiam Reginæ noſtræ, & munuſcula mitteret, & neſcio quas fides daret : Velle ſe, hac æſtate, honoris cauſa venire in Angliam ; & æternum amicitiæ Fœdus, quod nunquam poſtea convelli poſſit, velle ſancire. Miſit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique veſtitam auro, & commendatam pulchro & eleganti carmine. Quid quæris ? Putabant feſtivis colloquiis, & venationibus, & blanditiis, animos noſtros abduci facilè poſſe à ſtrepitu bellico, & conſopiri. Interea, Regina noſtra, cum ſubedorata eſſet rem omnem, & quid ageretur intelligeret ; neque enim id erat adeò difficile, mutare Conſilium de profectione, à Guiſanis paulatim alienari, & ad Principem Condenſem non obſcurè inclinare. Tulit id Guiſanus indignè, Conſilia ſua non procedere ; accepit contumeliosè Legatum noſtrum, propoſuit Edicta publicè, Reginam Angliæ inſidias facere Regno Galliarum, & ſolam iſtos tumultus concitâſſe. Iſta, Regina noſtra patienter ferre non potuit, nec ſanè debuit. Statim apertè agere, Legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem ſcribere, navibus omnibus undecunque, atque ubicunque eſſent, & ſuis & alienis vela tollere, ne quis exire poſſet, & quid ageretur nuntiare. O ſi ea id antea facere voluiſſet, aut ſi nunc Principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum ſequi vellent. Facilius, & minori jactura, Sanguinis Chriſtiani tota res poſſet tranſigi. Et Regina quidem miſit hoc tempore in Germaniam, ad Principes ; & nunc in Aula Legatus à Guiſano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur & impediat. Sed non ita erit facile, ſpero, imponere videntibus. Res Scotiæ de Religione ſatis ſunt pacatæ. Regina ſola Miſſam ſuam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto, apud nos, coeli atque aëris intemperies. Nec Sol, nec Luna, nec Hyems, nec Ver, nec Æſtas, nec Autumnus, ſatisfecit officium ſuum. Ita affatim, & penè ſine intermiſſione pluit, quaſi facere jam aliud Cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata ſunt monſtra : infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorſus ſine capitibus, alii capitibus alienis ; alii trunci ſine brachiis, ſine tibiis, ſine cruribus ; alii oſſibus ſolis cohærentes, prorſus ſine ullis carnibus, quales ferè imagines mortis pingi lolent. Similia alia complura nata ſunt è porcis, & equabus, è vaccis, è gallinis.

Meſſis

Meſſis hoc tempore apud nos Anguſtius quidem provenit, ita tamen ut non poſſimus multum conqueri. Sariſberiæ 14 Auguſti, 1562.

Tuus in Chriſto,

Jo. Juellus Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatiſſimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero ſummo Paſtori Eccleſiæ Tigurinæ Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 74.

An Extract out of the Journal of the Lower-Houſe of Convocation.

ACTA in Inferiori Domo Convocationis, Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, Anno 1562

Ex MSS. *Gul. Petyt* in the *Inner-Temple.*

DICTO Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, in Inferiori Domo Convocationis Cleri Provinciæ Cant' poſt meridiem hora conſtituta convenerunt frequentes Dominus Proloquutor cum cæt. infra nominatis ubi poſt Divini numinis implorationem Legebantur quidem Articuli approbandi vel reprobandi a cætu quorum Articulorum tenor talis eſt.

1. *That all the Sundays of the Year, and Principal Feaſt of Chriſt, be kept Holy-Days, and other Holy-Days to be abrogate.*

2. *That in all Pariſh Churches, the Miniſter in Common-Prayer, turn his Face towards the People, and there diſtinctly read the Divine Service appointed, where all the People aſſembled may hear and be edified.*

3. *That in Miniſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſme, the Ceremonie of making of the Croſſe in the Child's Forehead, may be omitted, as tending to Superſtition.*

4. *That for as much as divers Communicants are not hable to Kneel during the Time of the Communion, for Age, Sicknes, and ſundry other Infirmities; and ſome alſo Superſtitiouſly both Kneel, and Knock, that*

that the Order of Kneeling may be left to the Diſcretion of the Ordinarie, within his Juriſdiction.

5. *That it be ſufficient for the Miniſter, in time of Saying of Divine Service, and Miniſtring of the Sacraments, to uſe a Surplice: And that no Miniſter ſay Service, or miniſter the Sacraments, but in a comely Garment, or Habit.*

6. *That the Uſe of Organs be removed.*

Unde orta fuit ſuperiorum, proband' vel reproband' Diſceptatio, multis affirmantibus eoſdem à ſe probari, ac multis affirmantibus illos à ſe non probari; multiſque aliis volentibus, ut eorum Probatio, vel Reprobatio, referatur ad Reverendiſſimos Dominos, Archiepiſcopum & Prælatos, plurimis item proteſtantibus, ſe nolle ullo modo conſentire, ut aliqua contenta in his Articulis approbentur; quatenus ulla ex parte diſſentiant Libro Divini & Communis Servicij, jam Authoritate Senatusconſulti publicè in hoc Regno ſuſcepto; neque velle, ut aliqua Immutatio fiat contra Ordines, Regulas, Ritus, ac cæteras Diſpoſitiones in eo Libro contentas.

Tandem inceptæ fuerunt publicæ Diſputationes fieri à nonnullis doctis Viris ejuſdem Domus, ſuper Approbatione, vel Reprobatione dicti Quarti Articuli: Ac tandem placuit Diſceſſionem, ſive Diviſionem fieri Votorum, ſive Suffragiorum ſingulorum; quæ mox ſubſecuta fuit: Atque numeratis Perſonis pro parte Articulos approbante, fuerunt Perſonæ 43; pro parte verò illos non approbante, neque aliquam Immutationem contra dictum Librum Publici Servicij jam ſuſcepti, fieri petente fuerunt Perſonæ 35.

Ac deinde, recitatis ſingulorum Votis, ſive Suffragiis, prompta ſunt quemadmodum in ſequenti folio liquet & apparet.

DISPUTATORES.

Decanus Wygorn'
Mr. Byckley.
Archid' Covent'
Mr. Nebynſon.
Mr. Pullen.
Mr. Cotterell.
Mr. Joh. Waker.
Mr. Laur. Neuell.
Mr. Talphill.
Mr. Crowley.
Mr. Tremain.
Mr. Hewet.
Decanus Eliens'

Pro parte Articulos prædictos approbante, fuerunt omnes ſubſcripti; Viz.

D. Proloquutor, Decanus S. Pauli ——————
Mr. Leaver ——————
Decan' Heref. ——————
Mr. Soreby ——————
Mr. Bradbriger ——————

Mr. Pe-

Mr. Peder
Mr. Watte — 3
Decan' Lychef.
Mr. Spenſer
Mr. Beyſley
Mr. Nebinſon
Mr. Bowier
Mr. Ebden
Mr. Longlonde
Mr. Tho. Lancaſter
Mr. Ed. Weſton — 2
Mr. Wyſdon
Mr. Sall — 2
Mr. Joh. Walker — 2
Mr. Becon
Mr. Proctor — 2
Mr. Cockerell
Mr. Todd, Archid' Bed. — 2
Mr. Crouley

Mr. Hyll
Decan' Oxon.
Mr. Savage
Mr. Pullan
Mr. Wilſon
Mr. Burton — 2
Mr. Heamond
Mr. Weyborn
Mr. Day
Mr. Rever
Mr. Roberts — 5
Mr. Calphill — 3
Mr. Godwyn — 2
Mr. Pratt
Mr. Trenun — 2
Mr. Leaton
Mr. Kemper
Mr. Ronayer
Mr. Abis

Perſons 43. *Voices* 58.

Pro parte Articulos non approbante, ac proteſtante ut ſupra, ſunt ſubſcripti; Viz.

Decan' Weſt. — 2
Mr. Coterell — 4
Mr. Latymer — 3
Decan' Elien.
Mr. Heuwette — 3
Mr. Ric. Walker — 2
Mr. Warner
Mr. Tho. Whyte
Mr. Knouall — 2
Mr. Jo. Priſe
Mr. Bolte — 2
Mr. Hughes — 3
Mr. Brigewater — 2
Mr. Lougher — 3
Mr. Pierſon
Mr. Merick
Mr. Luſon
Mr. Greenſell — 3

Mr. Cheſton
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Mr. Bonder
Mr. Juſt. Lancaſter
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Number 75.

Biſhop Horn's *Letter to* Gualter, *concerning the Controverſy about the Habits of the Clergy.*

Robertus Hornus Gualtero.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Literas tuas, mi Gualtere primas, quàm amanter & jucundè acceperim, vel hinc exiſtimare debes, quòd de Tigurinæ Reipublicæ Statu, in cujus Fide ac Liberalitate exul collocatus fueram, tum de tui reliquorumque amiciſſimorum, & de me optimè meritorum valetudine cognoſcebam. Accedebat tua in Johannis Evangelium Lucubratio; ſcribendi, ut tu ais, Occaſio, quam ita probo, ut ad veram Scripturarum Scientiam & Pietatem conferre multùm judicem, & non ſolùm à Tyronibus, quibus tu potiſſimùm ſtudes, ſed ab ipſis Profeſſoribus legendam exiſtimem. In Fœdere Gallico & Helvetico, perſpicatiam Tigurinam probo, quæ aſtutias Gallicas, Religionis prætextu adumbratas, olfecit & patefecit. Bernenſes etiam Vicinos veſtros ſpero, ſuaſu veſtro ab inhoneſto fœdere aſſenſum cohibituros. De Peſte, quæ Regionem Tigurinam invaſit, opinionem habeo, quod impiorum cauſa etiam ipſi pij affliguntur. Quà perculſus Pater Bullingerus, quòd periculum evaſit, debemus putare eum qui duriora Tempora ſuſtulit, fælicioribus eſſe à Domino reſervatum. Tuam domum à contagione tutam, divinæ Clementiæ quæ laboribus tuis voluit otium, aſcribo. Res noſtræ ita ſe habent, quòd ut vos vicinas Gallicas, ſic nos inteſtinas Papiſticas timemus Inſidias. Primates Papiſtici in publicis cuſtodiis, reliqui exilium affectantes, ſcriptis quibuſdam in vulgus diſſeminatis, ſeſe in gratiam, nos in odium vocant. Anſam minutam ſanè & ejuſmodi nacti. Controverſia nuper de quadratis Pileis & Superpelliciis, inter nos orta, exclamârunt Papiſtæ, non eſſe quam profitemur, unanimem in Religione Fidem; ſed variis nos opinionibus duci, nec in una ſententia ſtare poſſe. Auxit hanc Calumniam publicum Senatus noſtri Decretum, de profliganda Papiſtica impietate, ante noſtram Reſtitutionem ſancitum; quo ſublata reliqua fece, uſus Pileorum quadratorum & Superpelliciorum Miniſtris remanebat. Ita tamen ut ſuperſtitionis opinione careret, quod diſertis Decreti verbis cavetur. Tolli hoc Decretum non poteſt; niſi omnium Regni Ordinum, quorum conſpiratione atque conſenſu, nobis penes, quos tunc non fuit ſanciendi vel abrogandi Authoritas, Pileis & Superpelliciis uti, vel aliis locum dare injunctum eſt. Uſi his ſumus, ne munera Chriſtiana, per nos deſerta, occuparent adverſarij. Sed cum jam hæc Res in magnam Contentionem inter noſtros devenerit, noſter Grex puſillus etiam in duas abierit partes; altera, ob illud Decretum deferendum Miniſterium, altera non deferendum putet. Peto abs te, mi Gualtere, quod de hac Controverſia, quæ nos unà vexat, ſenſeris ut quam primo tempore ſcribas. Speramus certè proxi-

mis comitiis, illam Decreti partem abrogaturos. Sed ſi id obtineri non poterit, quoniam magna ope clàm nituntur Papiſtæ, Miniſterio nihilominus divino adhærendum eſſe judico; ne deſerto eo, ac à nobis ea conditione repudiato, ſeſe inſinuarent. Quâ de re, Sententiam, mi Gualtere, expecto tuam; An hæc, quæ ſic facimus, ſalva Conſcientia facere poſſimus. De veſtra etiam Eccleſia ita ſum ſollicitus, ut quoniam multos fideles Miniſtros ex peſte interiiſſe ſuſpicor, per tuas Literas ſcire vellem eorum Nomina qui jam ſuperſunt. Dominus Iheſus, magnus Gregis ſui Cuſtos, Vos, & Univerſam ſuam Eccleſiam cuſtodiat. In eodem vale. Datum è Fernomiano Caſtro, 16 Calendis Auguſti 1565.

Tuus in Chriſto,

Rob. Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatiſſimo Theologo, Domino
Gualtero, Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ
Miniſtro Digniſſimo.

Number 76.

Bullinger's *Letter to Biſhop* Horne, *concerning that Queſtion.*

Bullingerus Horno, de Re Veſtiaria.

(Eadem iterùm recurrit, aliâ Manu.)

Reverendiſſimo Patri in Chriſto, Domino Roberto Horno, Epiſcopo Wintonienſi (in Angliâ) Vigilantiſſimo; Domino ſuo plurimùm Obſervando, Salutem.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

QUæ de Controverſia de Veſtitu Miniſtrorum, inter vos exorta, ſcribis, Reverende in Chriſto Pater, priùs etiam ex Johannis Abeli, communis noſtri Amici, Literis intellexeram, quibus nuper reſpondi. Doluit mihi vehementer, & adhuc dolet, hanc occaſionem adverſariis datam eſſe, quâ inter ſe committerentur, qui apud vos puriorem Veritatis Doctrinam prædicant. De Cauſa verò non libenter pronuntio, cùm illius Circumſtantias omnes fortaſſis non nôrim. Ne tamen

tamen abs te, & aliis amicis requiſitus, officio deeſſe videar; hic repetere volui, quæ nuper in literis ad Abetum datis comprehendi. Probo Zelum eorum, qui Religionem ab omnibus ſordibus Papiſticis repurgatam volunt. Scio enim illud Prophetæ, quo Deus monet, ut ſcortationes à facie ſimul & uberibus removeamus. Interim veſtram quoque probo Prudentiam, qui, ob veſtitum, Eccleſias non putatis deſerendas. Etenim cùm finis miniſterii ſit ædificatio & conſervatio Eccleſiæ, magna circumſpectione nobis opus eſt, ne ab hoc declinemus; dum cauſam per ſe bonam & ſanctam defendimus. Nec modo videndum eſt qualis jam ſit Eccleſiæ conditio, quam deſerere ſtatuimus, ſed quæ, futura ſit nobis ab illa digreſſio. Si meliorem fore certum eſt, abire licet. Sin verò deteriorem fore, non aut malis atque infidis operariis locum demus. At quantum ego conjicere poſſum, hoc unum quærunt adverſarii veſtri communes, ut vobis ejectis, ut Papiſtas vel ab his non multum diverſos Lutheranos Doctores & antiſtites ſurrogent. Quod ſi fiat, non modo Eccleſiaſticus ordo omnis turbabitur & creſcet Cæremoniarum Ineptiſſimarum numerus, verum etiam Idola reducentur (quæ à Lutheranis defendi ſcimus) ἀρτολατρεία circa Sacram Domini cænam inſtaurabitur, privata abſolutio & ſub hac confeſſio auricularis paulatim ſubrepet, & infinita alia fient, quæ & Publicè turbas dabunt, & privatim multos pios in periculum adducent. Nam non dubito vas in veſtro miniſterio èo uſque profeciſſe ut plurimos habeatis in toto Regno nobiles, cives, agricolas, omnis denique ordinis & loci Homines, qui de Religione optimè ſentiant, & Doctrinam omnem abominantur, quæ ſuperſtitionibus & idololatriæ feneſtras aperit, & quibus intolerabile erit Tyrannidem in Eccleſia denuò ſtabiliri, quæ Populi infelicis conſcientias gravet. Hi certè, ſi vos ab Eccleſiæ gubernaculis diſcedatis, adverſariorum libidini ſubjicientur, qui examina & inquiſitiones cùm publicas tum privatas adverſus eos inſtituent, hæreſeos & ſeditionis accuſabunt, & per hos totam cauſam Religionis, Reginæ Sereniſſimæ & totius regni proceribus ſuſpectam atque inviſam reddent. Horum ergo artibus & improbitati prudenter occurrendum fuerit, ne illis ſponte demus, quod jam annis aliquot magno ſtudio & labore quæſiverunt. Quod ſi quis me rogat, an ergò eos probem, qui decreta ejuſmodi ut primi fecerunt, vel nunc obſervata volunt, quibus ſordes Papiſticæ ſalventur? Ingenuè & libere reſpondeo, illos mihi non placere. Nam aut imprudenter nimis agunt, ſi ex noſtrorum numero ſunt: Aut malo dolo Eccleſiarum Libertati inſidias ſtruunt. Etſi feces iſtas tanquam ad Dei cultum & conſcientiarum animæque ſalutem neceſſarias vobis obtruderent, quidvis potius ferendum eſſe judicarem, quàm ut Eccleſias pium Populum ab ingenua fidei profeſſione abſtrahi per illos pateremini. Sed cùm in decreto illo diſertis verbis (ut tu ſcribis) cautum ſit, quadratos pileos cum ſuperpelliceis abſque omni ſuperſtitionis opinione retineri debere, ſimul veſtris quoque Conſcientiis cautum eſſe puto. Licebit enim enim vobis, ni fallor, facti veſtri rationem reddere, ſuperſtitionis opinionem ex omnium animis removere & proteſtatione uti, quæ ſcandalum omne è medio auferat. Interea Sereniſſima Regina & Illuſtriſſimi Proceres Regni edoceantur, moveantur & excitentur, ne Reformationem tanta cum laude & magna cum totius orbis admiratione inſtitutem, fecibus & ſordibus ejuſmodi inficiant atque polluant,

neve vicinis Eccleſiis Scoticis & Gallicis aliquam præbeant diſſenſionis ſuſpicionem. Scio à quibuſdam quæſtiones moveri multas de regum & magiſtratus authoritate, an quid hujus ille in Eccleſia ſtatuere, & an horum decretis miniſtri obedire debeant ? At ego Diſputationes illas in hac Cauſa non ita neceſſarias puto, cum (ut modo dixi) ſuperſtitionis opinio per ipſius decreti verba excludatur. Et cavendum eſt, ne coram populo de magiſtratus authoritate diſputando, alicujus turba authores, ſimus. In comitiis verò Regni Publicis, iſta tractari debent legitime, & qui per occaſionem privatim Reginam & Principes Officii admonere poſſunt, ii ſuis partibus minime deeſſe debent. Hac Reverende in Chriſto pater, habui quæ nunc ſcriberem, quia meam in hac Cauſa ſententiam audire cupiebas. Nolim ego alicujus Conſcientiam gravare, ſed cavendum puto nedum nobis aut exiſtimationi noſtræ privatim conſulimus, Eccleſias totas in gravius aliquod periculum adducamus. Et meam hanc ſententiam à Pauli mente non diſſentire puto, qui omnia omnibus fieri ſolitus fuit, ut quàm plurimos lucrifaceret : Et qui Timotheum circumcidere voluit, ne Judæos illius loci à Religione Chriſtiana alienaret, & illius miniſterio commodius uti poſſet : Qui tamen alibi nihil prorſus dandum eſſe putavit iis, qui in circumciſione ſalutis meritum collocabant. Sed non errabant in ejuſmodi controverſiis, quotquot ædificationem Eccleſiæ ſuorum conſiliorum atque actionum ſcopum atque finem conſtituerint. De rebus noſtris non eſt quod ſcribam. In anni ſuperioris lue ita nobis proſpexit Dominus, ut neminem ex miniſtrorum numero amiſerimus. In agro unus & alter obiit. Velitatur nunc & nonnihil peſtis in Urbe noſtra, ſed non ſævitura videtur. Sumus in manu Domini, ejus voluntas fiat. Ad vigeſſimum Novembris Electorum Principum conventus erit Wormatiæ in quo de pace per Gremaniam conſtituenda deliberabitur & quædam de Epiſcopis & eorum Reformatione tractabuntur quæ maximi momenti erunt. Deus optimus maximus ſuo Spiritu omnium mentes & Conſilia regat ad ſui nominis gloriam & Eccleſiæ incolumitatem. Uxorem tuam honeſtiſſimam matronam, mea plurimum ſalvere jubet. Vale Pater in Chriſto Reverende. Tiguri 3 Novembris, Anno 1565.

Quæ Stamphii Manu hoc Loco
Scripta, P. 135.

Number

Number 73.

Bullinger's *Anſwer to* Humphreys *and* Sampſon *on the ſame Subject.*

Ornatiſſimis D. Laurentio Humfredo, & D. Thomæ Sampſoni, Anglis, Dominis meis & Fratribus in Chriſto.

DOminus JESUS benedicat vobes, Viri Ornatiſſimi & Fratres Chariſſimi, ac ſervet vos ab omni malo. Accepi literas veſtras, ex quibus intellexi te lamentari, conqueri, quod mea reſponſio data ad tuam quæſtionem in via videtur amiſſa. Ego verò, mi Frater tunc non vidi, neque nunc video, quorſum oportuerit copioſiores ſcribere Literas. Tu enim rogabas tunc duntaxat, quæ eſſet mea de re veſtiaria, de qua contenditur in Anglia, ſententia? Ad hanc quæſtionem brevibus tibi reſpondendum putavi, nam brevibus meam Sententiam dicere potui; dum ſciebam beatæ momoriæ D. Pet. Martyrem & Oxoniæ & hic eandem quæſtionem tractaviſſe ſepius & fuſius, quibus quod adjicerem non habebam. Memini verò in Literis ad te Sampſonem Fratrem datis, meæ quidem Sententiæ factam tum quidem fuiſſe mentionem, & ut iterum uno & altero verbo quod ſentio dicam: Nunquam probaverim, ſi veſtrum jubeamini exequi Miniſterium, ad aram Crucifixi imagine oneratam magis quàm ornatam, & in veſte Miſſatica hoc eſt in alba & in Copa quæ à tergo quoque oſtentet Crucifixi imaginem. Attamen ex Literis allatis ex Anglia intelligo, nulla nunc eſt de ejuſmodi veſtitu contentio, ſed quæſtio eſt, an liceat Miniſtris Evangelicis portare pileum rotundum vel quadratum & veſtem albam, quam vocant ſuper pellicium, qua Miniſter ornatus, à vulgo diſcernatur? Et an oporteat Miniſterium vel ſtationem ſacram citius relinquere, quàm hujuſmodi uti veſtibus? Reſpondi ad hanc quæſtionem præteritis nundinis Reverendo Viro D. Rob Horn. Vintonienſi Epiſcopo & quidem brevibus repetens verba D. Martyris. Scripſerat eidem paulò ante Symmyſta & affinis meus chariſſimo D. Rod. Gualtherus. Cujus exemplum hiſce incluſum ad vos & ad alios Fratres noſtros mitto. Ergo ſi nos audire vultis, noſtrûmque judicium de re veſtiaria expetitis, ſicut ultimis veſtris ad me Literis ſignificabatis, en habetis in illa Epiſtola meum judicium. Cui ſi acquieſcere non poteſtis, dolemus ſanè quàm vehementiſſimè, & cum nullum aliud nobis amplius ſuperſit Conſilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus & ſemper reſpiciendus eſt, ex animo & inceſſanter oramus, ut ipſe ſua gratia atque potentia rebus ſucconſulat afflictis.

Quæſtiones tu Humaniſſimè Frater, propoſuiſti, plures verò ejuſdem Argumenti Sampſonus contexuit. Licet verò pro mea ſimplici ruditate nunquam probaverim vel in tot diſtrahi quæſtiones & nodis injectis in precatioribus, quæ alioqui ſimpliciores per ſe, brevibus & ſatis perſpicuè expediri potuerant, aliquid tamen annotabo ad ſingulas,

ut

ut hac quoque in re vobis Dominis meis obſervandis & Fratribus chariſſimis, quantum per meam poſſum infantiam atamen retuſam magis quàm acutam, inſerviam. Vos autem oro, ut benignè hæc à me pro veſtro amantiſſimo accipiatis & de his animo judicetis purgato affectibus atque tranquillo. A contentionibus abhorreo prorſus, & nihil magis ſupplex peto à Domino, quàm ut ab Eccleſia amoveat contentiones, quæ ab initio & ſemper plurimum nocuére veræ Pietati & Eccleſiam pacatam & florentem lacerarunt.

Cùm quæritur, an debeant Eccleſiaſticis leges præſcribi veſtiariæ, ut iis diſtinguantur à Laicis? Reſpondeo ambiguitatem eſſe in verbo debere. Si enim accipiatur pro merito & quod ad ſalutem pertineat acquirendam, non arbitror hoc velle vel ipſos Legum Auctores. Si verò dicatur poſſe hoc fieri decori, ornatùſque vel dignitatis & ordinis gratia, ut ſit ſimilis quædam obſervantia, aut tale quid intelligatur, quale illud eſt, quod Apoſtolus vult, Epiſcopum vel Miniſtrum Eccleſiaæ Κόσμιον, compoſitum inquam vel ornatum eſſe, non video, quid peccet, qui veſte hujuſmodi induitur, aut qui hujuſmodi veſte uti jubet.

2. An Ceremonialis cultus Levitici Sacerdotii ſit revocandus in Eccleſiam? Reſpondeo. Si pileus & veſtis non indecora Miniſtro qui Superſtitione caret jubeatur uſurpari à Miniſtro, nemo ſanè dixerit verè Judaiſmum revocari: Preterea repeto hic, quod ad hanc Quæſtionem video reſpondiſſe D. Martyrem, qui cum oſtendiſſet Sacramenta veteris legis fuiſſe abolita quæ nemo debeat reducere in Eccleſiam Chriſti, quæ habeat Baptiſma & cœnam Sacram, ſubjecit: Fuerunt nihilominus in lege Levitica Actiones aliquot ita comparatæ, ut propriè Sacramenta dici non poſſent: Faciebunt noſtræ ad decorem & ordinem & aliquam commoditatem, quæ ut lumini naturæ congrua & ad noſtram aliquam utilitatem conducentia ego & revocari, & retineri poſſe judico. Quis non videt Apoſtolos pro panè & convictu credentium faciliori mandâſſe gentibus, ut à Sanguine & prefocato abſtinerent? Erant hæc citra controverſiam Legalia & Levitica. Decimas quoque hodie multis in locis Inſtitutas eſſe ad alendos Miniſtros, nemo noſtrum ignorat. Pſalmos & Hymnos cani in ſacris cœtibus manifeſtum eſt, quod Levitæ quoque uſurparunt. Utque hoc non omittam. Dies habemus faſtos in memoriam Dominicæ Reſurrection.s & alia: An verò illa omnia erunt abolenda quia ſunt veſtigia legis Antiquæ? Vides ergo non omnia Levitica ſic eſſe antiquata, ut quædam ex iis uſurpari non poſſint: Hæc ille.

3. An veſtitum cum Papiſtis communicare liceat? Reſp. Nondum conſtat Papam diſcrimen veſtium induxiſſe in Eccleſiam, imò diſcrimen veſtium conſtat Papa eſſe longè vetuſtius. Nec video, cur non liceat veſtitu non ſuperſtitioſo ſed politiore & compoſito, communicare cum Papiſtis. Si nulla re cum illis communicare liceret, oporteret & templa omnia deſerere, nulla accipere ſtipendia, non uti Baptiſmo, non recitare Symbolum Apoſtolorum & Nicænum, adeòq; abjicere orationem Dominicam. Neque vos mutuatis ab eis ullas ceremonias. Res veſtiaria ab initio Reformationis nunquam fuit abolita, & retinetur adhuc non lege Papiſtica, ſed vi edicti Regii, ut res media & politica.

4. Ita ſanè, ſi ut in re cinili utamini Pileo aut Veſte peculiari, non hoc redolet Judaiſmum, neque Monachiſmum ; nam hi volunt videri à civili vita ſeparati , & conſtituunt meritum in peculiari ſua Veſte Sic Euſtathius, Sebaſtiæ Epiſcopus, damnatus eſt, non ſimpliciter propter peculiarem Veſtem, ſed quòd in Veſte Religionem conſtitueret. Noti ſunt Gangrenſ. Conc. Canones, Laodiceni, & VI. Synodi. Quod ſi ex plebe nonnulli ſint perſuaſi, redolere hoc Papiſmum, Judaiſmum & Monachiſmum, admoneantur, & rectè de tuis inſtruantur. Quod ſi importunis quorundam clamoribus, hac de re ad vulgus profuſis, multi inquieti redduntur, videant qui hoc faciunt, ne graviora ſibi onera imponant, Regiamque Majeſtatem irritent, denique multos fideles Miniſtros in diſcrimen adducant, ex quo vix emergere queant.

5. An qui Libertate ſua hactenus acquieverunt, vi Regij Edicti, hac Servitute, implicare ſe & Eccleſiam ſalva Conſcientia poſſint ? Reſpondeo ; Cavendum ego cenſeo , ne odioſius diſputetur clametur & contendatur de re veſtiaria, atque importunitate hac detur occaſio Regiæ Majeſtati , ut liberum amplius illis non relinquat, qui libertate hactenus uſi ſunt ; ſed clamoribus non neceſſariis irritata, mandet ſumere veſtes illas Eccleſiaſticas, vel cedere ſtatione ſua, Mirum ſanè mihi videtur (meam ſententiam, viri Ornatiſſimi, & fratres Chariſſimi, dixerim) quòd vobis perſuadeatis, ſalva conſcientia vos & Eccleſias ſervituti veſtiariæ ſubjicere non poſſe, & non potius expenditis ſi in re politica & indifferenti uti nolitis & perpetuè contendatis odioſius, cujuſmodi ſervituti & vos & Evangelicos ſubjiciatis, qui ſtatione veſtra cedentes, lupis exponitis Eccleſias, aut ſaltem parum idoneis doctoribus, qui non æquè ac vos ad docendum populum ſunt inſtructi. An verò Eccleſias in libertatem aſſeruiſtis, quando occaſionem datis, Eccleſiam pluribus etiam gravioribus quoque oneribus opprimendi ? Num ignoratis, quod multi quærant, quomodo erga Evangelicam prædicationem ſitis affecti & quales vobis ſucceſſuri ſint, quid de illis ſperandum ſit ?

6. An Veſtitus Clericalis res ſit indifferens ? Videtur ſanè res indifferens, cùm ſit civilis ; Decoris, Ornatus, Ordiniſque habeat rationem, in quo Cultus non conſtituitur.

Hæc, brevibus, ad tuas volui reſpondere, Doctiſſime & Dilectiſſime mi Frater Laurenti. Jam venio etiam ad D. Sampſonis noſtri Quæſtiones ; in quibus exponendis, fortè ero brevior.

1. An Veſtitus peculiaris, à Laicis diſtinctus, Miniſtris Eccleſiæ unquam fuerit conſtitutus ; & an hodie, in Reformata Eccleſia, debeat conſtitui ? Reſpondeo : In veteri Eccleſia , fuiſſe peculiarem Preſbyterorum Veſtitum, apparet ex Hiſtoriâ Eccleſiaſticâ Theodoreti, Lib. II. c. 27. & Socratis, Lib. VI. c. 22. Pallio in ſacris uſos eſſe Miniſtros, nemo ignorat ; qui veterum Monumenta obiter inſpexit. Ideò antea admonui, diverſitatem Indumentorum non habere ſuam originem à Papa. Euſebius rectè teſtatur, ex vetuſtiſſimis Scriptoribus, Johannem Apoſtolum Epheſi Petalum, ſeu Laminam geſtâſſe Pontificalem in Capite : Et de Cypriano Martyre teſtatur Pon-

tius

tius Diaconus, quòd cum jugulum carnifici præbere vellet, ei priùs birrum dediſſe, Diacono verò dalmaticam, atque ſic ipſum in lineis ſtetiſſe indutum. Præterea, Veſtis candidæ Miniſtrorum meminit Chryſoſtomus: Ac certum eſt, Chriſtianos, cum à Gentiliſmo ad Eccleſiam converterentur, pro Toga induiſſe Pallium. Ob quam rem, cum ab infidelibus irriderentur, Tertullianus Librum de Pallio conſcripſit eruditiſſimum. Alia hujuſmodi plura proferre poſſem, niſi hæc ſufficerent. Mallem quidem nihil invitis injici Miniſtris, & eos ea uti poſſe conſuetudine qua Apoſtoli. Sed cum Regia Majeſtas Pileum tantummodò & candidam injicit Veſtem, in qua Cultum (quod ſæpe jam repetitum eſt) non conſtituit; eademque res apud veteres, dum meliores adhuc eſſent res Eccleſiæ, uſurpatæ ſint abſque ſuperſtitione & culpa; optarem, bonos Miniſtros in his, non ut in prora & puppi, quemadmodum dicitur, totum conſtituere Religionis profectum: Sed dare aliquid tempori, & de re indifferenti non odioſius altercari, ſed modeſtè indicare, hæc quidem ferri poſſe, ſed proficiendum cum tempore. Propiores enim eſſe Apoſtolicæ ſimplicitati, qui diſcrimina illa ignorent, aut non urgeant, interim tamen à Diſciplina in amictu non ſunt alieni.

2, 3. An Veſtium Præſcriptio conveniat cum Chriſtiana Libertate? Reſp. Res indifferentes admittere aliquam Præſciptionem, adeoque Coactionem, ut ſic dicam, quoad uſum & non quoad virtutem; ut aliquid ſcilicet, quod natura ſit indifferens, ut nimirum Conſcientiæ obtrudatur, & ita animis injiciatur Religio. Tempora certè & Loca ſacrorum Cœtuum, certè habentur inter indifferentia; & tunc ſi hic nulla ſit Præſcriptio, quanta obſecro confuſio conturbatioque oriretur?

4. An ullæ Ceremoniæ novæ, præter expreſſum præſcriptum Verbi Dei, cumulari poſſint? Reſp. Me non probare, ſi novæ cumulantur Ceremoniæ: Sed aliquas inſtitui poſſe non negârim, modò in eis non ſtatuatur Dei Cultus, ſed inſtituantur propter Ordinem & Diſciplinam. Chriſtus ipſe Encœniorum Ceremoniam, vel Feſtum ſervavit, nec tamen lege præceptum legimus hoc Feſtum. In ſumma, Propoſitionum, vel Quæſtionum de re veſtiaria, potior pars de eo diſputat, an de Veſtibus Leges in Eccleſia condi vel debeant, vel poſſint? Ac Quæſtionem revocat ad genus. Quidnam, videlicet, de Ceremoniis ſtatuere liceat? Ad has Propoſitiones paucis reſpondeo: Me quidem malle nullas Ceremonias, niſi rariſſimas, obtrudi Eccleſiæ: Interim fateor, non poſſe ſtatim Leges de his, fortè non adeo neceſſarias, aliquando etiam inutiles, damnari impietatis, turbaſque & ſchiſma excitare in Eccleſia, quando (vìdelicet) ſuperſtitione carent, & res ſunt ſua natura indifferentes.

5, 6. An Ritus Judæorum antiquatos revocare, Religioniq; Idololatrarum propriè dicatos, in uſus Reformatarum Eccleſiarum liceat transferre? De hac Quæſtione antea reſpondi, ubi diſſerui de Leviticis Ritibus. Nolim verò Ritus idololatricos, non repurgatos ab Erroribus, transferri in Eccleſias Reformatas. Rurſus verò & ex adverſo

quæri potuerat; An recepti Ritus, remota Superſtitione, propter Diſciplinam & Ordinem, retineri ſine peccato non poſſint?

7. An Conformatio in Ceremoniis neceſſariò ſit exigenda? Reſpondeo, Conformationem in Ceremoniis, in omnibus Eccleſiis fortè non eſſe neceſſariam. Interim, ſi præcipiatur res non neceſſaria, rurſus tamen non impia, ob eam Eccleſia non videtur deſerenda. Non fuit in Ritibus Conformitas in omnibus, in Eccleſiis vetuſtioribus: Quæ tamen conformibus utebantur Ritibus, eas non vituperabant Conformitate carentes. Facilè autem credo, Viros prudentes atque politicos, Conformationem Rituum urgere, quòd exiſtiment hanc facere ad Concordiam, & quòd una ſit Eccleſia totius Angliæ; in qua re, ſi nihil impij videatur, non video, quomodo ejuſmodi non malis inſtitutis vos hoſtiliter objiciatis?

8. An Ceremoniæ, cum aperto ſcandalo conjunctæ, retineri poſſint? Reſpondeo, Scandalum vitari oportere. Videndum interim, ne ſub ſcandalo noſtras Affectiones contegamus: Non ignoratis aliud quidem datum, aliud verò acceptum, & ultrò accerſitum eſſe ſcandalum. Non diſputo nunc, An Vos, ſine grandi ſcandalo dato, deſerere poſſitis Eccleſias, pro quibus Chriſtus mortuus eſt, propter rem indifferentem.

9. An ullæ Conſtitutiones ferendæ in Eccleſia, quæ natura ſua impiæ quidem non ſunt, ſed tamen ad Ædificationem nihil faciunt? Reſp. Si Conſtitutiones impietate carent, quas vobis imponere vult Regia Majeſtas, ferendæ ſunt potiùs, quàm deſerendæ Eccleſiæ. Si enim Ædificatio Eccleſiæ hac in re potiſſimum eſt ſpectanda; deſerendo certè Eccleſiam, plus deſtruxerimus Eccleſiam, quàm Veſtes induendo. Et ubi abeſt Impietas, nec læditur Conſcientia, ibi cedendum non eſt, licet aliqua imponatur Servitus. Interim verò quæri rurſus poterat, An ſub Servitutem juſtè referamus rem veſtiariam; quatenus facit ad Decorem & Ordinem?

10. An in Reformatis Eccleſiis à Principe præſcribendum in Ceremoniis, ſine voluntate & libero conſenſu Eccleſiaſticorum? Reſp. Si Voluntas Eccleſiaſticorum ſemper ſit expectanda Principi, nunquam fortè ſapientiſſimi & piiſſimi Reges, Aſa, Ezechias, Joſaphat & Joſias, alijque Principes boni, Levitas & Miniſtros Eccleſiarum redegiſſent in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorſus excludi Epiſcopos à Conſultationibus Eccleſiaſticorum. Nolim rurſus eam ſibi potentiam vendicare, quam ſibi uſurpârunt contra Principes & Magiſtratus in Papatu. Nolim item tacere Epiſcopos, & conſentire ad iniqua Principum inſtituta.

11, 12. Poſtremæ Quæſtiones duæ propiùs ad rem ipſam accedunt: An conſultius Eccleſiæ ſic inſervire; an propterea Eccleſiaſtico munere rejeci? Et, an boni Paſtores, jure ob hujuſmodi, Ceremonias neglectas à Miniſterio avocari poſſint? Reſp. Si in Ritibus nulla eſt Superſtitio, nulla Impietas, urgentur tamen & imponuntur bonis Paſtoribus, qui mallent illos ſibi non imponi: Dabo ſanè, & quidem

ex abundanti, onus & ſervitutem ipſis imponi; ſed non dabo ideo juſtiſſimis ex cauſis, Stationem vel Miniſterium propterea eſſe deſerendum, & locum cedendum lupis, ut antea dictum eſt, vel ineptioribus Miniſtris. Præſertim, cum maneat libera Prædicatio, - - - - - poſſit obtrudere ſervitus, & multa hujuſmodi alia, &c.

Dixi quæ videbantur mihi dicenda de propoſitis Quæſtionibus, non neſcius alios pro ſua eruditione, longè elegantius meliuſque potuiſſe excuſſiſſe; ſed quia ita voluiſtis, ut reſponderem, feci quod potui, liberum aliis relinquens de his & calamum & judicium. Quod ſupereſt, nullius ego his Conſcientiam urgere volo, examinanda propono; moneoque, ne quis in hac Controverſia, ex Φιλονεικία, ſibi faciat Conſcientiam. Hortor item vos omnes, per Jeſum Chriſtum, Dominum meum, Eccleſiæ ſuæ Servatorem, Caput & Regem, ut probè quiſque apud ſe expendat: Utra nam re plus ædificârit Eccleſiam Chriſti, ſi propter Ordinem & Decorem Veſtibus utatur, ut re indifferenti, & hactenus ad concordiam utilitatemque Eccleſiaſticam nonnihil facienti; an verò propter rem veſtiariam deſerere Eccleſiam, occupandam poſtea, ſi non à lupis manifeſtis, ſaltem à Miniſtris minus idoneis & bonis? Dominus Jeſus det vobis videre, ſapere, & ſequi quod facit ad Gloriam ejus, & Eccleſiæ Pacem & Salutem.

Valete in Domino, unà cum omnibus fidelibus Miniſtris. Orabimus ſedulò pro vobis Dominum, ut ea ſentiatis & faciatis, quæ ſancta ſunt & ſalutaria. D. Gualtherus amiciſſimè vos ſalutat, & omnia fælicia vobis precatur. Faciunt hoc ipſum reliqui etiam Miniſtri. Tiguri, Calendis Maij, Anno Domini M D LXVI.

Veſter ex animo totus,

Heinrychus Bullingerus, Sen.

Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ Miniſter.

Admonitum te volo, chare mi Sampſon, ne quid D. Bibliandri edas, nam quæ habetis excerptæ ſunt ab Auditoribus ejus, & non ſunt ſcripta à D. Bibliandro. Habent autem Hæredes ejus Commentaria, ejus manu ſcripta in Biblia, vel in vetus Teſtamentum. Indigniſſimè enim ferunt, ſi quid ſub ejus nomine ederetur, quod ipſus non ſcripſiſſet. Interim gratias ago humanitati tuæ, quòd de his nos feciſti certiores. Et Literæ tuæ 16 Febr. ſcriptæ, demùm mihi traditæ ſunt 26 Aprilis.

Number 78.

Humphreys *and* Sampſon's *Letter to* Bullinger, *inſiſting on the Queſtion.*

Laurentius Humfredus, & Thomas Sampſon, Bullingero.

CUM diligentia tua clariſſimo Viro, in ſcribendo nobis probatur: Tum verò ex Literis illis quidem humaniſſimis incredibilis tuus erga nos amor & Eccleſiæ noſtræ ſingularis cura, & concordiæ ardentiſſimum ſtudium apparent. Quæſtiones aliquot miſimus P. T. in quibus jus & quaſi cardo totius Controverſiæ ſita eſſe videbatur. Quibus eſt à P. T. accurate reſponſum, nobis tumen quod bona cum venia tua dicimus, non eſt ſatisfactum plenè. Primò reſpondet P. T. Miniſtris præſcribi poſſe leges Veſtiarias ut iis colore & forma à Laicis diſtinguantur: Eſſe enim civilem obſervationem & Apoſtolum velle Epiſcopum eſſe *κόσμιον*. Cum hæc quæſtio de Eccleſiaſticis Hominibus propoſita ſit & ad Eccleſiaſticam politiam ſpectet: Quomodo habitus Miniſtrorum ſingularis & clericalis civilem rationem habere poſſit, non videmus. Ut Epiſcopum *κόσμιον* eſſe debere fatemur; ſic ad ornatum mentis non ad cultum corporis cum Ambroſio referimus. Et ut in veſtitu honeſtatem dignitatem, gravitatem requirimus: Sic decorum ab hoſtibus Religionis noſtræ peti negamus. Secundo reſpondes Hypotheticè, ſi pileus & veſtis non indecorus Miniſtro, & quæ ſuperſtitione carent, jubeatur uſurpari à Miniſtris Judaiſmum propterea non revocari. At qui eſſe poteſt veſtis ſimplici Miniſterio Chriſti conveniens, quæ Theatro & Pompæ Sacerdotii Papiſtici ſerviebat? Neque enim (quo noſtri P. T. perſuadent) pileus quadrus & veſtitus externus ſolummodo exiguntur ſed etiam ſacras veſtes in templo adhibentur, ſuperpelliceum, ſeu alba chori veſtis, & capa revocantur. Quæ Judaiſmi *μιμήματα* quædam eſſe & ſimulacra non modò Papiſtæ ipſi in ſuis Libris clamitant, ſed P. T. non ſemel ex Innocentio docuit. D. Martyris præceptoris noſtri colendiſſimi teſtimonio libenter ſubſcribimus. Sed quæ ille affert exempla ad decorum & ordinem pertinent, hæc Eccleſiam deformant, *εὐταξίαν* perturbant, condecentiam omnem evertunt: Illa lumini naturæ congruunt; hæc prodigioſa & monſtroſa ſunt: Illa juxta Tertulliani regulam meras neceſſitates & utilitates habebant: Hæc inepta prorſus & ſupervacanea & inutilia ſunt, nec ædificationi nec ulli bono uſui conducentia ſed verius ut ejus Martyris noſtri verbis utamur, cultui, quem hodie quotquot pii ſunt execrantur, ſplendide inſervierunt. Veſtium Eccleſiaſticarum diſcrimen hodiè receptum Papiſticum eſſe inventum ipſi Papiſtolæ Gloriantur, Othonis Conſtitutiones loquuntur, Liber Pontificalis oſtendit, oculi & ora omnium comprobant. Uſus Decimarum Stipendii, Baptiſmi, Symboli, & ante Papam natum divino inſtituto inolevit. Et cum

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

Auguſtino quicquid in aliqua Hæreſi Divinum ac Legitimum reperimus, id & approbamus & retinemus, non inficiamur. Hoc autem quia erroris illius ac diſſenſionis proprium eſt, veraciter cum eodem arguimus & certamus. Quod addis, rem veſtiariam ab initio reformationis non fuiſſe abolitam, in ea rurſus veſtri minimè vera retulerunt. Multis enim in locis Sereniſſimi Regis Edvardi VI. temporibus abſque ſuperpelliceo cæna D. pure celebrabatur: Et Copa quæ tum lege abrogata eſt nunc Publico decreto reſtituta eſt. Hoc non eſt Papiſmum extirpare, ſed denuo plantare, non in Pietate proficere ſed deficere. Veſtitum Sacerdotalem civilem eſſe ais: Monachiſmum, Papiſmum, Judaiſmum redolere negas. De ſuperpelliceo quid blaterent Papiſtæ habitus Clericorum apud eos quanti fiat, & quo Religioni dicatus ſit Prudentiam tuam ex libris eorum intelligere non dubitamus. Deinde Monachatum ac Papiſmum ſapit illa ambitio & Phariſaica peculiaris, veſtitus præſcriptio; cui illi hodiè non minùs quam olim Morachi ſuæ cucullæ tribuunt. Neq; verò ſimul ac ſemel irrupit ſanctitatis & meriti opinio, ſed paulatim & ſenſim irrepſit. Quod ne hic quoque fiat, quod veremur, idcircò non ab re cunctamur, & principiis obſtare conamur. Cum Euſtathio non facimus, qui in veſte religionem collocabat, imò his, qui ſingulares & religioſas veſtes ſui Sacerdotii indices ſuperſtitioſe requirunt adverſamur. Idem etiam de Canone Conſilii Gangrenſis & Laodicei & Synodi VI. dicendum, & libertate in qua hactenus ſtetimus, diſcedere ſervitutis autoramentum quoddam eſſe judicamus. Neq; hic nos rimati ſumus, non odioſe contendimus, acerbas contentiones ſemper fugimus, amicas conſultationes querimus; lupis non cedimus, ſed coacti & pulſi loco inviti & gementes diſcedimus. Fratres & Epiſcopos Domino ſuo ſtare & cadere permittimus, eandem erga nos æquitatem at fruſtra petimus. In ritibus nihil eſt liberum; nec ad hoc nobis R. M. irritata eſt: Sed aliorum ſuaſu ducta eſt: at nunc demum non quod Eccleſiæ expedit, ſed quod aliquo modo licet, conſtituatur: & quod omninò impium non eſt, id ſanum & ſalubre, id ſacroſanctum, id ratum habeatur. Ceremonias & veſtes ſacerdotum, cum religionis teſtes, & profeſſionis notæ ſunt, non civiles eſſe: & ab hoſtibus omnium conſenſu mutuò corrogatæ, non decore haberi: & Anathemate divino notatæ & piis omnibus inviſæ & malis ac infirmis admirabiles, ſine quibus nec nos miniſtros eſſe, nec Sacramenta ritè adminiſtrari credunt, in rebus indifferentibus numerari nec poſſunt nec debent. Habebant Patres antiqui ſuas veſtes, ſed nec Epiſcoporum omnium proprias, nec â Laicis diſtinctas. Exempla D. Joan. & Cypr. ſingularia ſunt. Siſinius hæreticus erat, nec aut laudatus aut nobis imitandus proponitur. Pallium omnium erat Chriſtianorum commune, ut Tertulli in illo libro refert, & T. P. alibi notavit. Chryſoſtomus candidæ veſtis meminit, ſed obiter: nec commendat ſed reprehendit: & fuerit ne ſacerdotum an aliorum Græcorum linea aut lanea alba an munda nondum conſtat. Certè ad populum Antiochenum ab eodem, & ab Hieronymo opponitur ſordidæ & apud Blondum de pallio laneo fit mentio. Quare ex ambiguo nihil concludi poteſt. Veſtium præſcriptionem non congruere cum Chriſtiana libertate Bucerus eſt teſtis, qui diſcrimina veſtium propter præſentem abuſum in Eccleſiis Anglicanis, propter pleniorem declarationem deteſtationis Antichriſti,

tichriſti, propter pleniorem profeſſionem Libertatis Chriſtianæ, propter tollendas inter fratres diſſenſiones omninò tollenda eſſe cenſuit. His enim verbis uſus eſt in Epiſtola ad D. Alaſco, qui totus noſter fuit. Cedendum quidem eſt tempori ſed ad tempus: ſic ut progrediamur ſemper, regrediamur nunquam. Abſit ut nos vel Schiſmata in Eccleſia altercando odioſius feramus vel fratribus hoſtiliter nos opponendo Camerinam moveamus: abſit (optime Bull.) ut res natura indifferentes impietatis damnemus: Abſit ut ſub ſcandalo noſtras affectiones contegamus, vel ex φιλονεικία conſcientiam faciamus. Hæc ſex & fermentum papiſticum (nobis crede) omnis diſſenſionis eſt ſeminarium: Illud tolli & ſempiternâ oblivione obrui ac ſepeliri cupimus, ne ulla extent Antichriſtianæ ſuperſtitiones veſtigia. In Papatu primatus & ſupercilium ſemper nobis diſplicuerunt: Et tyrannis in Eccleſia Libera placebit? Libera Synodus apud Chriſtianos controverſiarum nodos hactenus ſolvit: Cur nunc ad unius aut alterius arbitrium referentur omnia? Ubi hæc votorum & vocum regnat libertas, Ibi valet & viget veritas. Breviter ſic habeto rectum, primum hæc nobis potiſſimum fidem facere, Authoritatem Scripturarum, ſimplicitatem miniſterij Chriſti, puritatem eccleſiarum primarum & optimarum quæ brevitatis ſtudio commemorare ſuperſedemus. Ex altera verò parte legem nullam, nullum decretum generale, vel Dei optimi maximi, vel repurgatæ alicujus eccleſiæ, vel univerſalis conſilii (quæ Auguſt. regula eſt) legere nobis hactenus contigit vel audire. Præterea illud comperimus, hæc quæ adducta ſunt hactenus, exempla particularia eſſe, & univerſale non confirmare. Ad hæc ſtatuimus, non quicquid eſt licitum ullo modo, obtrudendum, ſed quod Eccleſiam ædificat omni modo, eſſe introducendum; nec quod alicui licet, id ſtatim licere omnibus. Doctrinam caſtam & incorruptam (Deo ſit laus) habemus: in cultu, religionis parte non infima cur claudicabimus? cur mancum Chriſtum potius, quam totum, quam purum ac perfectum recipimus? Cur â Papiſtis hoſtibus, & non â vobis fratribus reformationis exempla petimus? Eadem eſt noſtrarum eccleſiarum confeſſio: eadem doctrinæ & fidei ratio: cur in ritibus & ceremoniis tanta diſſimilitudo? tanta diverſitas? Signatum idem: cur ſigna adeò variant ut diſſimilia veſtris, ſimilia papiſticis exiſtant? Idem dux & Imperator Chriſtus: cur in Eccleſiis noſtris vexilla hoſtilia eriguntur? quæ ſi homines Dei ſi ullo zelo præditi eſſemus, jam dudum deteſtati & demoliti fuiſſemus. Nos de Epiſcopos ſemper optimè ſenſimus: illorum faſtum candidè interpretati ſumus: cum nos olim crucem cum ipſis ex oſculantes & nunc eundem Chriſtum prædicantes, idem jugum ſuaviſſimum una ferentes ferre non poſſunt? Cur in carceres conjiciunt? cur propter veſtem perſequuntur? Cur victu ac bonis ſpoliant? Cur libris publicè traducant? Cur cauſam malam poſteritati, edito ſcripto commendant? Verterunt etiam in idioma noſtrum Schedulas aliquot D. Buceri, P. Martyri, & nunc tuas privatas ad nos Literas nobis invitis & inſciis in Publicum emiſerunt. Unde dum ſuam cauſam agunt, ſuum honorem vendicant, nec Eccleſiæ noſtræ, nec Fratribus ſuis, nec dignitati tuæ, nec ſeculo alteri conſulunt. Quo autem P. T. intelligat, non levem aut ludicram, ſed magni ponderis eſſe controverſiam, Nec de pileo ſolum, aut ſuperpelliceo certari, ſed de re graviſ-

graviſſima nos conqueri, Stipulas aliquot, & quiſquilias Papiſticæ Religionis mittimus, ex quibus facile, quæ eſt tua prudentia, reliqua conjicias: Et remedium aliquod, quæ eſt tua Pietas, primo quoque tempore excogites. Oramus autem, D. noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, ut hos tumultus & turbas conſopiat, gloriam ſuam aſſerat, operarios in vineam extrudat, quo Meſſis læta & uberrima proveniat. Teque oramus, ut Conſilio Paterno, Scripto Publico, Literis Privatis Agas, Satagas, facias, efficias, ut vel hæc mala tollantur, vel boni Viri nondum perſuaſi tolerentur, ne quos Doctrinæ firmiſſimum Vinculum copulavit, Ceremonia Romana disjungat. Salutem dicas Gualtero, Symlero, Lavatero, Wolphio Dominis colendis, quibuſcum ſi contuleris, & nobis & Eccleſiæ univerſæ gratiſſimum feceris. D. Jeſus ſuo Tugurio, veſtro Tyguro benedicat. Julij Anno 1566. Hæc paucis & raptim, & non tam reſpondendi, quam admonendi Cauſa, quæ in hanc Sententiam dici poſſent infinita ſunt. Tu nunc non quid fiat, aut fieri poſſit, ſed quid fieri debeat pronuncia.

Tuæ Paternitatis Studioſiſſimus,

Laurentius Humfredus.

Tho. Samſon.

INSCRIPTIO.

Domino Henrico Bullingero, Eccleſiæ Tigurinæ Miniſtro Fideliſſimo, & Doctiſſimo Domino in Chriſto nobis Colendo.

Number 79.

A Paper of other things complained of beſides the Heads.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

1. ALiquot Maculæ quæ in Eccleſia Anglicana adhuc hærent. In Præcibus publicis & ſi nihil impurum, eſt tamen Species aliqua Superſtitionis Papiſticæ. Quod non modò in matutinis & veſpertinis, ſed in ſacra etiam Cæna videre eſt.

2. Præ-

2. Præter Muſicæ ſonos fractos & exquiſitiſſimos, Organorum uſus in Templis invaleſcit.
3. In Adminiſtratione Baptiſmi, Miniſter infantem alloquitur, ejus nomine ſponſores, parente abſente, de Fide, de Mundo, Carne, Diabolo deferendo reſpondent, Baptizatus crûce ſignatur.
4. Mulierculis etiam domi baptizandi poteſtas facta eſt.
5. In Cœna Dominica ſacræ veſtes, nempe Capa & Superpelliceum adhibentur; communicantibus Genuflexio injungitur; pro pane communi, placentula Azima ſubſtituitur.
6. Extra Templum, & Miniſtris in univerſum ſingulis, veſtes Papiſticæ præſcribuntur; & Epiſcopi ſuum lineum, rochetum vocant, geſtant & utrique pileos quadros, liripippia, togas longas à Papiſtis mutuo ſumptas circumferunt.
7. De nervo autem Religionis, Diſciplina, quid dicemus? Nulla eſt, nec habet ſuam virgam Eccleſia noſtra: Nulla Cenſura exercetur.
8. Conjugium Miniſtris Eccleſiæ, publicis Regni Legibus, conceſſum & ſancitum non eſt; ſed eorum Liberi, à nonnullis, pro ſpuriis habentur.
9. Solennis Deſponſatio fit, more rituque Papiſtico, per Annulum.
10. Mulieres adhuc cum velo purificantur.
11. In regimine Eccleſiaſtico, multa Antichriſtianæ Eccleſiæ veſtigia ſervantur. Ut enim olim Romæ, in foro Papæ, omnia fuerunt venalia; ſic in Metropolitani Curia, eadem ferè omnia proſtant: Pluralitates Sacerdotiorum, Licentia pro non reſidendo, pro non initiando Sacris, pro eſu carnium diebus interdictis, & in quadrageſima, quo etiam tempore, niſi diſpenſetur & numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum eſt.
12. Miniſtris Chriſti libera prædicandi poteſtas adempta eſt: Qui jam concionari nolunt, hi rituum innovationem ſuadere non debent, ſed manus ſubſcriptione Ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur.
13. Poſtremò, Articulus de ſpirituali manducatione, qui diſertis verbis oppugnabat, & tollebat realem Præſentiam in Euchariſtia, & manifeſtiſſimam continebat veritatis explanationem, Edvardi VI. temporibus excuſus, nunc apud vos evulgatur mutilatus & truncatus.

Laur. Humfredus.

Number

Number 80.

Bullinger's *Anſwer to their Letter, declining to enter further into the Diſpute.*

Præſtantiſſimis Viris, D. Laurentio Humfredo, & D. Thomæ Sampſoni, Anglis, Dominis meis Colendis, & Fratribus Chariſſimis.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

EPiſtolam illam veſtram, Domini colendi & Fratres chariſſimi, quâ meæ reſpondetis de re veſtiariâ ſcriptæ, accepimus & legimus. Cujus quidem hæc ſumma eſt, Vobis per noſtram nondum eſſe ſatisfactum. Prævidimus hoc futurum, Fratres : Ideoq; mox ab initio, ſi bene meminiſtis, in Epiſtola mea hæc præmiſimus verba. Ergo, ſi nos audire vultis, noſtrumque Judicium de re veſtiaria expenditis, ſicut ultimis ad me Literis veſtris ſignificabatis, en habetis in illa (Gualtheri) Epiſtola meum judicium. Cui ſi acquieſcere non poteſtis, dolemus ſanè quam vehementiſſimè, & cum nullum aliud nobis ſuperſit conſilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus & ſemper reſpiciendus eſt, ex animo & inceſſanter oramus, ut ipſe ſua gratia atque potentia, rebus graviter afflictis, &c. His jam nihil ampliùs addere nec poſſumus, nec volumus. Reſpondere quidem ad veſtra objecta poſſemus, ſed nolumus ullam novis & nunquam terminandis Diſputationibus, ſcriptis vel rixis dare occaſionem. Toties ſcripſit Martyr beatæ Memoriæ, cum adhuc viveret in Anglia, ſed ſubinde aliæ atque aliæ ſuggerebantur, repetebanturque Quæſtiones, ut videam ægre ullis verbis Scriptiſve ſatisfieri poſſe. Rogati à vobis fraterno amore ſuaſimus, quod nobis coram Domino videbatur eccleſiæ fore fructuoſum. Diximus nobis quidem videri utilius ad tempus uti iſtis veſtibus & cum oviculis creditis manere, quàm rejectis illis pariter & eccleſias deſerere. Ulterius progreſſi non ſumus, neque ullas papiſticas ſordes ac ſuperſtitiones probavimus: de quibus in illis diſputationem ne ſuſcepimus quidem, quippe ignari, quæ inter vos controvertèrentur, & de quibus nunc quoque ſcribitis, De re magni ponderis eſſe apud vos controverſiam, nec de pileo ſolum aut Superpelliceo certari, ſed de re graviſſima vos conqueri. Licet quidem epiſtola illa noſtra ad vos privatim de re veſtiaria conſcripta, inſciis nobis à quibuſdam ſit edita, ſperamus tamen pios & prudentes viros, noſtra, neque in comitiis neque extra comitia eò detorſuros, quaſi videamur ea nunc approbare & reſtituere velle, quæ pij omnes libris noſtris edocti, dudum nos reprobare norunt. Suaſimus vobis, ſicut & ante nos & una nobiſcum D. Martyr, quod nobis quidem videbatur, pro hoc tempore Argumento vel re, recipiendam vobis, ceu honeſtum & utile. Hoc quia hactenus placere non potuit, committimus nos totum Deo Negotium, petimuſq; ut nobis non ſitis ingrati, ſed nihilominus amici, pergentes amare nos, veſtri amantes in Domino, quem ex Animo oramus ut ipſe, qui Fidelis eſt Cuſtos Eccleſiæ ſuæ, Diſſidium hoc infelix, inter vos exortum, componat & Eccleſiæ ſuæ Tranquillitatem

reddat. Memineritis Fratres, obſecramus, per Dominum Jeſum, à Miniſtris Eccleſiarum non tantùm requiri, ut ſint fidelis Sermonis tenaces, ſed ut ſimul ſint prudentes domûs Dei diſpenſatores, rationem habentes familiæ, temporumque; & ut patienter, per Charitatem, plurima ſuſtineant, concordiam veram in Domino foveant, deniq; per omnia Eccleſiam in pace conſervent, nimiaq; ſua vehementia, moroſitate aut importunitate, bonum quidem ſed non prudenter volendo, non incommodent piis & pietati. Dominus Jeſus concedat vobis Spiritum ſuum ſanctum, & dirigat vos in viis ſuis. Valete Fratres.

Datum Tiguri, 10 Septembr.
Anno Dom. 1566.

Heinrychus Bullingerus,

Suo & ſui GUALTHERI Nomine.

Number 81.

Bullinger *and* Gualter's *Letter to the Earl of* Bedford, *preſſing him to find a Temper in that Matter.*

Illuſtriſſimo Principi, Domino Franciſco Ruſſello, Comiti Bedfordienſi, &c.

CUM anno ſuperiori intellexiſſemus apud vos, Illuſtriſſime Princeps, contentionem aliquam de Habitu Miniſtrorum exortam eſſe, vehementer timebamus, ne ea ulterius progreſſa, aliquid majoris mali daret Eccleſiæ: Et ideò à viris piis & cordatis requiſiti, conſilium dedimus, quod tunc nobis tutum & pium videbatur. Monuimus enim Eccleſiarum Miniſtros, ne ob rem non adeò magni momenti ab Eccleſiis diſcederent, & eas lupis & ſuperſtitioſis ſeductoribus vexandas relinquerent. At non fefellit nos gravioris periculi metus, quem nos tunc concepiſſe diximus. Audimus enim, jam non de ſolo veſtitu apud vos contendi, ſed inſuper multa alia obtendi piis Miniſtris; quæ merum Papatum redolent, imò in Antichriſti Schola primùm fabricata ſunt, & proinde ſalva pietate recipi aut diſſimulari non poſſunt. Dolorem autem nobis non levem parit, quòd Epiſtolam quam privatim ad amicos pauculos ea de re dedimus, typis excuſam eſſe fertur, & quod multi noſtrum de re illa veſtiaria judicium ad alia uſque extendunt, quæ Controverſa eſſe tunc neſciebamus, & quæ *Ex MSS. Tigur.*

à nobis nunquam probari potuerunt. Et ſanè juſtiſſimi doloris cauſa eſt, noſtri nominis authoritate pios Fratres gravari, quibus conſilium & conſolationem afferre, potiùs quam moleſtiam exhibere ſtuduimus. Magis tamen utimur ſcandali conſideratione, quod inde exortum eſſe non dubitamus. Auget præterea triſtitiam noſtram infælix Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ conditio; quam cum ſemper amaverimus, non poſſumus non ſanguinariis Fidei purioris hoſtibus totis animis commoveri, quòd quæ vixdum liberata nonnil florere cæperat, nunc inteſtinis diſſidiis labefactatur. Et quia de tua virtute, Illuſtriſſime Princeps, nobis ſatis conſtat, & non pauca extant tuæ Pietatis argumenta, ad tuam Excellentiam Literas dandas eſſe putavimus, de qua pij quàm plurimi ſpem non mediocrem conceperunt. Rogamus autem ut apud Sereniſſimam Reginam, & in Comitiis (quæ brevi futura audimus) apud regni proceres, cauſam Eccleſiæ pro more tueri pergat, neque ſuum patrocinium piis Fratribus neget; qui etſi aliqua in re peccarunt, veniam tamen merentur, quando illos ferventi pietatis zelo commotos fuiſſe; conſtat & hoc unum quærere, ut Eccleſiam ab omnibus Papiſticis ſordibus repurgatam habeant. Neq; illi modò nobis digni videntur, quos pij Principes propugnent; ſed tota hæc cauſa ejuſmodi eſt, ut qui in illa agenda ſtudium & induſtriam adhibent, eo facto demùm teſtentur, ſe Principum nomine digniſſimos eſſe. Dignatus eſt illuſtres viros eo honore Dominus, ut Eccleſiæ ejus nutritij dicantur, quæ ſanè laus omnem hujus mundi gloriam atq; dignitatem longè ſuperat. Erunt autem fideles nutritij, ſi Eccleſiam non modò ex hoſtium manibus eripiant, verbi Prædicationem inſtaurent, & Sacramentorum uſum legitimum reſtituant; verùm & caveant, ne quæ Chriſto adduci debet Sponſa incontaminata, ullo ſuperſtitionum fuco defœdetur, aut ullis Ritibus à ſimplicitate Chriſtiana, alienis à fide ſua ſuſpectam reddat. Et notum eſt illud Hoſeæ, qui Eccleſiam Iſraeliticam monebat, ut ſcortationes non ab uberibus modò, verùm & à facie removeret. Quare etiam atq; etiam Excellentiam tuam rogamus, ut quod hactenus fecit, nunc imprimis facere pergat, & ſua Authoritate apud Sereniſſimam Reginam & Regni Proceres efficere ſtudeat, ne cum magna totius orbis admiratione inſtituta Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Reformatio, novis ſordibus & poſtliminio reductis infelicis Papatûs reliquiis, deformetur. Nam ſi id fiat, non modo inconſtantiæ nota multis in Regno veſtro florentiſſimo inuretur, verùmetiam infirmi offendentur, & vicinis Scotiæ, Galliæ & Flandriæ Eccleſiis, ſcandalum præbebitur ſub cruce adhùc laborantibus, cujus pœnæ in authores ejus proculdubio redundabunt. Imò ex vobis exemplum ſument vicini veritatis Evangelicæ hoſtes; ut ipſi quoq; in ſuis locis, liberiorem verbi Dei cultum novis tyrannicæ ſuperſtitionis legibus circumſcribant. Liberiùs hæc dicimus, Illuſtriſſime Princeps, non quòd de tua pietate quicquam dubitemus, ſed id partim tua humanitate incredibili freti faciamus, partim rei neceſſitate adducti tuæ Excellentiæ, & multis aliis de hac cauſa cogitandi materiam & occaſionem ampliorem præbere cupimus. Precamur autem Deum optimum maximum, ut Eccleſiæ ſuæ miſeratus, pacem illi reſtituat, & T. E. tuiq; ſimiles Principes ſuo Spiritû regat, ſuo favore proſegat, & potenti brachio ſervet,

vet, ad ſui Nominis Gloriam, & Eccleſiæ ſuæ Conſervationem. Tiguri, 11 Sept. Anno 1566.

Tuæ Excellentiæ Deditiſſimi,

Henricus Bullingerus, Sen. &
Rod. Gualtherus.

Number 82.

Bullinger *and* Gualter's *Letter to Biſhop* Grindal *and Biſhop* Horn, *for quieting the Diſpute.*

Reverendis in Chriſto Patribus, D. Edmundo Gryndallo Londonienſi, & de Roberto Horno Wintonienſi, in Anglia Epiſcopis, Dominis noſtris Colendiſſimis & Fratribus Chariſſimis.

Reverendi in Chriſto Patres, Domini Honorandi, & Fratres Chariſſimi.

RUmore perlatum eſt ad nos, confirmato eodem nonnullorum Literis Fratrum aliunde ad nos allatis, Epiſtolam illam meam, quam Menſe Maio, privatim Scripſimus ad Honorandos Fratres noſtros D. Humfredum, & Sampſonem, vobiſque Dominis noſtris & Fratribus Chariſſimis, certo Conſilio expoſito à nobis in Epiſtola ad vos data communicavimus, Typis excuſam atque publicatam eſſe, eaque ipſa illos confirmari, qui jam multos Eccleſiarum Miniſtros pios & doctos exauthorarunt, non quidem ob rem veſtiariam, de qua illa noſtra Scripta eſt Epiſtola, ſed alios complures ob articulos, apud vos controverſos. De quibus in Epiſtola illa noſtra nullam inſtituimus Diſputationem, quos tamen omnes dicimur contra exauthoratos defendere atque approbare. Nos quidem incendium inter vos exortum non augere, ſed extinguere ſtudio veſtri Sancto ſumus conati, & non probare vel improbare articulos de quibus nihil nobis conſtabat. Proinde luculenta nobis fieret injuria, ſi noſtra Epiſtola raperetur eo quaſi eos etiam articulos, quos tunc ignoravimus, cum de re veſtiaria ſcriberemus, approbare videremur. Summa ſententiæ noſtræ erat, Eccleſias Chriſti Sanguine redemptas, minimè eſſe deſerendas propter pi- *Ex MSS. Tigur.*

leos & veſtes, res indifferentes, cum non propter cultum ullum, ſed propter ornatum politicè uſurpari jubeantur. Nunc verò audimus (utinam rumore falſo) requiri à Miniſtris novis quibuſdam ſubſcribant articulis, aut ſtatione ſua cedant. Articulos verò eſſe hujuſmodi, cantum in templis figuratum, & peregrina lingua, unà cum ſtrepitu organorum eſſe retinendum, Mulieres in caſu neceſſitatis privatim poſſe; & debere baptizare infantulos. Magiſtrum quoq; infantem oblatum baptiſmo rogare debere quæſtiones, olim catechumenis propoſitas. Baptizantes item Miniſtros uſurpare exufflationes, exorciſmos, crucis characterem, oleum, ſputum, lutum, accenſos cæreos & hujus generis alia: Docendum eſſe Miniſtris in perceptione Cœnæ Domini, opus eſſe genuflexione (quæ ſpeciem habet adorationis) nec panem frangendum eſſe communiter, ſed cuilibet communicaturo cruſtulam ori ejus eſſe inſerendam à Miniſtro. Neq; verò modum Spiritualis manducationis, & præſentiæ Corporis Chriſti in Sacra Cœna explicandum, ſed relinquendum in medio. Præterea dicitur, ut quondam Romæ omnia fuerint venalia, ita nunc in Metropolitani Curia, proſtare eadem, pluralitates videlicet Sacerdotiorum, licentiam pro non reſidendo, pro eſu carnium diebus interdictis, & in quadrageſſima, & rebus ſimilibus, pro quibus niſi quis numeret, nihil impetret. Uxores item Miniſtrorum longè arceri à ſuis maritis, quaſi impura ſit conjugatis cohabitatio, perinde ut quondam factitatum eſt apud Antichriſti Sacerdotes; aiunt autem illis omnibus non licere vel privatim vel publicè contradicere, quinimò adigi Miniſtros, ne hanc camarinam ſiquidem Miniſtrare Eccleſiis velint, commoveant. Adeoq; omnem poteſtatem gubernationis, vel poteſtatis Eccleſiaſticæ penes ſolos eſſe Epiſcopos, neq; ulli Paſtorum permitti, in rebus hujuſmodi Eccleſiaſticis, ſuam dicere ſententiam. Quæ ſi vera ſunt, plurimum ſanè non nobis tantum, ſed Piis omnibus dolent. Oramuſq; Dominum, ut hæc ex Sancta Chriſti Eccleſia quæ in Anglia eſt eluat, prohibeátq; ne quiſquam Epiſcoporum, ſtatione ſua, dejiciat Paſtorem ullum hujuſmodi articulos recipere, aut approbare reſpuentem. Et quanquam de veſtra Pietate Sinceritateque hoc nobis perſuaſiſſimum habeamus, vos ſi quid hujus (tam craſſa enim extare apud vos vixdum credimus,) in uſu apud vos eſt, ferre & diſſimulare ea ad comitia uſq; regni opportuna, quibus de ſuperſtitione abolenda commodè & prudenter agatur: Et ſi qui ſint, qui noſtra illa Epiſtola abutantur ad quoſlibet abuſus confirmandos, vel tamen non eſſe de eorum numero, nihilominus hortamur veſtram Pietatem per Dominum Jeſum, ut ſeriò de emendandis expurgandiſq; iſtis ſimilibuſq; ſuperſtitionibus, ſi ita res habet, ut dicitur, cum veſtris Coepiſcopis, & aliis Viris ſanctis prudentibuſq; conſultetis, noſq; ab injuria illa nobis ab aliis irrogata, fideliter vindicetis. Non enim iſtos articulos, uti perlati ſunt ad nos, unquam probavimus. Rogamus inſuper Humanitatem veſtram, ut hæc à nobis benigno animo accipiatis, qui veſtræ concordiæ item ſinceritatiſq; in Religione Regni Anglici ſumus ſtudioſiſſimi, & vobis in Chriſto addictiſſimi. Dominus Jeſus benedicat vobis, & ſervet ab omni malo. Salutate obſecramus noſtro nomine, reliquos Reverendiſſimos Patres in Chriſto, Dominos meos Honorendos & Fratres Chariſſimos Angliæ Epiſcopos. Reginæ quoq; Sereniſſimæ ſemper nos commendate. Cui optamus

vitam

vitam longævam, & gubernandi felicitatem, firmum tranquillumq; & tutum Regnum, & omnia quæ pii exoptare poſſunt.

Datæ Tiguri, Septemb. 6.
Anno 1556.

Veſtræ Pietatis Humanitatiſque
Deditiſſimi,

Heinrychus Bullingerus, &

Rod. Gualtherus, Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ Paſtores & Miniſtri.

Number 83.

A Letter of Biſhop Grindal, *and Biſhop* Horn, *giving a full Account of their Senſe of all the Matters complained of in the Church of* England.

N. B. Ex Præcipuis.

Edmondus Londinenſis, & Robertus Wintonienſis, Bullingero Heinricho, & Rodolpho Gualtero.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

ERuditas veſtras Literas ad Humfredum, & Sampſonem, commodiſſimas, cum ad noſtras de veſtibus animorum diſſenſiones, tum verborum altercationes atq; pugnas ſedandas, quam libentiſſimè accepimus: Acceptas non ſine certo Conſilio, parcentes tamen Fratrum nominibus, Typis excudi atq; publicari curavimus, indeq; fructum ampliſſimum quidem, quemadmodum ſperabamus, percepimus. Nam ſanis quidem viris, univerſum Evangeliorum inſtitutum & finem ſpectantibus, multum profuere: Miniſtros certè nonnullos qui de deſerendo Miniſterio propter rem veſtiariam, quæ jam ſola controverſa ac cauſa contentionis apud nos fuerat, cogitarunt, perſuaſos ne Eccleſias fraudari ſuâ operâ ſinerent propter tantillum, confirmatoſq; reddidere, & in veſtram ſententiam retraxere: Plebem autem quæ per importunos quorundam clamores concitata in varias partes diſtrahebatur, pioſq; Miniſtros contumeliâ afficiebat, quaſi concordia quadam illis placavere ac leniere temperantia; Moroſis vero & nihil preterquam

quam quod ipſi ſtatuerant preferre valentibus, etſi non ſatisfecere, eo tamen eis profuere, ut pios convitiis minus proſcindere, pacemq; Eccleſiæ ſalutarem ſermonibus ſuis morologis non adeò audacter fædare, velint aut poſſint. Ex hiis quoſdam eſſe exauthoratos, etſi ſua ipſorum culpa, ut gravius in illos nos dicamus, fatemur & dolemus. Verum illud æquiori animo ferendum putamus, quod non ſint multi ſed pauci, & ut pij, certè non adeò docti. Nam ſolus Sampſonus inter eos qui exauthorati ſunt, & pius pariter ac Doctus eſt habendus. Humfredus verò ac Doctiores omnes in ſua hactenus ſtatione manent. Quod ſi veſtra Epiſtola Typis excuſa ac publicata fuiſſet, ut qui exauthorarunt, confirmarentur: Si qui exauthorati ſunt, propter alios articulos apud nos controverſos & non ob rem ſolam veſtiariariam de gradu fuiſſent dejecti ſuo: Si deniq; illa Epiſtola quæ verbis adeò exquiſitis ac perſpicuis ſolam controverſiam veſtiariam pertractat, ut alio transferri non poſſit ad approbandos articulos vobis ignotos, nec dum apud nos Dei gratia controverſos (nam nulli nobis cum Fratribus articuli in contentionem hactenus venerunt niſi hic ſolus veſtiarius) reperetur: Luculenta profectò vobis, quos amamus, colimus, & in Domino Honoramus, fuiſſet injuria: Sicut nobis manifeſta adhibita eſt calumnia ab hiis qui Authores fuerunt vaniſſimi rumoris, quo ad vos perlatum fuit, à Miniſtris Eccleſiæ requiri novis quibuſdam ſubſcribant articulis, aut ſtatione ſua cedant. Summa controverſiæ noſtræ hæc eſt: Nos tenemus Miniſtros Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſine impietate uti poſſe, veſtium diſcrimine publica authoritate jam præſcripto, tum in Adminiſtratione Sacra, tum in uſu externo, præſertim cum ut res indifferentur proponantur, tantum propter ordinem ac debitam legibus Obedientiam uſurpari jubeantur: Et omnis Superſtitionis Cultus ac Neceſſitatis quod ad Conſcientias attinet, opinio, legum ipſarum præſcripto & ſincerioris Doctrinæ Prædicatione aſſidua quantum fieri poteſt amoveatur, rejiciatur, ac omnino condemnetur. Illi contra clamitant veſtes has in numerum τῶν ἀδιαφορῶν, jam haud quaquam eſſe aſcribendas, impias eſſe, Papiſticas ac Idolatricas: Et propterea, omnibus piis uno conſenſu Miniſterio cedendum potius, quàm cum iſtis Pannicullariis Papiſticis, ſic enim loquuntur, Eccleſiæ inſervire: Licet Doctrinam ſinceriſſimam prædicandi nec non omnimodos Errores ſeu abuſus ſive in Ritibus, ſive in Doctrina, ſive in Sacramentis, ſive in Moribus, per ſanam Doctrinam ſubaccuſandi, exagitandi, condemnandi, ſummam habeamus Libertatem. Iſtud iſtorum immaturum Conſilium accipere non poſſumus: quomodo nec impetuoſas eorum Adhortationes, quibus Pacem Eccleſiæ indeſinenter pro ſuggeſtu diſturbant, Religionemq; noſtram univerſam in Periculum trahunt, ferre debemus. Nam iſtiuſmodi ſuis celeuſmatibus, ſereniſ. Reginæ Animum alioqui ad optimè merendum de Religione propenſum, irritari, prohi dolor, nimium experti ſumus: Procerum quorundam Animos, ut de aliis taceamus, ægros, imbecilles, vacillantes, hiis vulnerari, debilitari, abalienari, certò certius ſcimus. Ecquis dubitare poſſit, quin Papiſtæ hujuſmodi Occaſione nacti virus ſuum peſtilentiſſimum eructabunt, evoment in Evangelium Jeſu Chriſti, ejuſq; Profeſſores omnes, in ſpem erecti, jam Oportunitatem ſe habere ſuam ſibi ereptam Helenam recuperandi. Quodſi inconſulto noſtro Conſiljo acquieſceremus, ut omnes cunctis viribus impetum in veſtes Legibns Conſtabilitas, contra

Legem

Legem faciamus, perimamus, ac deleamus omnino, aut ſimul omnes Munia exuamus. Papiſticum profectò, vel ſaltem Lutherano-papiſticum haberemus Miniſterium, aut omnino nullum. Illud autem Deum Optimum Maximum teſtamur, Fratres in Chriſto honorandi; neque culpa eveniſſe diſſidium hoc noſtra; nec per nos ſtare quo minùs iſtiuſmodi veſtes è medio tollerentur: Imò ſanctiſſime, licet, juremus, laboraſſe nos hactenus quanto potuimus ſtudio, fide, diligentia, ut id effectum daremus, quod fratres poſtulant, & nos optamus. Verùm in tantas adducti anguſtias, quid faciendum? (multa vobis, qui prudentes & ad pericula Eccleſiis impendentia perſpicienda eſtis ſagaces, conjicienda relinquimus) niſi ut cùm non poſſumus quod velimus, velimus in Domino quod poſſumus. Hactenus rem controverſam & plenam diſſenſionis inter nos, ut ſe habet, expoſuimus. Nunc vero quod reliquum eſt, accipite: Falſiſſimus omnino eſt ille rumor, ſi tamen rumor dicendus ſit (novimus enim prudentiam veſtram, ac modeſtiam, & laudamus) de receptione, ſubſcriptione, & approbatione novorum iſtorum Articulorum quos recenſetis. Nec magis ſunt veraces, qui ſive ſcriptis ſuis Epiſtolis, ſive verbis coram, hoc prætextu vobis fucum facere, nobis autem calumniam inurere ſunt conati. Pleriq; enim omnes iſti Articuli falſò nobis objiciuntur; perpauci recipiuntur: Horum omnino nulli, Fratribus ſua ſubſcriptione approbandi obtruduntur. Cantum in templis figuratum, unà cum ſtrepitu organorum, retinendum non affirmamus imò prout decet, inſectamur. Peregrinam linguam, exufflationes, exorciſmos, oleum, ſputum, lutum, accenſos cereos, & ejus generis alia, ex Legum præſcripto nunquam revocanda, penitùs amiſit Eccleſia Anglicana. Mulieres poſſe aut debere baptizare infantulos, nullo modo prorſus aſſentimur. In Cœnæ Dominicæ perceptione, panem communiter frangere, cuilibet communicaturo non ori inſerere, ſed in manus tradere: Modum ſpiritualis manducationis, & preſentiæ Corporis Chriſti in ſacra Cœna, explicari Leges jubent, Uſus confirmat, Oblatratores noſtri Anglo-Lovanienſes nefariis ſuis ſcriptis teſtantur. Uxores Miniſtrorum non arcentur à ſuis Maritis; cohabitant, & eorum Conjugium apud omnes (ſemper Papiſtas excipimus) habetur honorabile. Denique non minùs falſum eſt quod oblatrant, penes ſolos Epiſcopos omnem eſſe Eccleſiaſticæ gubernationis poteſtatem, etſi primas illis dari non negamus. Nam in rebus hujuſmodi Eccleſiaſticis in Synodo deliberari ſolet. Synodus autem indicitur, Edicto Regio, eo tempore quo habetur totius Regni Parliamentum, ut vocant. Adſunt Epiſcopi, adſunt etiam totius Provinciæ Paſtorum doctiores quique, qui triplo plures ſunt quàm Epiſcopi. Hij ſeorſum ab Epiſcopis de rebus Eccleſiaſticis deliberant, & nihil in Synodo ſtatuitur, aut definitur, ſine communi eorum ac Epiſcoporum, aut majoris ſaltem illorum partis, conſenſu & approbatione: tantùm abeſt ut Paſtoribus non permittatur in hujuſmodi rebus Eccleſiaſticis ſuam dicere ſententiam. Recipimus quidem, ſeu potiùs toleranter ferimus, donec meliora Dominus dederit, interrogationes infantium, & crucis characterem in Baptiſmo, in Cœnæ perceptione genuflexionem; & Regiam Facultatum Curiam, quam Metropolitani vocant. Quæſtiones iſtiuſmodi non adeò accommodè infantibus proponi, etſi ex

Augu-

Auguſtino videantur emendicatæ, publicè profitemur, ac ſedulò docemus. Crucis Charactere frontem jam baptizati infantis notare ; etſi Miniſter palàm conceptis verbis, profiteatur ſignatum eſſe Cruce infantulum, ſolummodò in ſignum quòd in poſterum illum non pudebit fidei Chriſti crucifixi, idque ex vetuſtiori Eccleſia videatur tranſumptum, tamen non defendimus. Genuflexionem in ſacræ cœnæ perceptine, quoniam ita Lege conſtitutum eſt, permittimus : Ea tamen expoſitione, ſeù potius cautione, quam ipſi genuflexionis authores, viri ſanctiſſimi ac Martyres Jeſu Chriſti conſtantiſſimi, adhibuerunt, diligentiſſimè populo declarata, promulgata, inculcata. Quæ ſic ad verbum habet : Etſi in Libro Præcum ſtatutum ſit, ut communicantes genuflectendo ſacram accipiant communionem, id tamen eo trahi non debere declaramus, quaſi ulla adoratio fiat aut fieri debeat, ſive Sacramentali pani ac vino, ſive ulli reali & eſſentiali præſentiæ ibi exiſtenti, naturalis carnis & ſanguinis Chriſti. Nam Sacramentalis panis & vinum permanent in ipſis ſuis naturalibus ſubſtantiis, & propterea non ſunt adoranda : Id enim Idololatria horrenda eſſet, omnibus Chriſtianis deteſtanda. Et quantum ad corpus naturale ac ſanguinem ſalvatoris noſtri Chriſti attinet, in Cœlo ſunt & non ſunt hic. Quandoquidem contra veritatem veri naturalis corporis Chriſti eſt, pluribus quàm uno ineſſe locis, uno atque eodem tempore. Facultatum Curia, undecunque eſt allata, Regia eſt, non Metropolitani. Is enim prudens Pater, doctus & ad ſyncериſſimam Religionem propagandam optimè affectus, omnimodas Romanas fæces prorſus eluere peroptat, conatur, ſatagit. Et licet omnes hujus Fiſcalis Curiæ, ſicut etiam alios nonnullos abuſus, è medio tollere non poſſumus, eos tamen carpere, contumeliis in qui, ad tartara uſque, unde prorepſerunt, detrudere non deſiſtimus. Nobis credite, fratres venerandi : Unicuique licet Miniſtro omnibus iſtiuſmodi articulis, cum modeſtia & ſobrietate contradicere. Paſtores verò articulos iſtos nobis falſò impoſitos, recipere aut approbare nolentes, ſtatione ſua haudquaquam dejicimus. Pergite ergo nos amare, admonere, juvare, ut incendium inter eos exortum, ſolummodo pro re veſtiaria, extinguatur. Noſque operam dabimus, quantum fieri poſſit, quemadmodum in proximis Comitiis fecimus, & ſi nihil obtinere potuimus ; ut omnes errores & abuſus ad amuſſim verbi Dei corrigantur, emendentur, expurgentur. Commendamus vos Fratres Gratiæ Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, quem oramus ut vos incolumes, veſtraſque Eccleſias in pace quam diutiſſimè conſervet. Salutate noſtro nomine Fratres ac Symniſtas Tigurinos omnes.

Londini, 6 Februarij,
Anno Dom. 1567.

Veſtrum omnium
Amantiſſimus,

Edm. London.

Robertus Winton.

Addita

Addita Manu Winton' ſequentia.

Obſecro & ego vos, Fratres mihi plurimùm obſervandi, (ignoſcatis mihi) quod Literis veſtris ad me privatim ſcriptis, hactenus non reſponderim; nec pro doctiſſimis veſtris Commentariis ad me tranſmiſſis, ullas hactenus gratias retulerim. Neque illud ipſum mihi vitio vertant Wolvius & Lavaterus; quos quæſo, meo nomine, plurimùm ſalutate, & me apud illos excuſate. Scio enim Officij mei rationem hoc ipſum efflagitâſſe; & vos, illoſque, meas Literas deſiderâſſe, non dubito. Efficiam poſthac, ſcribendo vos omnes expleam, & Officio non deſim meo. Salutem etiam à me dicite, oro, D. Simlero, Zuinglio, Halero. Vivite omnes, ac valete in Chriſto.

Totus Veſter,

Robertus Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatiſſimis Viris, D. Henricho Bullingero, & D. Radulpho Gualtero, Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ Paſtoribus fideliſſimis.

Number 84.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Bullinger, *concerning the Debates in Parliament relating to the Succeſſion, and the Heats in the Diſputes about the Veſtments.*

Johannes Juellus Henricho Bullingero.

S. P. in Chriſto.

PRoximæ Literæ meæ, Ornatiſſime Vir, cum Londinum tardiuſculè veniſſent, & Francofordiam ad Nundinas profiſciſci non poſſent, re infecta, domum ad me reverſæ ſunt. Quod nonnihil vereor, ne nunc quoque in iſtas accidat. De prolixis & pereruditis illis tuis ad me Literis proximis, prolixè tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de Synodo illa Francofordienſi, ut de re obſcura, & controverſa, *Ex Mss. Tigur.*

egregiè ſatisfactum eſſe, & fateor & gaudeo. Res noſtræ Eccleſiaſticæ, publicæ privatæque, eo loco nunc ſunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienſes noſtri clamant, & turbant, quantum poſſunt: Et habent fautores, etſi non ita multos, plures tamen multò quam velim. Et quamvis complures ſint, & in univerſum in omnes ſcribant, tamen neſcio, quo meo fato, omnes in me feruntur unum. Itaq; dum illis reſpondeo, ne me eſſe otioſum putes. Habuimus, proximis iſtis Menſibus, Comitia totius Regni: Illis ego, propter Valetudinem, intereſſe non potui. Scriptæ ſunt Leges de Religione, quibus Papiſtarum obſtinata malitia, atq; inſolentia in officio continentur. Actum etiam eſt de Succeſſione; hoc eſt, cui Familiæ Jus Regni debeatur, ſi quid Elizabethæ Reginæ humanitus acciderit, quod nolimus. Ea Contentio menſem unum, atque alterum omnium animos occupavit; cum Regina ea de re agi nollet: Reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent, & utrinque magnis viribus, & ſtudiis pugnaretur. Quid quæris? Effici poſtremò nihil potuit: Regina enim, ut eſt fœmina imprimis prudens & provida, Hærede ſemel deſignato, ſuſpicatur, aliquid ſibi creari poſſe periculi. Nôſti enim illud, plures Orientem Solem adorant, quam Occidentem. De Religione, Cauſa illa veſtiaria magnos hoc tempore motus concitavit. Reginæ certum eſt, nolle flecti: Fratres autem quidam noſtri ita ea de re pugnant, ac ſi in ea una omnis noſtra Religio verſaretur. Itaq; Functiones abjicere, & Eccleſias inanes relinquere malunt, quàm tantillum de ſententia decedere. Neq; aut tuis aut D. Gualtheri doctiſſimis ſcriptis, aut aliorum piorum Virorum monitis moveri volunt. Agimus tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos, hoc tempore, gravioribus Quæſtionibus exerceri. Unus tantùm quiſpiam è noſtro numero, Epiſcopus Gloceſtrenſis, in Comitiis apertè, & fidenter dixit, probari ſibi Lutheri ſententiam de Euchariſtia; ſed ea ſeges non erit, ſpero, diuturna. In Hibernia, nonnihil hoc tempore tumultuatur. Inſula ea, uti ſcis, paret noſtris Regibus. Johannes quidam Onclus, ſpurius, conſcripſit nuper militem, & noſtros inſolenter provocavit. Sed plus in ea re moræ eſt, quàm periculi. Is enim longè abdit ſeſe in paludes, & ſolitudines; quo noſter miles conſequi facilè non poſſit. E Scotia vero, (quid ego dicam? aut tu, quid credas?) horrenda atq; atrocia nuntiantur. Ea quamvis ejuſmodi ſint, ut credo, vix poſſint, tamen ex Aula uſq; ad me ſcribuntur, & paſſim jactantur, & creduntur ab omnibus. Regem juvenem, aiunt, proximis hiſce admodum diebus, unà cum uno famulo, quem habuit à cubiculis, interfectum eſſe domi ſuæ, & exportatum foràs, & relictum ſub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus iſta commemorare. Si iſta vera ſint, ne ſint; tamen ſi ſint, quid cauſæ fuerit, aut quibus ille inſidiis petitus ſit, faciam te poſthac, ubi omnia reſcivero, de rebus omnibus certiorem. In Præſentia, nec ea, quæ ita conſtanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea quæ comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare. Julium noſtrum, audio, Tiguri eſſe mortuum: Mitto tamen ad illum viginti Coronatos Gallicos, ſi vivit, ut illi cedant; ſin autem, quod nolim, eſt mortuus, ut in Epulum Scholaſticum inſumantur. Si eſſet otium, ſcriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D. Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, & alios: Imprimis vero ad D. Gualterum; ad quem, hactenus homo ingratus, nunquam ſcripſi. Quæſo, ut hoſce omnes,

atque

atq; etiam in primis D. Rodolphum, & D. Henricum tuos, meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas. Vale, mi Pater, & Domine in Chriſto Colendiſſime.

Sariſberiæ in Anglia.
Feb. 24, 1567.

Tuus in Chriſto,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Henricho Bullingero Miniſtro Eccleſiæ Tigurinæ Fideliſſimo, Viro longè Doctiſſimo, & Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 85.

A Letter of Jewel's *to* Bullinger, *of the State Affairs were in, both in* England, Ireland, Scotland, *and the* Netherlands.

Salutem Plurimam in Chriſto Jeſu.

QUID ego dicam, Doctiſſime Vir & Clariſſime Pater? Et pudet & dolet, pudet primum, non ſcripſiſſe ſæpius, deinde dolet, eas ipſas quas ſcripſi, non potuiſſe ad vos pervenire, obſecro tamen te, ne putes mihi aut Scholam Tigurinam, aut Rempublicam, aut illam veſtam Humanitatem tantam tam citò ex Animo elabi potuiſſe. Equidem vos omnes in oculis, & in ſinu gero, & te imprimis. Mi Pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis noſtræ. Quod autem ad Literas attinet, equidem, preterquam anno illo ſuperiore cum peſte, & lue omnia ubique clauſa eſſent, cæteroquis nunquam intermiſi ſcribere, ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, & ad Julium. Quod niſi facerem, videri, vix poſſem, non dico officii, ſed ne Humanitatis quidem rationem ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis Literis ſuperioribus, quid factum ſit, neſcio. Proximas autem audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuiſſe à Gallis, atque ablatas Caletum. Sed Miſſa iſta facio. Nunc accipito de rebus noſtris, quos tibi, pro tua pietate, magis cordi eſſe, ſat ſcio. Primum de Religione omnia domi Dei Optimi Maximi Beneficio pacata ſunt. Papiſtæ exules turbant, & impediunt quantum poſſunt & evulgatis libris, neſcio, quo meo, fatone, dicam, an merito,

Ex MSS. Tigur.

rito, me petunt unum, idque terni maximis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum unus reſpondeo, tu me ne putes eſſe otioſum. Offertur mihi inter alia, cauſa illa Ubiquitaria, quam ego in ſenis illius noſtri Tubingenſis gratiam, ut potui, utque res tulit, de induſtria ornavi pluribus: Sed noſtra lingua, utpote noſtris Hominibus. Si quidem otium erit, partem aliquam transferam, & ad vos mittam. De illo autem ſene, equidem non video quid debeam ſtatuere. Ita mihi videtur, magis magiſque in ſingulos dies delirare. Legi enim novum Menandri phaſma, quod nunc nuper dedit: Et tibi, & de illo Libro, & de omnibus Literis tuis, & de omni tua Humanitate, ago gratias. Reſpublica domi, foriſque, terra marique tranquilla eſt. Pacem habemus cum Gallis conſtitutam. Flandrica etiam illa turba jam tandem conſiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant, Flandri ad nos, & noſtri viciſſim ad illos. Granvelanus, cujus unius nequitia hæc omnia cæpta ſunt, id egit, ut, turbatis, atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque invehi quicquam, neque exportari poſſet, attonitis mercatoribus, & oppidano vulgo, quod verè è lanificio victum quærit, ad otium, atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus, & ſeditio domeſtica ſequeretur. Ita enim ſperabat Religionem unà poſſe concuti. Sed Deus iſta conſilia convertit potiùs in authorem. Noſtri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanſerant. Flandricum autem vulgus, digreſſis noſtris Mercatoribus, & Emporio Embdæ conſtituto, eam rem indignè ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari. Hiberni, uti te audiſſe ſcio, nobis parent, & noſtris utuntur legibus. In illam inſulam, Papa ante aliquot admodum dies immiſit Hominem ſceleratum, & callidum, cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concurſaret. Erat enim Hibernus, qui gentem feram & ſilveſtrem contra nos Religionis cauſa commoveret. Quid quæris? Nebulo ſtatim primo appulſu comprehenditur, & excuſſus, & vinctus ad nos mittitur. Ita ſacerrimus Pater prorſus decrevit, cum flectere non poſſit ſuperos, Acheronta movere. In Scotia
ita ut volumus. Regina ſola Miſſam illam ſuam retinet. invitis omnibus. Parkhurſtus, Hoperus, Sampſon, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, & officium faciunt. Biennium jam eſt, quod ego illorum quenquam viderim. Vale, mi Pater. Dominus Jeſus te quàm diutiſſimè ſervet ſuperſtitem, & incolumem. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Geſnerum, D. Friſium, D. Zuinglium, D. Wikium; ad quos ſingulos darem Literas ſi eſſet otium, vel potius niſi prorſus obruerer Negotiis.

Sariſberiæ, in Anglia, Calend. Martiis, 1565.

Tui Nominis Studioſiſſimus,
Tibique Deditiſſimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

Number

Number 86.

The End of a Letter written to Zurich, *ſetting forth the Temper of ſome Biſhops in theſe Matters.*

—NUNC Patres illud petimus, & in Chriſto contendimus etiam atq; etiam, (quod vos ultrò benigniſſimè polliciti eſtis) ut Londinenſis, Wintonienſis ac Cantuarienſis Epiſcoporum animos exacerbatos molliatis, & ſi non ampliùs aliquid poteſtis, ſaltem hoc tantùm exoretis: Ut & in Fratres noſtros in Anglia remanentes mitiores eſſe velint, & fæces ex ſuis Eccleſiis removentes, ſi non adjuvare, at ſaltem tolerare, & ipſorum factis connivere velint. Atq; vos Reverendis Nordovicenſi, Wigornienſi, & Dunelmenſi Epiſcopis, in veſtris Epiſtolis, pollicitis juſtas ſuæ pietatis laudes perſolvatis: Atque illis, ſimul & Fratribus Miniſtris ſtudentibus repurgationi Eccleſiarum, animos pergendi in propoſito addatis. Hæc, ſi pro veſtra ſumma Dignitate (ut confidimus) impetraverimus, non modò non fatigabimus alias Eccleſias novis precibus, ſed & nos, omneſq; verè pii, omnia vobis ob pacem & concordiam, veſtra opera, Eccleſiæ partam debebimus; & Deus optimus maximus vobis, per Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, æternam Coronem tribuet. Amen. *Ex* MSS. *Tigur.*

Veſtræ Dignitatis Studioſiſſimi,

Georgius Witherus,
Johan. Bartholottus, } Angli.

Number

Number 87.

Bullinger *and* Gualter's *Letter to the Biſhops of* London, Wincheſter, *and* Norwich, *interceeding for Favour to thoſe whoſe Scruples were ſatisfied in thoſe Matters.*

Interceſſionales pro Tolerantia.

Londinenſi, Wintonienſi, & Norvicenſi, Epiſcopis in Anglia.

Reverendi Viri Domini Colendiſſimi, & Fratres in Domino Chariſſimi. Dominus Jeſus benedicat vobis & ſervet vos ab omni malo.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

QUO vehementius favemus vobis Reverendi Domini & Fratres Chariſſimi, eò dolemus gravius deſſidere vos à Fratribus aliquot, Viris Doctis, in Anglia gradu ſuo dejectis. Atque ideo dilectioni noſtræ dabitis, quod frequentius eadem de re aures veſtras obtundimus. Vidimus & accepimus veſtram in hanc cauſam excuſationem: Interim Angli exules ad nos veniunt, qui affirmant Londinenſis Eccleſiæ Doctores, nec non aliarum in Anglia Eccleſiarum, in Mariana perſecutione probatos Homines, quorum fide diligentia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ in ſæviſſimus iſtis tempeſtatibus conſervatæ ſint, nunc pelli, nec pelli tantum, ſed gravi etiam perſecutione premi, adeoque & in tetras retrudi carceres. Addunt plures eſſe in Hibernia Eccleſiarum Miniſtros, qui non aliter ſentiant aut faciant, quàm illi ipſi qui in Anglia ſuſtinent perſecutionem. Illos autem Epiſcopi ſui Beneficio, & apud Regiam M. interventu agere in ſumma tranquillitate. Unde iſti colligunt, ſi Epiſcopi qui in Anglia ſunt apud R. Majeſtatem intercederent, fore ut & ipſi tranquillè ſibi commiſſas poſſit retinere & gubernare Eccleſias. Et quod hac in cauſa præcipuum eſt, Epiſcopos non diffiteri meliorem habere cauſam afflictos & dejectos. Nam agnoſcere eos Eccleſiam rectius conſtitui & conſtitutam gubernari ſine illis cæremoniis ritubuſve & inſtitutis, quam cum illis, adeò ut ipſiſinet afferatur optio, malint ipſi ſibi Eccleſiam deligere ſine illis, quam illis oneratam ſibi dari. Id quod inde quoque colliqueſcat manifeſtiſſimè, quod in Regni Comitiis, non ſemel Epiſcopi petierint, à R. M. ut tollantur illa & purgatior ornatiorque aut minus ſaltem onerata fiat Eccleſia. Quæ cum ita ſint reverendi Domini & Fratres Chariſſimi, incitabit vos ipſos haud dubiè veſtra pietas ad conſultandum, quomodo fieri poſſit commodè & maturè, ut Fratribus iſtis afflictis conſulatur, & ne ita gravi perſecutione premantur, quin potius R. Maj. Clementia tolerentur, donaque in ipſis utilia Eccleſiæ, per abdicationem non extinguantur. Non eſt autem quod multis rationibus aut exem-

plis

plis, vos alioqui peritiſſimos omnis pietatis & æquitatis, urgeamus; tantum hoc oramus per Dominum, ut ſi apud R. M. afflictis afflictionem vel imminuere, vel prorſus adimere poteſtis, pro Chriſtiana Charitate, illis omnem veſtram fidelem impendatis operam; & noſtram hanc fraternam admonitionem boni conſulatis, ſolitoque amore nos veſtri amantiſſimos proſequi pergatis. Valete, Honorandi Domini.

Tiguri, 26 Auguſti
1567.

Bullingerus, & Gualterus.

Number 88.

A Part of a Letter of Jewell's *to* Bullinger, *of the State of Affairs both in* England *and* Scotland.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

COntentio illa de Eccleſiaſtica Veſte linea, de qua vos vel ab Abele noſtro, vel à D. Parkhurſto audiſſe non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos: Atque utinam omnia etiam tenuiſſima veſtigia Papatus, & è templis, & multò maximè ex animis omnium auferri poſſent. Sed Reginæ ferre mutationem in Religione, hoc tempore, nullam poteſt. Res Scotiæ nondum etiam ſatis pacatæ ſunt: Nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alij domi remanſerunt, & ſeſe, ſi vis fiat, ad reſiſtendum parant, & ex arcibus ſuis excurſiones interdum faciunt, & ex Papiſtarum agris agunt, feruntque quantum poſſunt. Regina ipſa, etſi animo ſit ad Papiſmum obfirmato, tamen vix ſatis exploratum habet, quo ſe vertat: Nam de Religione adverſarium habet magnam partem, & Nobilitatis, & Populi: Et, quantum quidem nos poſſumus intelligere, numerus indies creſcit. Submiſerat proximis iſtis menſibus Philippus Rex, Abbatem quendam Italum cum auro Hiſpanico, hominem vafrum, & factum atque inſtructum ad fraudes, qui & Regem Reginamq; juvaret veteratorio Conſilio, & impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui ſemper hactenus abſtinuiſſet à Miſſis, & ultrò acceſſiſſet ad Conciones, ut ſe Populo daret, cum audiret navem illam appulſuram poſtridie, factus repentè confidentior, ſumptis animis, noluit longiùs diſſimulare. Accedit ad Templum; jubet ſibi de more dici Miſſam. Eodem ipſo tempore, D. Knoxus, Concionator in eodem oppido, & in proximo templo, magna frequentia clamare in Idolomanias, & in univerſum Regnum Pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea, navis illa Philippica jactata tempeſtatibus, & ventibus fluctibuſq; concuſſa, & fracta, convulſo malo, ruptis lateribus, amiſſis gubernatoribus, vectoribus, & rebus omnibus inanis,

inanis, & lacera, & aquæ plena, refertur in Angliam. Hæc ego divinitus non dubito contigiſſe, ut Rex fatuus intelligat, quàm ſit auſpicatum audire Miſſas. E Galliis multa turbulenta nunciantur. Domus illa Guiſana non poteſt acquieſcere ſine aliquo magno malo: Verùm iſta vobis multò propiora ſunt, quàm nos. Danus, & Suecus, cruentiſſimè inter ſe conflixerunt, & adhuc dicuntur eſſe in Armis: Uterq; affectus eſt maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter ſit ſuperior, dici poteſt. Libri veſtri (tuus, Reverende Pater, in Danielem, & tuus, Doctiſſime Ludovice, in Joſuam) incolumes ad me delati ſunt: Ego & Deo Optimo Maximo de vobis, & vobis de iſtis laboribus & ſtudiis, deq; omni veſtra humanitate, ago gratias.

Miſi in hoc tempore ad Julium noſtrum, in annuum Stipendium, viginti Coronatos; & alteras totidem ad vos duos, ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro more veſtro, vel in quemvis alium uſum pro veſtro arbitrio conſumatis.

Deus vos, Eccleſiam, Rempublicam, Scholamq; veſtram conſervet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Gheſnerum, D. Wikium, D. Hallerum, D. D. Hen. & Rod. Bullingerum meo nomine. Sariſberiæ, 8 Februar. 1566.

Veſtri Amans, &

Studioſus in Deo,

Jo. Juellus.

Number 89.

The Nobilitie, Gentillmene, Barons, with Superintendants, Miniſters and others, profeſſinge the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt, *within this Realm: To the Kings and Quens Majeſtie, and the Chriſtian Eſtat of yis Realme preſentlie met into Parliament, wiſheth the Feare of God, with the Spirit of righteuous Judgment.*

Cott. Libr. FOraſmuckill as in the Convention of the Kirke, halden at *Edenburghe* the 25th Day of *June* laſt paſt, certayn Gentelmen then were directed to the Queens Majeſtie, with certaine Articles concerning the Religion, deſiring her Majeſties Anſwer therupon: To the whilks howbeit her Majeſtie than gave ſum particular Anſwer, nocht the leſs her Majeſtie remitted the ferder Anſwer to this preſent Parliament. And therfore wee, of our Dewty, can doe noe leſſe

leſſe nor crave the full Anſwer of the ſaid Articles in this preſent Parliament, conforme to the Queens Grace own Appointment. And alſua in reſpect that the Parliament, halden at *Edinburghe* the 10th of *July* 1560 Years, it was determined and concludid, the Maſſes, Papiſtrie, and Papis Juriſdiction, to be ſimply abolyſhit and put away out of this Realme, and Chriſts Religion to be reteined univerſally and approvit. And in like manor, in reſpect that the Queens Majeſtie, by many, divers and ſundry Proclamations, hes ratefyt and approvyt Chriſts Religion; quhilk She fand publickly reſaved in this Realme at her Arrivall, and ſpetially upon the fiftene Daye of *September* laſt at *Dunde*: The Kinge and Queens Majeſtie, with the Advyſe of thair Secreat Counſaill, promiſet as well be the Act of Secreat Counſaile, as by divers and ſundry Proclamations mad therupon, publickly in the principall Burghis of this Realme, to eſtabliſh in this preſent Parliament the Religion of Chriſt, quhilke thei fand publicklie and univarſally ſtanding at the Arivall in *Scotland*; and all Acts, Lawes and Conſtitutions, Comon, Civill, or Municipiall, prejudiciall to the ſame, to be aboliſhed and put away, as the ſaid Acts and Proclamations mair fullelye proports. Deſiringe thairfore the Premiſſes to be conſidered, together with the ſaid Articles, and the Queens Majeſties Anſwers to the ſame, with the Kirks Replie thareupon as followis.

The ARTICLES.

Theis are the Articles, which the Nobilitie, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeoſis, and other Profeſſors of Chriſts Evangell, crave with all Humilitie at the Queens Majeſtie, and her Honorable Conſaile, within this Realme of *Scotlande*.

Imprimis, That the Papiſtical and Blaſphemos Maſs, with all Papiſtree, Idolatry, and Pope's Juriſdiction, be univerſallie ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed thorowgout this whole Realme, not only in the Subjects, but alſo in the Queenes Majeſtie owne Perſon, with Puniſhment againſt all Perſons, that ſhall be deprehendet to tranſgreſſe and offend in the ſame: And that the ſincere Word off God, and Chriſts true Religion, nowe preſently received, might be eſtabliſhed, approved, and ratified throughout thole Realme, aſwel in the Queenes Majeſtie owne Perſon, as in the Subjects, without any Impedyment: And that the People be aſtricted to reſort, upon the Sondaies at leaſt, to the Praiers and Preaching of Godes Worde, like as they were aſtricted before to reſort to the Idolaters Maſſe: And theis Heads to be provided by Act off Parliament, with the Conſent of the Eſtates, and Ratifycacion of the Queenes Majeſtie.

Secondlie, That seur Provision be appoincted for Sustentation of the Myniſtrye, aſwel for the Tyme present, as for the Tyme to come; and that ſuche Persons as are publickelie admytted in the Myniſtrye, may have there Livings aſſigned unto them, in the Townes where they travell, or at the leaſt next adjacent thereto: And that they have not occaſion to crave the ſame at the Hands of any others. And that the Benyfices nowe vacant, or that have vaked ſithence the Monethe of *Marche*, *Anno* 1558. or that hereafter ſhall happen to vake, be diſponed to qualified and learned Persons, able to preche Goddes Worde, and to diſcharge the Vocation concernynge the Mynyſterye, by Tryall, and Admiſſion of the Superintendents: And that no Biſhoprieke, Abbaty, Priorye, Deaconrye, Provoſtrye, or enye other Benyfyce having many Churches annexed thereto, be diſponed altogether at eny time to come, to eny one Man: But at the leaſt, the Churches thereof be ſeverallye diſponed, and to ſeveral Perſons, ſo that every Man having Charge may ſerve at his owne Church, according to his Vocation. And to this Effect, that the Glebbis and Manſes be given to the Myniſtrye, that they may make Reſidence at there Churches, wherethrough they may diſcharge there Conſcyences, conform to there Vocation, and alſo that the Churches may be repaired accordinglie; and that a Lawe be made and eſtablished hereupon by Act of Parliament, as ſaid is.

Thirdlie, That none be permytted to have Charge of Scoules, Colledges, or Univerſities, or yet privatly or publickly inſtruct the Youth, but ſuch as ſhall be tryed by the Superintendents, or the Viſitors of the Churche, found ſound and able in Doctrine, and admitted by them to there Charges.

Fourthlie, For Suſtentacion of the Poore, that all Lands founded to Hoſpitalitie of Old, be reſtored again to the ſame Uſe: And that all Lands, Anuell Rents, or any other Emoluments pertayninge any wayes ſomtyme to the Friers of whatſoever Ordre they had been of, or Anuall Rents, Altarage, Obits perteininge to the Prieſts, be applyit to the Suſtentacion of the Poor, and Uphold of Scolas in the Townes, and other Places wheat thaye lie.

Fiftblie, That all ſic horrible Crymes, as now abounds in this Realme, without any Correction, to the great Contempt of God and his Holye Worde, ſic as Ydolatry, Blaſphemy of Godes Name, manifeſt brekinge of the Sabath Day, with Wichcraft, Sorcery and Inchantment, Adultery, Inceſt, manifeſt Whordome, Mentenance of Bordells, Murther, Slaughter, Reyfe and Spulze, with many other deteſtable Crymes, may be ſeverely puniſhed; and Judges appointed in every Province or Dioces, for Execution therof, with Power to doe the ſame, and that by Act of Parliament.

Laſt, That ſom Order be devyſit and eſtabliſhit, for the Eaſe of the poore Laborers of the Ground, concerninge the reaſonable Payment of thair Teynds, and ſettinge of thair Teyndis to an over yair Heads, without yaire own Advyſe and Conſent.

The

The Queen's Majeſties Anſwer to the Articles, preſentit to her Highnes by certaine Gentlemen, in the Name of the hall laſt Aſſemblie of the Kirke.

TO the Firſt, Deſiringe the Maſs to be ſuppreſſed and abolyſcht, as well in the Head as Members, with Punyſhment againſt the Contradoenars; as alſo that Religion now profeſſed to be eſtabliſht be Acte of Parliament. It is Anſwerit, Firſt, for the Part of her Majeſtie ſelfe, that hir Highnes is yet na wyſe perſwadit in the ſaid Religion, not yett that any Impyetie is in the Maſſe; and therefore beleves that her Lovinge Subjects will noe wayes preſſe her to receive any Religion agaynſt her Conſcience: Quilke ſuld be to her continuall Troble, be remorſe of Conſcience, and ther through an parpetuall Inquietnes. And to deal plainly with her Subjects, her Majeſtie neather will, nor may leave the Religion, qucharin ſhe hes ben noryſcht, and upbrought, and believes the ſame to be well grounded; knowinge beſides the Grudge of Conſcience, gyf ſhe ſhold receve any change in her owne Religion, that ſhe ſhold leave the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, the Auncient Allia of yis Realme, and of other great Princes hir Frinds and Confederats: Quha wold take the ſame in Evil Part. And of quhom ſhe may luke for thare great Support in har Neceſſities and havefand no other Confederation that may contraven the ſame. She will be loth to put in haſard the loſſe of all her Frinds in an inſtant; prayinge all her lovynge Subjects, ſeing they had Experience of hir Goodnes, that ſhe has neither in Tymes by paſt, nor yet means hearafter to preaſe the Conſcience of any Man, but that they may Worſhippe God in ſick ſort as they ar perſwadit to be the beſt, that they will allwayes notht preſſe hir toffend hir awne Conſcience. As to the Eſtabliſhment in the Body of the Realme; theſe your ſelfis knawis as appears well by your Articles, that the ſam can nocht be done, be thonly Conſent of hir Majeſtie, but requires neceſſarily the Conſent of the Thre Eſtates in Parliament. And therefore ſoe ſone as the Parliament halds, that Thing quhilke the Thre Eſtates agree upon amangſt your ſelfes, hir Majeſtie ſhall grant the ſame unto you. And alwais ſall make you ſuer yat na Man ſhall be troblit for uſing your ſelves in Religion accordinge to your Conſciences: So that no Man ſhall have Cauſe to doubt that for Religious Cauſes Mens Lyves, or Heritags, ſhall be in haſerid.

To the Second Article, That her Majeſtie thinks it no wayes reſonable that ſhe ſhuld defraud her ſelfe of ſa greate a Parte of the Patrimony of the Crowne, as to put the Patronages of the Benifices, furth of her owne Hands. For her own Neceſſity, in beringe of her, and Comon Charges, will requyre the Retention of ane Guide Part in her own Hands: Nochtyelles her Majeſtie is well pleaſit that Conſideracion being had of hir owne Neceſſity, and quhat may be ſufficient, for the reſonable Suſt entation of the Miniſters, and ſpeciall

Aſſignation be made to you, in Places maiſt comodius and with the quhilk her Majeſtie ſhall not intromitt, but ſoffer the ſame to run to tham.

The Anſwer of the reſt of the Articles is refered to the Parliament.

The Kirk's *Reply to the Queen's Majeſties Anſwers aforeſayd.*

FIrſt, whar her Majeſtie Anſwers that ſhe is not perſuadit in the Religion; neather that ſhe underſtands any Impietie in the Maſſe, bot that the ſame is well grounded, *&c.* This is no ſmale greafe to the Chriſtian Harts of her Godlie Subjects; conſideringe that the Trompet of Chriſt's Evangell hes ben ſa lange blawin in this Countrie; and his Mercy ſa plainly offerit in the ſame: That her Majeſtie yet remaynes unperſwadit of the Trewth of this our Religion; for our Religion is not ells, but the ſame Religion quhilke Chriſt in the laſt Days revelit, fra the Boſſome of his Father: Quharof he mad his Apoſtells Meſſengers, and quhilke they preachit and eſtablyſht amoungſt his Faithfull to continu till gaine coming of the Lord Jeſus: Quhilk differs from the Impietie of the *Turks*, the Blaſphemy of the *Jewes*, and Vaine Superſtition of the Papiſts. In this that onlie our Religion hes God the Father, his only Sonne our Lord Jeſus, his Holy Spirit ſpeakinge in his Prophets and Apoſtles, for Authors therof: And the Doctrine and Practice for Ground of the ſame. The quhilk Aſſurance no other Religion upon the Face of the Yearth can juſtly alleage, or plainly prove; yea, quatſoever Aſſurance the Papiſts hes for their Religion, the ſame hes the *Turk* for mayntenance of the *Alcarone*; and the *Jewys* far greter for the Defence of their Cerimonies; quihidder it be Antiquity of Tyme, Conſent of People, Authority of Princes, great number or multitud conſentinge together, or any other ſike like Cloks, that they can pretent. And therefore as we are dolorous that her Majeſtie in this our Religion is not perſwadit, ſo maiſt reverently wee require in the Name of the Eternal God, that her Highnes wald embrace the Meanes quharby ſhe may be perſwadit in the Trewth. Quhilke preſently we offer unto her Grace, aſwell by Preachinge of his Worde, quhilk is the chiefe Means apointed be God to perſwade all the Choſen Children of his infailable Veritie. As be publick Diſputacon againſt the Adverſaries of this our Religion deſcivers of her Majeſtie whenſoever it ſhall be thought expedient to hir Grace. And as to the Impietie of the Maſſe, we dare be bauld to affirme, that in that Idoll thare is great Impietie, ye it is na thinge ells but a Meſſe of Impietie, fra the Beginninge to the Endinge. The Author, or Sayer, the Action it ſelfe, the Opinion therof conteanit, the Hearers of it, Gaſars upon it, avoure it pronouncis

Blaſphemy, and comytts maiſt abhomynable Ydolatry, as we have ever offerit, and yet offer our ſelves maiſt manifeſtly to prove. And quhar hir Majeſtie eſtemes that the Change of hir Religion ſhould diſſolve the Confederacy and Allyance, that ſhe hes with the Kinge of *France*, and other Princes, *&c.*

Aſſuredly Chriſt's true Religion is the undowtid Means to knit up ſurly perfect Confederacy and Friendſhip, with him that is King of all Kings; and quha hes the Harts of all Princes in his Hands. Quhilk aucht to be more precious unto her Majeſtie, nor the Confederacy of all the Princes of the Yearth; and without the quhilke, neather Confederacy, Love, or Kindneſs, can long endure.

Concerning her Majeſties Anſwer to the Second Article, quhar as ſhe thinks yt no ways reſonable to defraud hir ſelfe of hir Patronage of the Benefices, quhilk her Majeſtie eſtemes to be a Portion of hir Patrimony. And that hir Majeſty is mindit to retaine an gud Parte of the Benifices in her own Hands to ſupport her Comon Charges: As to the Firſt Point, our Mind is not that hir Majeſtie, or any other Patrone of this Realme, ſhuld be defraudit of their juſt Patronages, but we mean that quhen ſoever hir Majeſtie, or any other Patrone dois preſent any Perſonage to any Benefice, that the Parſon preſently ſhuld be tryed and examined by the Learned Men of the Kirke, Sic appertaineth, as the Superintendaunts appointit there to. And as the Preſentacion of the Benefices appertayne to the Patrons, ſo ought the Collation therof by Lawe and Reaſon appertayne to the Church; of the quhilke Collation, the Kirk ſhuld not be defrauded, maire nore the Patrons of their Preſentation; for otherwiſe, if it ſhall be Lawfull to the Patrons abſolutely to preſent, quhom thai pleaſe, without Triall or Examination, quhat than can abyde in the Kirke the Kirke of God, but mere ignorance without all Ordre. As to the Second Parte concerninge the Retention of a gude Parte of the Benefices in her Majeſties owne Hands, this Point abhorris ſa far fra gud Conſcience, as well of God's Law, as fra the Publicke Ordre of all Comon Laws; That we ar loth to open up the Ground of the Matter, be any long Circumſtances. And therefore maiſt reverently we wiſh that hir Majeſtie wold conſider the Matter with her ſelfe, and with her Wiſe Councell, that howſoever the Patronages of the Benefice may appertayne to her ſelfe, yet the Retention therof in hir own Hands undiſponing them to qualyfyt Perſones, is both Ungodly, and alſo contrary to all Polyticke Order, and Finall Confuſion to the Pure Saules of the Common People: Quha be this Means ſhuld be inſtructit of their Salvation. And quhar hir Majeſtie concludis in her Second Anſwer, that ſhe is content that an ſufficient & reſonable Suſtentacion of the Miniſters be provydat to tham, by aſſignation in Placis moſt commodious and eaſieſt to tham; conſideracion beinge had of hir owne Neceſſitie. As we are altogether deſirous that hir Gracis Neceſſitie be relevit, ſo our Duty craves that we ſhould notefie to your Grace, the true Order that ſhuld be obſerved in this Behalfe, quhilk is this, The Teynds are properly to be reputed to be the Patrimony of the Kirke, upon the quhilks befor all Things they that travells in the Miniſtery thairof, and the pore indigent Members of Chriſt Body are to be ſuſtenit. The Kirks alſo repaired, and the Youthead brought up in gud Letters: Quhilks Things be and done, than other

Neceſſitie

Neceſſitie reſonable might be ſupportede accordinge as her Majeſtie, and hir Godlie Counſaile could think expedient. Allways we cannot but thank her Majeſtie moſt reverently, of her liberall Offer, of Aſſignations to be made to the Miniſters for their Suſtentation. Quhilk not the leſſe is ſo generally conceived that without mare ſpeciall condiſcendinge upon the particularity therof, no Expectacion is able to follow therupon. And ſo to conclud with her Majeſtie at this Parliament, we deſire moſt earneſtly the Performance of the ſaid Articles, beſeching God that as they are Reſonable and Godly in thamſelvis; ſo your Majeſties Hart, and the Eſtates jointly convenit, may be inclynit and perſwadit to the Performance therof.

Number 90.

The Supplication to the Queen's Majeſtie of *Scotlande*.

To the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, her Grace's Humble Subjects, profeſſing the Evangell of Chriſte Jeſus within this Realme, wiſheth longe Proſperitte, with the Spirit of Righteous Judgment.

Cotton Libr. *Calig.* B.10. IT is not unknown unto your Majeſtie, that within this Realme the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt was lately ſo planted, the Trewe Religion ſo eſtabliſhed; Idolatry, to wit, the Maſſes, and all that therto appertenyth, together with the Uſurped and Tyrannicall Power of that *Romaine* Ante-Chriſt, called the Pope, ſo ſuppreſſed, aſwel by the Mighty Power and Hand of God, as by juſt Lawes and Decres of Parliament, that none within this Realme durſt in Publick have gainſaid the one, nor mayntenet the other. It is further known, that ſuch as in whoſe Hands, God of his Mercye had proſpered the Begynninge of this his Worke, were going forwarde to an exact and parfect Reformation, concerninge the Policy of the Churche, accordinge to the Word of God, and Suſtentation of them that Travell in the ſame. But theis nowe our moſt Juſt and Godlie Begynnings have nowe bene ſtaied and trobled nere the Space of 4 Yeres, to the great Grief of all Godlie Hartes within this Realme. Shortlie after your Grace's Arrival, was that Idol the Maſſe erected up againe: And there after were wicked Men Enemyes to Chriſt Jeſus, and his Holy Evangell repoſed in the Places wich they never poſſeſſed, and were admitted to receive the Fruts, that by no juſt Lawe can apperteane to them: And that under color they ſhold pay ther Thirds to your

Majeſties Comptroller, and ſuche as he ſhold depute for the receiving of the ſame; to thend as we underſtond, that our Mynyſters and Myniſterye might have bene planted and ſuſtanid according to Gods Comaundement. And albeyt we were plainly forwarned, that ſuche Begynnynge wold not have eny happy Ende; yet the Love that we bare to the Tranquyllitie of your Realme, and Eſperance and Hope that we had, that God of his Mercye wold molyfye your Highnes Hart, to heare his Bleſſed Evangell publickly preched, we quyetly paſt over many Things that were in our Harts, as alſo many tymes by our Supplicacions unto your Majeſtie, we deſiered to have bene redreſſed: But howe litle we have proffyted to this Daie, bothe great and ſmall amongeſt us begynne now to conſider. For Laws we ſee violated, Idolatrye encreaſed, your Highnes owne Gates (againſt Proclamations) made patent to the fooliſhe People, to commytt Idolatrye: The Patrymony of the Churche, we ſee beſtowed upon Perſons moſt unworthie, and to other Uſes then was at firſt intended: And thereby, the Tyrannye of that *Romaine* Antichriſt to be intruded upon us againe; our Myniſters brought to extreme Povertie; ſome of them trobled in ther Function, ſome Prechers hurt, and no Redreſſe maide. Fornicacion, Adulterye, Inceſt, Murther, Sorcerers, Bewytchers, and al Impietie, ſo to abounde univerſallie within this your Highnes Realme, that God cannot lange ſpaire to ſtricke the Heade and the Members, onleſs ſpeedye Repentance followe. We therfore, nowe contynuinge in our former humble Sewte, moſt humbly requere of your Majeſtie a ſpeadye Reformation of the Innormyties aforeſaid, and a favorable Anſwere of our juſt Petycions; as more fullye your Majeſtie pleaſe receive in Articles; moſt humbley beſeaching your Highnes, to have this Opynon of us, that as to this daie your Grace have founde nothinge in us, but dewe Obbedyence to your Majeſties Lawes and Auctoritie, which we have given, becauſe we are thonly Part of your People that treuly fear God, ſo to eſteame of us, that God, his Chriſt Jeſus, and his trewe Religion which we profeſſe, (and by his Grace ſhal be) to us more dear then Lives, Poſſeſſions, or reſpect of Proſperitie. And therefore yet againe we the hole Bodye, profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus within this Realme, humbly crave of your Majeſtie, that ye give us not occaſion to thinke, that ye entende nothinge but the Subverſion of Chriſt Jeſus his true Religion, and in the Overthrowe of it, the Diſtruction of us the beſt part of the Subjects of this your Graces Realme: For this before the World we plainly profeſſe, that to that *Romaine* Antichriſt we will never be ſubyect, nor yet ſuffer (ſo far as our Power may ſuppreſſe it) any of his uſurped Auctoritie to have Place within this Realme. And thus with all humble and dewtifull Obbedyence, we humbly crave your Graces favorable Anſwer, with theſe our appointed Commiſſioners.

Number

Number 91.

A Letter of Parkhurſt *Biſhop of* Norwich, *to* Bullinger, *concerning the State of Affairs in* Scotland, *and the Killing of Signior* David.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

SAlvus ſis in Chriſto, optime Bullingere. Secundo Februarij ſcripſi ad te, & unà cum Literis miſi viginti Coronatos, vel decem Coronatos & Pannum pro toga: Nam hoc Abeli arbitrio permiſi. Tuas accepi 23 Maij. Paulò poſt Londinenſis Epiſcopus, exemplar Reſponſionis tuæ ad Literas Laurentij Humphredi, & Thomæ Sampſonis, ad me miſit. Quæ ſcripſiſti, typis apud nos excuduntur, & Latinè, & Anglicè. Accepi præterea, 12 Julij, Confeſſionem Fidei orthodoxæ, c. pulcherrimum libellum. Menſe Martio, Italus quidam, vocatus Senior David, Necoromanticæ artis peritus, in magnam gratiam apud Reginam Scotiæ, è Reginæ cubiculo (illa præſente) vi extractus, & aliquot pugionibus confoſſus, miſerè periit. Abbas quidam ibidem vulneratus, evaſit ægrè, ſed paulò poſt ex vulnere eſt mortuus. Fraterculus quidam, nomine *Black*, (niger Viſularius) Papiſtarum anteſignanus, eodem tempore in Aula occiditur: Sic niger hic Nebulo, nigra quoq; morte peremptus, invitus nigrum ſubitò decendit in orcum. Conſiliarij, qui tum ſimul in unum cubiculum erant congregati, ut de rebus quibuſdam arduis conſultarent, audientes has cædes, (nam priùs nihil tale ſunt ſuſpicati) alij hac, alij illac, alij è feneſtris ſeſe proturbantes certatim aufugerunt, atque ita cum vitæ periculo, vitæ conſulebant ſuæ. Regina Scotiæ Principem peperit: Et cum antea Maritum (neſcio quas ob cauſas) non tanti faceret, jam plurimi facit. D. Jacobum, ſuum ex patre fratrem, quem antea exoſum habuit, nunc in gratiam recepit, nec ſolum illum, ſed omnes (utinam verum eſſet) proceres evangelicos, ut audio. Evangelium quod ad tempus ſopiebatur, denuò caput exerit. Cùm hæc ſcriberem, ecce Scotus quidam è Patria profugiens, Vir bonus & doctus, narravit mihi, Reginam ante decem hebdomadas Puerum peperiſſe; nec dum eſſe baptizatum. Rogo cauſam. Reſpondet, Reginam velle Filium in ſummo Templo, cum multarum Miſſarum Celebratione tingi. At Edinburgenſes id omnino non permittunt: Nam mori potiùs malunt, quàm pati, ut abominandæ Miſſæ in ſuas Eccleſias iterum irrepant. Metuunt Edinburgenſes, ne illa è Gallia auxiliares vocet Copias, ut facilius Evangelicos opprimat. Oremus Dominum pro piis Fratribus. Mandatis dedit cuidam pio Comiti, ut Knoxum apud ſe manentem, ex ædibus ejiciat. Dominus illam convertat, vel confundat. Plura ſcribere non poſſum; diu ægrotavi, nec dum plenè convalui. Eſt hæc ſcribendo debilitata manus.

Vale

Vale, Chariſſime mi Bullingere. Salutem quæſo adſcribas omnibus, atque adeo omnibus Piis, meo nomine. Dominus ſua dextra protegat Ditionem Tigurinorum. Raptim Ludhamiæ, 21 Auguſt 1566.

Tuus,

Joh. Parkhurſtus, *N.*

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Henricho Bullingero.

Number 92.

A Letter of Grindall's *to* Bullinger, *giving an Account of the State of Affairs both in* England *and* Scotland ; *and of the Killing of Signior* David.

Salutem in Chriſto.

Clariſſime D. Bullingere, ac Frater in Chriſto Chariſſime,

D. Johannes Abelus tradidit mihi Literas tuas D. Wintonienſi, Norvicenſi, & mihi communiter inſcriptas, unà cum ſcripto veſtro de re veſtiaria : Quorum ego exemplaria ad D. Wintonienſem & Norvicenſem ſtatim tranſmiſi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias, tum quod noſtrarum Eccleſiarum tantam curam geris, tum quod me, hominem tibi ignotum, participem facis eorum, quæ ad noſtros de rebus controverſis ſcribuntur. Vix credibile eſt, quantum hæc Controverſia, de rebus nihili, Eccleſias noſtras perturbarit, & adhuc aliqua ex parte perturbat. Multi ex Miniſtris doctioribus, videbantur Miniſterium deſerturi. Multi etiam ex Plebe, contulerunt Conſilia de Seceſſione à nobis facienda, & occultis cœtibus cogendis ; ſed tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad ſaniorem mentem rediit. Ad eam rem Literæ veſtræ, plenæ Pietatis ac Prudentiæ, plurimùm momenti attulerunt : Nam eas latinè, atque anglicè, Typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex Miniſtris, veſtro judicio atque authoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora Conſilia de deſerendo Miniſterio. Sed & ex Plebe quamplurimi mitiùs ſentire cæperunt, poſtquam intellexerunt noſtros Ritus, à vobis (qui iiſdem non utimini) nequaquam damnari Impietatis, quod ante publicatas veſtras Literas, nemo illis perſuaſiſſet. Sunt tamen, qui adhuc manent in priore Sententia ; & in his, D. Humfredus & Sampſonus : Nihil verò eſſet *Ex MSS. Tigur.*

facilius, quàm Regiæ Majeſtati eos reconciliare, ſi ipſi ab inſtituto diſcedere vellent. Sed quum hoc non faciunt nos apud Sereniſſimam Reginam iſta contentione irritatam, nihil poſſumus. Nos, qui nunc Epiſcopi ſumus, in primo noſtro reditu, priuſquam ad Miniſterium acceſſimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut iſta de quibus nunc controvertitur, prorſus amoverentur. Sed cùm illa de Regina & Statibus in Comitiis Regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis Conſiliis, optimum judicavimus, non deſerere Eccleſias propter Ritus non adeo multos, eoſque per ſe non impios; præſertim quum pura Evangelij Doctrina nobis integra ac libera maneret, in qua ad hunc uſque diem, (utcunque multi multa in contraria moliti ſunt) cum veſtris Eccleſiis, veſtraque Confeſſione nuper dedita, pleniſſimè conſentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos noſtri Conſilij: Nam interea, Domino dante incrementum, auctæ & confirmatæ ſunt Eccleſiæ, quod alioqui Eceboliis, Lutheranis, & Semi-papiſtis, prædæ fuiſſent expoſitæ. Iſtæ verò iſtorum intempeſtivæ Contentiones de Adiaphoris, (ſi quid ego judicare poſſum) non ædificant, ſed ſcindunt Eccleſias, & diſcordias ſeminant inter Fratres. Sed de noſtris Rebus hactenus. In Scotia non ſunt res tam bene conſtitutæ, quàm eſſet optandum. Retinent quidem Eccleſiæ adhuc puram Evangelij Confeſſionem; ſed tamen videtur Scotiæ Regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effecit, ut ſex aut ſeptem Miſſæ Papiſticæ, ſingulis diebus in Aula ſua publicè fierent, omnibus qui accedere volunt admiſſis, quum antea unica, eaque privatim habita, nullo Scoto ad eam admiſſo, eſſet contenta. Præterea, quum primum inita eſt Reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis Monaſteriorum, quæ fiſco adjudicata ſunt, ſtipendia Evangelij Miniſtris perſolverentur: At ipſa jam integro triennio nihil ſolvit. Joannem Knoxum, regia urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit Miniſter, non ita pridem ejecerit, neque exorari poteſt ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publicè tamen, extra Aulam, nihil hactenus eſt innovatum; & Proceres Regni, Nobiles item, ac Cives, multò maxima ex parte Evangelio nomen dederunt, multa, magnaque Conſtantiæ indicia oſtendunt. In his, præcipuus unus eſt, D. Jacobus Stuardus, Murraciæ Comes, Reginæ Frater, Nothus, Vir pius, ac magnæ apud ſuos Authoritatis. Perſcribitur ad me ex Scotia, Reginæ cum Rege peſſimè convenire. Cauſa hæc eſt: Fuit Italus quidam, nomine David, à Cardinale Lotharingo Reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is quum Reginæ à ſecretis atque intimis eſſet Conſiliis, ferè ſolus omnia adminiſtrabat, non conſulto Rege, qui admodum juvenis & levis eſt. Hoc malè habebat Regem. Itaque facta Conſpiratione cum Nobilibus quibuſdam, & Aulicis ſuis, Italum illum Reginæ opem fruſtra implorantem ex ipſius conſpectu arripi, & ſtatim indicta cauſa multis pugionibus perfodi, atque interfici curavit. Hujus facti immanis memoriam Regina, tametſi nuper Filium Regi peperit, ex animo deponere non poteſt. Hæc paulò verboſius de Scotia, ex qua fortaſſis rarò ad vos ſcribitur.

Oro

Oro ut D. Gualterum, ac reliquos Collegas tuos, meo nomine ſalutes. Dominus te, nobis & Eccleſiæ ſuæ, quàm diutiſſimè conſervet.

Londini 27 Aug. 1566.

Deditiſſimus tibi in Domino,

Edm. Grindallus

Epiſcopus Londinenſis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo in Chriſto, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ Miniſtro Fideliſſimo, ac Fratri in Domino Chariſſimo.

Number 93.

A Part of Grindal's *Letter to* Bullinger, *of the Affairs of* Scotland.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

—SCotia jam in novos motus incidit. Henricus nuper Scotiæ Rex (uti te audiviſſe exiſtimo) Decimo Februarii elapſi, in horto quodam, hoſpitio ſuo adjacente, inventus eſt mortuus: De genere mortis nondum convenit apud omnes. Alii dicunt incenſis vaſis aliquot pulveris tormentarii, quæ ſub cubiculo in quo dormiebat ex induſtria repoſita fuerant, ædes everſas atq; ipſum in hortum proximum projectum fuiſſe. Alii verò intempeſta nocte vi extractum è cubiculo, & poſtea ſtrangulatum, ac tum demum incenſo pulvere ædes disjectas fuiſſe affirmant. Hujus cædis apud omnes ſuſpectus erat Comes quidam nomine Bothwellius. Huic Comiti, poſtquam Uxorem Legitimam interveniente authoritate Archiepiſcopi S. Andreæ repudiaſſet: Decimo Quinto Maii nupſit Scotiæ Regina, atq; eandem ex Comite, Orchadum Ducem creavit. Paulo ante hoc Matrimonium omnes fere Regni proceres, quum nullam in cædem Regis inquiſitionem inſtitui viderent, diſceſſerunt ex Aula, & ſeorſum apud Sterlynum oppidum conventum habuerunt. In hoc conventu, certis inditiis nefandam hanc cædem à Bothwellio perpetratam fuiſſe, compertum eſt. Itaq; collecto exercitu ipſum comprehendere ſatagunt, Bothwellius verò dat

ſe in fugam: Sed quo profugerit, adhuc neſcitur. Regnam alii aiunt obſideri in Arce quadam, alii verò in Arce Edinburgenſi, tanquam necis mariti conſciam, captivam detineri aſſerunt. Quomodocunque ſit, infames illæ Nuptiæ, non poſſunt, non in aliquam diram Tragœdiam deſinere. Sed de his omnibus expectamus indies certiora, de quibus, efficiam brevi ut cognoſcas. De perſequutionibus, Flandriæ nihil ſcribo, quod eas vos non latere exiſtimem: Multa apud nos jactata ſunt de obſeſſa Geneva, ſed ſpero vana eſſe. Dominus Jeſus pietatem tuam, nobis & Eccleſiæ incolumen conſervet.

Londini, 21 Junii,
1567.

Deditiſſimo tibi in Domino

Edmundus Grindallus

Epiſcopus Londinienſis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo in Chriſto, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ Miniſtro Fideliſſimo, & Fratri in Chriſto Chariſſimo.

Tiguri.

This being the laſt of the Letters ſent me from Zurich, *which I have put in this Collection; I add to it the Atteſtation ſent me from thence, that the Copies were Faithfully taken from the Originals, and that they were carefully Collated with them.*

The Atteſtation of the Burgomaſter and Council of Zurich, *of the Faithfulneſs of the Copies of the Letters ſent me from the MSS. that lie there.*

CONſul & Senatus Civitatis Thuricenſis Helvetiorum vulgò Zurich dictæ, præſentibus hiſce confitemur ac notum facimus. Apographa illa ex Originalibus in Archivis Civitatis noſtræ aſſervatis Literis, quæ tempore Reformationis ab Eccleſia Anglicana ad noſtræ Eccleſiæ tunc temporis Miniſtros & vice verſa emanavêre, ducta & tranſumpta, omni diligentiâ & fidelitate deſcripta eſſe, ut facta in Cancellaria noſtra accuratâ collatione, Copias Originalibus de Verbo ad Verbum ubiq; concordare repertum fuerit, quibus Apographis proinde plenaria fides tutò adhiberi poſſit. In cujus rei Teſtimonium præſentes haſce exhiberi, Civitatis noſtræ Sigillo muniri, & à Jurato Secretario noſtro ſubſcribi mandavimus, Die Decimo Julii, Anno à Nata Salute Milleſimo, Septingenteſimo, Decimo Tertio.

Locus Sigilli.

BEATUS HOVRHALBIUS,

Reipublicæ Thuricenſis,
Archigrammaticus.

Manu propria ſubſcripſi.

Number

Number 94.

A Relation of Mary *Queen of* Scotland's *Misfortunes, and of her laſt Will, in the Life of Cardinal* Laurea, *written by the Abbot of* Pignerol *his Secretary. Printed at* Bologna, *Anno* 1599.

ATqui tunc in Scotia tam ſceleſtum, tamque nefarium facinus commiſſum eſt, ut illud reminiſci, nedum enarrare animus quodammodò exhorreat. Rex, variolarum (ut vulgò aiunt) morbo correptus, ne fortaſſis Uxorem contagione contaminaret, ſe in ædes à regiis ædibus Edimburgi ſejunctas receperat; ubi, ſimul ac convaleſcere cæpit, ab Uxore ſæpius inviſitur, quodam autem die cum ſimul cænaſſent, atq; in multam noctem ſermonem, luſumq; protraxiſſent, quo minus itidem ſimul cubarent, excuſationem affert Regina, quod ſponſam quandam è nobilibus ſuis mulieribus ea primam nuptiarum nocte uſque ad cubile honoris gratia eſſet comitatura: Quem morem ſuperiores Reginæ obſervare ſemper conſueverant. Vix Regina diſceſſerat, cum ecce pulvis tormentarius, per cuniculos ſubter fundamentum domus conjectus, totum edificium continùò dejicit, ipſumque Regem opprimit: Quamvis nonnulli non ruina interemptum, ſed, dum per poſticum primo circa ædes audito armorum ſtrepitu in hortum proximum confugeret, unà cum familiari quodam ſtrangulatum, moxque ædes tormentario pulvere dejectas fuiſſe malint. Planè conſtat, exangue Regis Corpus in horto repertum nullo affectum vulnere, nigram tantum modò circa collum maculam habuiſſe. Indigniſſima hac Regis divulgata cæde, ingens omnes horror corripuit; quidem iniquos in Reginam ſermones jacere; alij per injuriam libellos edere: Nonnulli Comitem Boduellium, quem cædis nefariæ auctorem fuiſſe conpererant, non ſicarium, ſed crudeliſſimum carnificem accuſare, adeò interdum vulgus acutiſſimè indagare, atque odorari omnia ſolet. Boduellius, licet Hæreticus, Reginæ tamen ſtudioſiſſimus, fideliſſimuſque ſemper extiterat: Nuper eam graviſſimo illo ſeditionis periculo fortiter liberaverat, ab ipſa deniq; perditè amabatur. Quamobrem in ſpem adductus fore, ut Reginam ipſam in Matrimonio haberet, primò Uxori propriæ (quaſi propter adulterium fieri divortium, aliamque ducere liceret) repudium miſit, deinde Regi necem crudeliter machinatus eſt. Regina poſt, improbiſſimos de ea, Boduellioque rumores diſſipatos, verita ne quis populi motus in eorum perniciem fieret, Edimburgo ſtatuit recedendum, ac ſe unâ cum parvulo filio ad munitam Strivelini arcem recepit; ſtatuto prius (ut ſimile vero videtur) quid inter ipſam, & Boduellium foret poſtea Tranſigendum. Nam paucis inde diebus egreſſa Regina, venatum prodire ſimulat; tum Bodvellius, veluti ex inſidiis, ducentis ſtipatus equitibus, illam circumvenire, vimque ei intendere viſus eſt. Ergo Regina, unà cum Bodvellio in arcem regreſſa, confeſtim

feſtim eum Orcadum Ducem, moxque Maritum ſuum eſſe declarat, verùm Nuptiæ illæ neutiquam fauſtæ, ac diuturnæ fuerunt : Quippe quæ non Matrimonij dignitate, ſed indigni facinoris ſocietate conjunctæ viderentur. Eo tempore, Moravienſis è Scotia aberat, præ cæteris tamen relicto Ledingtonio, qui novas, ut occaſio daretur, turbas, novaſq; rixas faceret. Huic quàm facillimum fuit ſponte omnium in Reginam Bodvelliumque ira, accenſos animos acriùs inflammare. Raptim igitur, turbulenteque, Exercitu Edenburgi comparato, ſubitò Strivelinam verſus Caſtra moventur. Id ubi Regina intellexit, ſecum Mulieres tantum, paucoſq; aulicos Homines, adducens obviam prodeundum duxit, venienti debita cum reverentia aſſurrexerunt. Interrogati, quanam de cauſa armati illuc acceſſiſſent, non alia reſpondiſſe feruntur, niſi ut atrocem injuriam à Bodvellio factam, ac crudelem, & indignam Regis necem, vimq; ipſimet Reginæ illatam vendicarent. At Regina noxam Bodvellij purgare ; nihil non ipſa aſſentiente commiſſum. Quo ſermone adeò ſunt commoti, & exarſerunt, ut omnes illicò uno ore acclamaverint. Et tu igitur, Domina, apud nos Captiva eris. Nec mora, ad Arcem inſulæ intra Lacum Levinum in cuſtodiam mittunt ; uno ei tantum Lixa, duabuſq; infimæ conditionis Mulierculis, ad ei miniſtrandum conceſſis.

Towards the End of the Book comes what follows.

——Unum, hoc loco, non videtur ſilentio prætereundum : Quod cum Sixti Pontificis juſſu, Regni Scotiæ, atque in primis Reginæ Mariæ Res, in Urbe protegendi munus ſuſcepiſſet, accidit, ut infælix Regina pridiè, quàm ſecuri in Anglia feriretur, ſupremas tabulas Gallica Lingua, Manuque propria conficeret. Quibus primo, ſe Religionis Catholicæ ſtudioſiſſimam ſemper fuiſſe profeſſa eſt ; deinde cavit, ne ad Filium Principem, ſi falſam Hæreſis, quam animo imbiberat, perſuaſionem non exuiſſet, Anglici Regni Hæreditas ullo unquam tempore perveniret ; ſed loco ſui ad Philippum, Hiſpaniarum Regem Catholicum pertineret. Haſce Tabulas cum Vincentius Cardinalis accepiſſet, mira diligentia recognoſcendas curavit, ut ad Reginæ ultimam Voluntatem aperiendam, Fidemq; faciendam ſufficerent. Nam & cum Literis ab eadem Regina priùs acceptis contulit, & non à ſe ſolùm, verùmetiam à Ludovico Audoeno, Anglo, Epiſcopo Caſſanenſi, pio & integerrimo Homine, voluit ſubſignari : Sicq; firmatas, ac tanquam publica Authoritate roboratas, Comiti Olivario, Hiſpaniarum Regis Oratori, ad ipſumet Regem fideliter tranſmittendas dedit.

Number

Number 95.

A Bond of Aſſociation, upon Mary *Queen of* Scotland's *Reſigning the Crown in Favour of her Son.*

An Original, in the Library of Glaſgow.

WE quhilks has ſubſcrivit the underwritten Bond, underſtanding that the Queenis Majeſty willing nathing mair earneſtlie, nor that in her Lifetime her Majeſties Dear Son, our Native Prince, be placit and inaugurat in the Kingdom of this his Native Cuntre and Realm, and be obeyit as King be us, and uthers his Subjects: And being wearit of the great Pains and Travels taken be her in her Government thereof, hes be her Letters demittit and renderit, and given Power thairby to demit and renunce the ſaid Government of this Realm, Liegis and Subjectis thairof, in Favours of her ſaid Son, our Native Prince: To the effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the Crown Royal put upon his Head, and be obeyit in all Things as King and Native Prince thairof, as her Hieneſs Letters paſt thairupon bears. Thairfore, and becauſe it is ane of the maiſt happy Things that can come to any Pepill or Cuntre, to be governit and rulit by their awn Native King; We, and ilk ane of us, quhilk hes ſubſcrivit thir Preſents, be the Tenor heirof, promitties, binds, and obliſſis us, faithfully to convene and aſſembil our ſelfs at the Burgh of *Sterling*, or any other Place to be appointit, to the Effect foreſaid; and thair concur, aſſiſt and fortify our ſaid Native King and Prince, to the Eſtabliſhing, Planting and Placing of him in his Kingdom, and Putting of the Crown Royal thairof upon his Head, and in the Fear of our God being inſtructit and teichit be his and all other Laws, ſall giff our Aith of Fidelity and Homage, and lawfull and dutiful Obedience, to be made by us to him during his Graces Lifetime, as it becomes faithfull, Chriſtian, and true Subjects, to do to thair Native King and Prince. And farther, that we ſall with all our Strength and Forcis promote, concurre, fortifie and aſſiſt, to the Promoteing and Eſtabliſhing of him in his Kingdom and Government, as becumis faithfull and true Subjects to do to thair Prince, and to reſiſt all ſick as wald oppon them thairto, or make any Trouble or Impediment to him thairin, and ſall do all uther Things, that becomis faithfull and Chriſtian Subjects to do to thair Native King and Prince. In Witneſs of the quhilk Thing, we

haif

haif ſubſcrivit thir Preſents with our Handis, at *Edinburgh*, the Day of——, the Year of God 1567 Years.

James Regent. *Huntley. Archibald Argyle. Athol. Mortoun. Mar. Glencairn. Errol. Buchan. Graham. Alexander* Lord *Home. William* Lord *Ruthven.* Lord *Sanquhar. Ihon* Lord *Glamis. Patrick* Lord *Lindſey. Michael* Lord *Carliſle* : With my Hand at the Pen, *Alexander Hay*, Notarius. *William* Lord *Borthwick.* Lord *Innermaith. Ucheltrie. Sempill. Henry* Lord *Methven. Allan* Lord *Cathcart. Patrick* Lord *Gray. Robert* Com. of *Dumferling. James Stuart. Alexander* Com. of *Culroſs. Adam* Com. of *Cambuſkenneth. Dryburgh.* Maſter of *Montroſe. Alexander* Biſhop of *Galoway. Caprington. Blairquhan. Tullibarden*, Comptroller ; with Eighteen more.

Number 96.

Bond to the King, and to the Earl of Murray, *as Regent during his Infancy : Regiſtred in the Council-Books on the 5th of* April 1569.

US, and every ane of us underſcriv, and ſall in all time cuming, like as we do preſentlie, reverence, acknowledge and recognoſce the maiſt Excellent and Mighty Prince *James* the Sixt, by the Grace of God King of the *Scottis*, our only Soveraine Lord, and his deareſt Uncle, *James* Earl of *Murray*, Lord *Abernethie*, Regent to his Hieneſs, his Realme, and Leidges thereof, during his Majeſties Minority. His Hieneſs his ſaid Regent, and his Majeſties Authority, we ſall obſerve and obey, as becumis dutifull Subjectis, our Landis and Livis in the Defence and Avancement thairof, we ſall beſtow, and wair. The Skaith, Harm, or Subverſion of the ſamen, we ſall never knaw, nor procure by any meanis, direct nor indirect. All former Bandis, for Obedience of any other Authority, ſubſcrivit or made by us in any tymes, by-gaine, contrarious or prejudicial to his Hieneſs, his ſaid Regent and Authority, we renunce and diſcharge for evir : Affirming and ſwearing ſolempnitlie, upon our Faiths and Honouris, to obſerve and keep this our Declaration and plane Profeſſion, everie Poynt thairof, be God himſellf, and as we will anſwer at his General Judgement : Whairin gif we failzie, we are content to be comptit Faithleſs, Falſe, Perjurit and Defamit for ever ; beſyde the ordinar Pain of the Lawis

to be execute upon us, without Favour, as a perpetual Memory of our unnaturall Defection, and inexcuſable Untruth. In Witnes whairof, we have ſubſcrivit thir Preſents with our Handis as follows, at the Dayes and Tymes particularly under ſpecified.

Huntley. Crafurd. Caſſilis. Sanquhar. Saltoun.
James Lord *Ogilvie. Laurance* Lord *Oliphant.*
John Mr. *Forbes.* With Thirty ſix more.

Number 97.

A Declaration of the Cauſes moving the Queene of England, *to give Aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppreſſed in the* Lowe-Countries.

Kings and Princes, Soveraigns are to yield Account of their Actions only to Almighty God, the King of Kings.

ALthough Kinges and Princes, Soveraignes, owing their Homage and Service only unto the Almightie God, the King of all Kings, are in that reſpect not bounde to yeeld Account, or render the Reaſons of their Actions to any others, but to God their onely Soveraigne Lord: Yet (though amongſt the moſt Ancient and Chriſtian Monarchies, the ſame Lorde God having committed to us the Soveraignetie of this Realme of *Englande*, and other our Dominions, which wee holde immediatly of the ſame Almightie Lorde, and ſo thereby accountable only to his Divine Majeſtie) wee are, notwithſtanding this our Prerogative at this time, ſpecially moved (for divers Reeſons hereafter briefly remembred) to publiſh, not only to our owne Naturall Loving Subjects, but alſo to all others our Neighbours, ſpecially to ſuch Princes and States as are our Confederates, or have for their Subjects Cauſe of Commerce with our Countreis and People, what our Intention is at this time, and upon what juſt and reaſonable Grounds, we are moved to give Aid to our next Neighbours, the Naturall People of the *Low-Countreis*, being by long Warres, and Perſecutions of Strange Nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in preſent danger to be brought into a perpetual Servitude.

Natural Cauſes of the Ancient continual Traffick betwixt the People of *England* and them of the *Low-Countries*.

Firſt, It is to be underſtoode, (which percaſe is not perfectly knowen to a great Number of Perſons) that there hath been, Time out of Minde, even by the Naturall Situation of thoſe *Low-Countreis*, and our Realme of *England*, one directly oppoſite to the other; and by Reaſon of the ready Croſſing of the Seas, and Multitude of large and commodious Havens reſpectively on both Sides, a continuall Traffique and Commerce betwixt the People of *England*, and the Naturall People of theſe *Lowe-Countries*; and ſo continued in all Anci-

Ancient Times when the ſeverall Provinces therof, as *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and other Countries to them adjoining, were ruled and poſſeſſed by ſeverall Lordes, and not united together, as of late Yeeres they have been by Entermarriages; and at length by Concurrences of many and ſundrie Titles have alſo been reduced to be under the Government of their Lordes that ſucceeded to the Dukedome of *Burgundie*, whereby there hath been in former Ages many ſpeciall Alliances and Confederations, not only betwixt the Kinges of *England* our Progenitours, and the Lordes of the ſaid Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and their Adherents; but alſo betwixt the very Naturall Subjectes of both Countries, as the Prelates, Noblemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and other Comminalties of the great Cities and Port Townes of either Countrie reciproquelie by ſpeciall Obligations and Stipulations under their Seales interchangeablie, for Maintenance both of Commerce and Entercourſe of Merchantes; and alſo of ſpeciall mutuall Amitie to be obſerved betwixt the People and Inhabitants of both Parties, as well Eccleſiaſticall, as Secular: And very expreſſe Proviſion in ſuche Treaties conteined for mutuall Favours, Affections, and all other Friendly Offices to be uſed and proſecuted by the People of the one Nation towards the other. By which mutual Bondes, there hath continued perpetuall Unions of the Peoples Hearts together, and ſo by way of continuall Entercourſes, from Age to Age the ſame mutuall Love hath bene inviolablie kept and exerciſed, as it had been by the Worke of Nature, and never utterly diſſolved; nor yet for any long Time diſcontinued, howſoever the Kinges, and the Lordes of the Countries ſometimes (though very rarely) have beene at difference by ſiniſter Meanes of ſome other Princes their Neighbours, envying the Felicitie of theſe Two Countries.

Confederations both betwixt the Kinges of *England*, and the Lordes of the *Lowe Countries*, and alſo the Subjects of both Countries.

The People of both the Countries bound by ſpecial Obligations enterchangeablie, for mutual Favours, and Friendly Offices.

And for Maintenance and Teſtimonie of theſe natural Unions of the Peoples of theſe Kingdoms and Countries in perpetuall Amitie, there are extent ſundrie Autentique Treaties and Tranſactions for mutual Commerce, Entercourſe and ſtraight Amitie of Ancient Times: As for Example, ſome very Solemnely accorded in the Times of King *Henrie* the VIth our Progenitour, and *Philip* the IId, Duke of *Burgundie*, and Inheritour to the Countie of *Flanders* by the Ladie *Margaret* his Grandmother, which was above One Hundred and Forty Years paſt; and the ſame alſo renewed by the Noble Duke *Charles* his Sonne, Father to the King of *Spayne*'s Grandmother, and Huſband to the Ladie *Margaret*, Siſter to our Great Grandfather King *Edward* the IVth: And after that, of newe oftentimes renewed by our moſt Noble and Sage Grandfather King *Henrie* the VIIth, and the Archduke *Philip*, Grandfather to the King of *Spayne* now being: And in later Times, often renewed betwixt our Father of Noble Memorie King *Henrie* the VIIIth, and *Charles* the Vth Emperour of *Almaigne*, Father alſo to the preſent King of *Spaine*.

Treaties extant of Ancient Time, betwixt the Kinges of *England*, and the Dukes of *Burgundie*, for the Commerce betwixt their Countries.

In al which Treaties, Tranſactions, and Confederations of Amitie and mutuall Commerce, it was alſo at all Times ſpecially and principally contained in expreſſe Words, by Conventions, Concordes, and Concluſions, that the Naturall People and Subjects of either ſide, ſhould ſhewe mutuall Favours and Dueties one to the other; and ſhould ſafely, freely, and ſecurely Commerce together in everie their

Conventions for the Subjectes of either ſide, to ſhewe mutual Favours one to the other.

Countries, and ſo hath the ſame mutuall and naturall Concourſe and Commerce bene without interruption contynued in many Ages, farre above the like Example of any other Countries in Chriſtendome, to the Honour and Strength of the Princes, and to the ſingular great Benefite and Enriching of their People, untill of late Yeeres that the King of *Spayne* departing out of his *Lowe Countries* into *Spayne*, hath bene (as is to be thought) councelled by his Counſelours of *Spayne*, to appoynt *Spaniardes*, Foreners, and Strangers of ſtrange Blood, Men more exerciſed in Warres, than in Peaceable Government; and ſome of them notably delighted in Blood, as hath appeared by their Actions, to be the chiefeſt Governours of all his ſaid *Low Countries*, contrary to the Ancient Lawes and Cuſtomes thereof, having great plentie of Noble, Valiant, and Faithful Perſons naturally Borne, and ſuch as the Emperour *Charles*, and the King himſelfe had to their great Honours uſed in their Service, able to have bene employed in the Rule of thoſe Countries. But theſe *Spaniardes* being meere Strangers, having no naturall Regarde in their Government to the Maintenance of thoſe Countries and People in their Ancient and Naturall Maner of Peaceable Living, as the moſt Noble and Wiſe Emperour *Charles*; yea, and as his Sonne King *Philip* himſelf had, whileſt he remained in thoſe Countries, and uſed the Counſels of the States, and Natural of the Countries, not violating the Ancient Liberties of the Countries: But, contrarywiſe, theſe *Spaniardes* being exalted to Abſolute Government by Ambition, and for private Lucre have violently broken the Ancient Lawes and Liberties of all the Countries; and in a Tyrannous Sort have baniſhed, killed, and deſtroyed without Order of Lawe, within the Space of a fewe Monthes, many of the moſt Ancient and Principal Perſons of the natural Nobilitie that were more Worthy of Government. And howſoever in the Beginning of theſe Cruel Perſecutions, the Pretence thereof was for Maintenance of the *Romiſh* Religion, yet they ſpared not to deprive verie many Catholiques, and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of their Franchiſes and Privileges: And of the Chiefeſt that were executed of the Nobilitie, none was in the Whole Countrie more affected to that Religion, then was the Noble and Valiant Count of *Egmond*, the very Glory of that Countrie, who neither for his ſingular Victories in the Service of the King of *Spayne* can be forgotten in the true Hiſtories, nor yet for the Cruelties uſed for his Deſtruction, to bee but for ever lamented in the Heartes of the natural People of that Countrie. And furthermore, to bring theſe whole Countries in Servitude to *Spayne*; theſe Foreine Governours have by long inteſtine Warre, with multitude of *Spaniards*, and with ſome fewe *Italians* and *Almains*, made the greater Part of the ſaid Countries, (which with their Riches, by common Eſtimation, anſwered the Emperour *Charles* equally to his *Indias*) in a maner Deſolate; and have alſo lamentably deſtroyed by Sword, Famine, and other Cruel Maners of Death, a great Part of the natural People, and now the rich Townes and ſtrong Places being Deſolate of their natural Inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with Force by the *Spaniardes*.

Spaniardes and Strangers lately appointed Governours in the *Lowe Countries*, to the Violation of the Liberties of the Country.

The Deſtruction of the Nobilitie, and the People of the Countries by *Spaniſh* Government.

The lamentable Violent Death of the Count of *Egmond*, the Glory of thoſe Countries.

The Riche Townes and Strengthes with the Wealth thereof poſſeſſed by the *Spaniardes*.

All

All which pitiful Miſeries and horrible Calamities of theſe moſt Rich Countries and People, are of all their Neighbours at this Day, even of ſuch as in Ancient Time have bene at frequent Diſcord with them, thorowe natural Compaſſion verie greatlie pitied, which appeared ſpecially this preſent Yere, when the *Frenche* Kinge pretended to have received them to his Protection, had not (as the States of the Countrey and their Deputies were anſwered) that certaine untimely and unlooked for Complottes of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, ſtirred and maintained by Money out of *Spayne*, diſturbed the Good and General Peace of *Fraunce*, and thereby urged the King to forbeare from the Reſolution he had made, not only to aide the Oppreſſed People of the *Lowe Countries* againſt the *Spaniardes*, but alſo to have accepted them as his owne Subjectes. But in verie truth, howſoever they were pitied, and in a ſort for a Time comforted and kept in Hope in *Fraunce* by the *French* King, who alſo hath oftentimes earneſtly ſollicited us as Queen of *England*, both by Meſſage and Writinge to bee careful of their Defence: Yet in reſpect that they were otherwiſe more ſtraightly knitte in Auncient Friendſhip to this Realme then to any other Countrie, we are ſure that they could bee pitied of none for this long Time with more Cauſe and Grief generally then of our Subjects of this our Realme of *England*, being their moſt Ancient Allies, and Familiar Neighbours, and that in ſuch Maner, as this our Realme of *England*, and thoſe Countries have been by common Language of long Time reſembled, and termed as Man and Wife. And for theſe urgent Cauſes and many others, we have by many Friendly Meſſages and Ambaſſadors, by many Letters and Writings to the ſaid King of *Spayne* our Brother and Allie, declared our Compaſſion of this ſo Evil and Cruel Uſage of his Natural and Loyal People, by ſundrie his Martial Governoures, and other his Men of Warre, all Strangers to theſe his Countries. And furthermore, as a good Loving Siſter to him, and a natural good Neighbour to his *Lowe Countries* and People, we have often, and often againe moſt Friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwiſe by his Wiſdome and Princely Clemencie reſtraine the Tyrranny of his Governours, and Crueltie of his Men of Warre, we feared that the People of his Countries ſhould be forced for Safetie of their Lives, and for Continuance of their Native Countrey in their former State of their Liberties, to ſeek the Protection of ſome other Foreyne Lorde; or rather to yeeld themſelves wholy to the Soveraigntie of ſome Mighty Prince, as by the Ancient Lawes of their Countries, and by ſpeciall Priviledges graunted by ſome of the Lordes and Dukes of the Countries to the People, they do pretende and affirm, that in ſuch Caſes of General Injuſtice, and upon ſuch Violent Breaking of their Privileges, they are free from their former Homages, and at Libertie to make Choice of any other Prince to bee their Prince and Head. The Proof whereof, by Examples paſt is to be ſeene and read in the Ancient Hiſtories of divers Alterations, of the Lordes and Ladies of the Countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and other Countries to them united by the States and People of the Countries; and that by ſome ſuch Alterations, as the Stories do teſtifie, *Philip* the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his Tytle, from which the King of *Spayne*'s

The *French* King's Offers to have aided and received to his Subjection the oppreſſed People of the *LoweCountries*.

The Queen of *England*'s continual Friendly Advices to the King of *Spaine* for reſtraining of the Tyrrannie of his Governours.

The Queene of *England*'s Meanes uſed to ſtaie the States of the *Lowe Countries* from yeelding their Subjection to any other Forreine Prince.

Spayne's Intereſt is derived: But the further Diſcuſſion hereof, we leave to the Viewe of the Monuments and Recordes of the Countries. And now for the Purpoſes to ſtay them from yeelding themſelves in any like Sort to the Soveraigntie of any other ſtrange Prince, certaine Yeeres paſt, upon the earneſt Requeſt of ſundrie of the greateſt Perſons of Degree in thoſe Countries, and moſt Obedient Subjects to the King, ſuch as were the Duke of *Aſcot*, aad the Marques of *Havery* yet Living, and of ſuch others as had Principal Offices in thoſe Countries in the Time of the Emperour *Charles*, we yielded at their importunate Requeſts, to graunt them preſts of Money, only to continue them as his Subjects, and to maintaine themſelves in their juſt Defence againſt the Violence and Cruelties of the *Spaniardes* their Oppreſſours, thereby ſtaying them from yielding their Subjection to any other Prince from the ſaid King of *Spayne*: And during the Time of that our Aide given to them, and their ſtay in their Obedience to the King of *Spayne*, we did freely acquainte the ſame King with our Actions, and did ſtill continue our Friendly Advices to him, to move him to commaund his Governours and Men of Warre, not to uſe ſuch Inſolent Cruelties againſt his People, as might make them to deſpayre of his Favours, and ſeeke ſome other Lorde.

And in theſe kind of Perſwaſions and Actions wee continued many Yeeres, not onely for compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of the Countries, but of a natural diſpoſition to have the ancient Conditions of ſtraight Amitie and Commerce for our Kingdomes and Peo[illegible] to continue with the States and the People of the ſaid Dukedo[illegible] of *Burgundie* and the Appendants, and namely with our next Ne[illegible]bours the Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zeland*. For wee d[illegible]nni-

The Enterpriſe of the *Spaniardes* in *Ireland* ſent by the King of *Spayne* and the Pope.

feſtly ſee, if the Nation of *Spayne* ſhould[illegible] make a conqueſt of thoſe Countries, as was and yet is apparantly inte[illegible]ded, and plant them[illegible]ves there as they have done in *Naples* and other Countries, adding th[illegible]reto the late Examples of the violent hoſtile Enterpriſe of a powe[illegible] of *Spanyardes*, being ſent within theſe fewe Yeeres [illegible]y the King of *Spayne* and the *Pope* into our Realme of *Ireland*, with an intent manifeſtly confeſſed by the Captaines, that thoſe Nombers were ſent aforehand to ſeaſe upon ſome ſtrength there, to the intent with other greater Forces to purſue a Conqueſt thereof: wee did we ſay againe, manifeſtly ſee in what danger our ſelfe, our Countries and People might ſhortly bee, if in convenient time wee did not ſpeedily otherwiſe regard to prevent or ſtay the ſame. And yet notwithſtanding our ſaide often Requeſts and Adviſes given to the King of *Spayne*, manifeſtly for his own Weale and Honour, wee found him by his Counſell of *Spayne* ſo unwilling in any ſort to encline to our friendly Counſell, that his Governours and Chiefetains in his lowe Countries increaſed their Cruelties towards his own afflicted People, and his Officers in *Spayne* offered dayly greater Injuries to ours, reſorting thither for Trafique: yea, they of his Counſell in *Spayne*, would not permit our expreſs Meſſenger with our Letters to come to the King their Maſters Preſence: A Matter very ſtrange, and againſt the Law of Nations.

The Refuſal of the Queen's Meſſenger, and her Letters to the King of *Spayne*.

And

The juſt Cauſes of Diſmiſſing of *B. Mendoza* out of *England*.

And the Cauſe of this our writing and ſending to the King, proceeded of Matter that was worthy to be knowen to the King, and not unmete nowe alſo to be declared to the World, to ſhewe both our good Diſpoſition towardes the King in imparting to him our Grieves, and to let it appear howe evill we have beene uſed by his Miniſters, as in ſome part may appear by this that followeth. Although we coulde not have theſe many Yeres paſt any of our Servaunts, whome we ſent at ſundrie times as our Ambaſſadours to the King our good Brother, as was mete, ſuffered to continue there without many Injuries and Indignities offered to their Families, and divers times to their owne Perſons, by the greateſt of his Counſellours, ſo as they were conſtrained to leave their Places, and ſome expelled, and in a ſort baniſhed the Countrey, without Cauſe given by them, or notified to us: Yet we, minding to continue very good Friendſhip with the King, as his good Siſter, did of long Time, and many Yeres give favourable Allowance to all that came as his Ambaſſadours to us; ſaving onely upon manifeſt daungerous Practices, attempted by Two of them to trouble our Eſtate, whereof the one was *Girald Deſpes*, a very turbulent-ſpirited Perſon, and altogether unſkilfull and unapt to deale in Princes Affaires being in Amitie; as at his Retourn into *Spaine*, he was ſo there alſo reputed: The other, and laſt was, *Bernardin de Mendoza*; one whom we did accept, and uſe with great Favour a long time, as was manifeſtly ſeene in our Court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himſelf: But yet of late Yeeres, (we know not by what Direction) we found him to be a ſecret great Favourer to ſundrie our evill-diſpoſed and ſeditious Subjectes, not onely to ſuch as lurked in our Realme, but alſo to ſuch as fled the ſame, being notoriouſly condemned as open Rebelles and Traytours; with whome by his Letters, Meſſages, and ſecret Counſels, he did in the ende deviſe, how with a Power of Men, partely to come out of *Spayne*, partely out of the *Lowe Countries*, whereof hee gave them great Comforte in the Kinges Name, an Invaſion might be made into our Realme; ſetting downe in Writing the manner howe the ſame ſhould be done, with what Numbers of Men and Shippes, and upon what Coaſtes, Portes and Places of our Realme, by ſpecial Name: And who the Perſons ſhould be in our Realme of no ſmall Account, that ſhould favour this Invaſion, and take part with the Invadours; with many other Circumſtances, declaring his full ſet Purpoſe and Labours taken, to trouble us and our Realme very dangerouſly; as hath beene moſte clearly proved and confeſſed, by ſuch as were in that Confederacy with him: whereof ſome are fled, and now do frequent his Companie in *France*; and ſome were taken, who confeſſed at great length by writing, the whole Courſe herein holde by the ſaide Ambaſſador, as was manifeſtly of late time publiſhed to the Worlde uppon *Francis Throgmorton*'s, a principall Traitours Examination. And when we found manifeſtly this Ambaſſadour ſo dangerous an Inſtrument, or rather a Head to a Rebellion and Invaſion: And that for a Yeere or more together, he never brought to us any Letter from the Kinge his Maſter, notwithſtanding our often Requeſte made to him, that he woulde by ſome Letter from the King to us, let it appeare

that

that it was the Kings Will, that he ſhould deale with us in his Maſters Name, in ſundrie Thinges that he propounded to us as his Ambaſſadour; which we did judge to be contrary to the Kinge his Maſters Will. We did finally cauſe him to be charged with theſe dangerous Practices; and made it patent to him, how, and by whom, (with many other Circumſtances) we knew it; and therfore cauſed him, in very gentle ſort, to be content (within ſome reaſonable time) to departe out of our Realme, the rather for his own Safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our People. For the which we graunted him favorable Conduct, both to the Sea, and over the Sea. And thereupon we did ſpeedily ſend a Servant of ours into *Spaine*, with our Letters to the King, only to certify him of this Accident, and to make the whole Matter apparant unto him. And this was the Meſſenger afore-mentioned, that might not be ſuffred to deliver our Meſſage, or our Letters, to the King.

And beſide theſe Indignities, it is moſt manifeſt, how his Miniſters alſo have both heretofore many times, and now lately practiſed here in *England*, by meanes of certaine Rebelles, to have procured ſundry Invaſions of our Realme, by their Forces out of *Spaine* and the *Lowe Countreis*: Very hard Recompences (we may ſay) for ſo many our good Offices. Hereupon we hope, no reaſonable Perſon can blame us, if we have diſpoſed our ſelves to change this our former Courſe, and more carefully to look to the Safety of our Selfe, and our People. And finding our owne Dangers in deed very great and imminent, we have bene the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate ſome good Remedy: For that, beſides many other Advices, given us both at Home and from Abrode, in due Time to withſtand theſe Dangers; we have found the general Diſpoſition of al our own faithfull People, very ready in this Caſe, and earneſt, in offring to us both in Parliaments and otherwiſe, their Services with their Bodies and Blood, and their Aides with their Lands and Goods, to withſtand and prevent this preſent common Danger to our Realme and themſelves, evidently ſeene and feared, by the ſubverting and rooting up of the Ancient Nation of theſe *Low Countries*, and by Planting the *Spaniſh* Nation and Men of Warre, Enemies to our Countries, there ſo nere unto us. And beſides theſe Occaſions and Conſiderations, we did alſo call to our Remembrance our former fortunate Proceeding, by God's ſpeciall Favor, in the Beginning of our Reigne, in remedying of a like Miſchief that was intended againſt us in *Scotland* by certaine *Frenchmen*, who then were directed onely by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, by Colour of the Mariage of their Neece, the Queene of *Scots*, with the *Dolphin* of *France*: In like maner, as the Offſprings of the ſaide Houſe have even now lately ſought to attaine to the like unordinate Power in *France*: A Matter of ſome Conſequence for our ſelves to conſider; although we hope, the King (our good Brother) profeſſing ſincere Frendſhip towards us; as we profeſs the like to him, will moderate this aſpiring Greatnes of that Houſe, that neither himſelf, nor the Princes of his Bloud be overruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect Frendſhip with the King, and his Bloud) be by the ſaid Houſe of *Guiſe*, and their Faction, diſquieted or diſturbed in our Countries. But now

The Queen of *England*'s Proceeding, for the Deliverie of *Scotland* from the Servitude wherein the Houſe of *Guyſe* meant to have brought it.

now to return to this like Example of *Scotlande* aforeſaid, when the *French* had in like manner (as the *Spanyardes* have nowe of long time attempted in the *Lowe Countries*) ſought by Force to have ſubdued the People there, and brought them into a Servitude to the Crowne of *France*; and alſo by the Ambitious Deſires of the ſaide Houſe of *Guiſe*, to have proceeded to a Warre by way of *Scotland*, for the Conqueſt of our Crowne for their Neece the Queene of *Scottes* (a Matter moſt manifeſt to the common Knowledge of the Worlde): It pleaſed Almightie God, as it remaineth in good memorie to our Honour and Comfort, to further our Intention, and Honourable and Juſt Actions, at that time, in ſuch ſort, as by our Aiding then of the Nation of *Scotland*, (being ſore oppreſſed with the *French*, and univerſally requiring our Aide) we procured to that Realme (though to our great Coſt) a full Deliverance of the Force of Strangers, and Danger of Servitude, and reſtored Peace to the whole Countrie; which hath continued there ever ſince many Yeres; ſaving that at ſome Time of Parcialities of certaine of the Noblemen, (as hath beene uſuall in that Countrie, in the Mynoritie of the yong King) there hath riſen ſome inward Troubles, which (for the moſt part) we have, in Favour of the King and his Governours, uſed Meanes to pacifie: So as at this Day, ſuch is the Quietnes in *Scotlande*, as the King our Dear Brother and Couſin, by Name *James* the VIth, a Prince of great Hope for many goode Princely Reſpectes, raigneth there in Honour and Love of his People, and in very good and perfect Amitie with us and our Country. And ſo our Actions, at that time, came to ſo good Succeſſe, by the Goodnes of God, as bothe our own Realme, and that of *Scotland*, hath ever ſince remained in better Amitie and Peace, then can be remembred theſe manie Hundred Yeeres before: And yet nothing heereby done by us, nor any Cauſe juſtly given, but that alſo the *Frenche* Kinges that have ſince ſucceeded, (which have been Three in Number, and all Brethren) have made and concluded divers Treaties for good Peace with us; which preſentlie continue in Force on both Parties, notwithſtanding our foreſaide Actions, attempted for Removing out of *Scotland* of the ſaide *French* Forces, ſo tranſported by the onely Direction of the Houſe of *Guyſe*.

The Realm of *Scotland* reſtored to the ancient Fredom, and ſo poſſeſſed by the preſent King, by the Meanes only of the Q. of *England*.

And therefore, to conclude for the Declaration of our preſent Intention at this time, we hope it ſhall of all Perſons abroade be well interpreted, as wee knowe it will be of ſuch as are not ledde by Parciallitie, that upon the often and continuall lamentable Requeſtes made to us by the Univerſall States of the Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Guelders*, and other Provinces with them united, (beeing deſperate of the King of *Spaines* Favours) for our Succours to be yeelded to them, onely for their Defence againſt the *Spaniards*, and other Strangers; and therewith finding manifeſtly, by our often and importunate Requeſts and Advices given to the King of *Spaine*, no Hope of Reliefe of theſe their Miſeries, but rather an Increaſe thereof, by dayly Conqueſts of their Townes, and Slaughter of theire People; (tho' in very Trueth, we cannot impute the Increaſe of any late Cruelties, to the Perſon of him that now hath the Title of Generall Governor, ſhewing his Naturall Diſpoſition more inclynable to

The Concluſion of the Cauſes of ſending of certain Companies of *Engliſh* Soldiers, to the Defence of the oppreſſed People of the *Low Countries*, and to withſtand the Attempts againſt this Realm.

Mercie and Clemencie, then it ſeemeth he can direct the Heartes of the *Spaniardes* under him, that have been ſo long trayned in Shedding of Blood, under the former *Spaniſh* Governours:) And joyning therunto our owne Danger at Hand, by the Overthrow and Deſtruction of our Neighbours, and Acceſſe and Planting of the great Forces of the *Spaniards* ſo nere to our Countries, with precedent Arguments of many troubleſome Attemptes againſt our Realme: We did therefore, by good Advice, and after long Deliberation, determine, to ſende certaine Companies of Souldieres, to ayde the Naturall People of thoſe Countries; onely to defende them and their Townes, from Sacking and Deſolation, and thereby to procure them Safetie, to the Honour of God; whome they deſire to ſerve ſincerly, as Chriſtian People, according to his Holie Word, and to enjoye their Ancient Liberties for them and their Poſteritie, and ſo conſequently, to preſerve and contynue the Lawful and Ancient Commerce betwixt our People, and thoſe Countries and ours.

Three ſpecial Things reaſonably deſired by the Q. of *England*.
1. The End of Wars, with Reſtitution of the *Low Countries* to their Ancient Liberties.
2. Surety from Invaſion of her own Realm.
3. And Renewing of the mutual Traffick between the Countries.

And ſo, we hope, our Intention herein, and our ſubſequent Actions will be, by God's Favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all Perſons, (ſaving of the Oppreſſors themſelves, and their Partizans) in that we meane not heereby, either for Ambition or Malice, (the Two Rootes of all Injuſtice) to make any particular Profit hereof, to our Selfe, or to our People: Onely deſiringe at this time to obtaine (by Gods Favour) for the Countries, a Deliverance of them from Warre, by the *Spaniards* and Forrainers; a Reſtitution of their Ancient Liberties and Government, by ſome Chriſtian Peace; and thereby, a Suretie for our ſelves and our Realme, to be free from invading Neighbours; and our People to enjoy in thoſe Countries, their lawfull Commerce, and Entercourſe of Frendſhip and Marchandiſe, according to the ancient Uſage and Treaties of Entercourſe, made betwixt our Progenitors and the Lordes and Earls of thoſe Countries, and betwixt our People and the People of thoſe Countries.

The Cauſes of taking ſome Towns into her Majeſties Cuſtody.

And though our further Intention alſo is, or may be, to take into our Garde ſome fewe Townes upon the Sea-ſide next oppoſite to our Realme, which otherwiſe might be in Danger to be taken by the Strangers, Enemies of the Country: Yet therein conſidering we have no Meaning at this Tyme, to take and retaine the ſame to our owne proper Uſe; we hope, that all Perſons will thinke it agreeable with good Reaſon and Princely Policie, that we ſhould have the Gard and Uſe of ſome ſuch Places, for ſure Acceſſe and Receſſe of our People and Soldiers in Safety, and for Furniture of them with Victuals, and other Things requiſite and neceſſarie, whileſt it ſhall be needful for them to continue in thoſe Countries, for the Aiding therof in theſe their great Calamities, Miſeries, and imminent Daunger, and untill the Countries may be delivered of ſuch ſtrange Forces as do now oppreſſe them, and recover their Ancient Lawfull Liberties and Maner of Gouvernment, to live in Peace as they have heeretofore done, and doe nowe moſt earneſtly in lamentable manner deſire to doe; which are the very onely true Endes of all our Actions nowe intended, howſoever malicious Tongues may utter their

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cankred Conceits to the contrary, as at this Day the Worlde aboundeth with ſuch Blaſphemous Reportes in Writings and Infamous Libels, as in no Age the Devil hath more abounded with notable Spirites repleniſhed with all Wickedneſſe, to utter his Rage againſt Profeſſours of Chriſtian Religion. But thereof we leave the Revenge to God, the Searcher of Hearts, hoping that he beholding the Sinceritie of our Heart, wil graunte good Succeſſe to our Intentions, whereby a Chriſtian Peace may enſue to his Divine Honour, and Comfort to al them that Love Peace truely, and wil ſeeke it ſincerely.

An Addition to the Declaration, touching the Slaunders publiſhed of her Majeſtie.

AFter we had finiſhed our Declaration, there came to our Hands a Pamphlet written in *Italian*, ptinted at *Milan*, Entituled *Nouuo adviſo*, directed to the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, conteyning a Report of the Expugnation of *Antwerpe* by the Prince of *Parma*: By the which we found our ſelf moſt maliciouſly charged with two notable Crimes, no leſſe hateful to the World, then moſt repugnant and contrary to our own Natural Inclination. The one, with Ingratitude towards the King of *Spaine*, (who as the Author ſaith) ſaved our Life being juſtly by Sentence adjudged to Death in our Siſter's Time: The other, that there was ſome Perſons procured to be corrupted with great Promiſes, and that with our Intelligence as the Reporter addeth in a Parentheſis in theſe Words (*as it was ſaid,*) that the Life of the Prince of *Parma* ſhould be taken away: And for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible Lye, it is further added in the ſaid Pamphlet, that it pleaſed the Lord God to diſcover this, and bring Two of the wicked Perſons to Juſtice. Now knowing how Men are maliciouſly bent in this declining Age of the World, both to judge, ſpeak, and write maliciouſly, falſely and unreverently of Princes: And holding nothing ſo Dear unto us, as the Conſervation of our Reputation and Honour to be blameleſſe: We found it very expedient, not to ſuffer Two ſuch horrible Imputations to paſs under ſilence, leaſt for lacke of Anſwere, it may argue a kind of Guiltines, and did therefore think, that what might be alledged by us for our Juſtification in that Behalfe, might be moſt aptly joined unto this former Declaration now to be publiſhed, to lay open before the World the Maner and Ground of our Proceeding in the Cauſes of the *Lowe Countries*.

And for Anſwere of the Firſt Point wherewith we are charged, touching our Ingratitude towards the King of *Spaine*, as we do moſt willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the Time of our late Siſter, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have ſought many Ways, ſince in like Sort to requite, as in our former Declaration by our Actions may appeare: So do we utterly denie as a moſt manifeſt Untruth, that ever he was the Cauſe of the ſaving of our Life, as a Perſon by a Courſe of Juſtice ſentenced unto Death, who ever carried our

ſelf towards our ſaid Siſter in Dutiful Sort, as our Loyaltie was never called in Queſtion, much leſſe any Sentence of Death pronounced againſt us: A Matter ſuch, as in reſpect of the ordinarie Courſe of Proceeding, as by Proceſſe in Lawe, by Place of Tryal, by the Judge that ſhould Pronounce ſuch Sentence, and other neceſſary Circumſtances in like Caſes uſual, eſpecially againſt one of our Qualitie, as it could not but have bene publiquelie known, if any ſuch Thing had bene put in Execution. This then being true, we leave to the Worlde to judge howe maliciouſly and injuriouſly the Author of the ſaid Pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by ſo notable an Untruth with a Vice that of all others we do moſt Hate and Abhorre. And therefore by the manifeſt Untruth of this Imputation, Men not tranſported with Paſſion may eaſily diſcerne what Untruth is conteined in the Second, by the which we are charged to have bene acquainted with an intended Attempt againſt the Life of the ſaid Prince: A Matter, if any ſuch Thing ſhould have been by us intended, muſt have proceeded, either of a miſlyking we had of his Perſon, or that the Proſecution of the Warres in the *Lowe Countries* was ſo committed unto him, as no other might proſecute the ſame but he.

And Firſt for his Perſon, we could never learne that he hath at any Time, by Acte, or Speach, done any Thing that might juſtly breede a Miſlike in us towards him, much leſſe a Hatred againſt his Perſon in ſo high a Degree, as to be either Privie, or Aſſenting to the taking away of his Life: Beſides, he is one of whom we have ever had an Honourable Conceite, in reſpect of thoſe ſingular rare Partes we alwaies have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great Reputation, as any Man this Day Living carrieth of his Degree and Qualitie: And ſo have we always delivered out by Speeche unto the World, when any Occaſion hath bene offered to make mention of him. Nowe, touching the Proſecution committed unto him of the Warres in the *Lowe Countries*, as all Men of Judgment know that the taking away of his Life carrieth no likelihood that the ſame ſhall worke any Ende of the ſaid Proſecution: So is it manifeſtly knowen, that no Man hath dealt more Honourablie then the ſaide Prince, either in duely obſerving of his Promiſe, or extending Grace and Mercie, where Merite and Deſerte hath craved the ſame: And therefore no greater Impietie by any coulde bee wrought, nor nothing more Prejudicial to our ſelfe, (ſo long as the King ſhall continue the Proſecution of the Cauſe in that forcible Sort he now doeth) then to be an Inſtrument to take him away from thence by ſuch violent Means, that hath dealt in a more Honourable and Gracious Sort in the Charge committed unto him, then any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to ſucceede after him.

Now therefore how unlikely it is, that we having neither Cauſe to miſlike of his Perſon, nor that the Proſecution of the Warres ſhoulde ceaſe by loſſe of him, ſhould be either Authour, or any way aſſenting to ſo horrible a Fact, we referre to the Judgment of ſuch as looke into Cauſes, not with the Eyes of their Affection, but do meaſure and weigh Things according to Honour and Reaſon. Beſides, it is likely if it had bene true that we had bene any way Chargeable,

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(as the Author reporteth) the Confeſſions of the Parties executed, (importing ſuch Matter, as by him is alledged) would have been both produced and publiſhed; for Malice leaveth nothing unſearched, that may nouriſh the Venime of that Humour.

The beſt Courſe therefore that both we and all other Princes can holde in this Unfortunate Age, that overfloweth with Nombers of malignant Spirits, is through the Grace and Goodneſſe of Almighty God, to direct our Courſe in ſuch ſort, as they may rather ſhewe their Willes through Malice, than with juſt Cauſe with Deſert, to ſay ill, or deface Princes, either by Speach or Writing: Aſſuring our ſelves, that beſides the Puniſhment that ſuch Wicked and Infamous Libellours ſhall receive at the Handes of the Almightie for depraving of Princes and Lawfull Magiſtrates, who are God's Miniſters, they both are, and alwayes ſhall be thought by all good Men, Unworthie to live upon the Face of the Earth.

Given at Richmount *the Firſt of* October, 1585; *and the 27th Yeere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lady the Queene; to be publiſhed.*

Imprinted at *London* by *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printer to the Queene of *England*, Her moſt Excellent Majeſtie. 1585.

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APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

SOME PAPERS

Relating to the

Two Volumes

OF THE

Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.

1. Corrections of ſome Miſtakes in the *Two Firſt Volumes*; ſent to me by Mr. *Granger*, in *Devonſhire*.

2. A Letter written to me by *Anthony Wood*, in Juſtification of his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of *Oxford*: With Reflections upon it, referr'd to *Alphabetically*.

3. A Letter to Mr. *Auſont*, which was tranſlated into *French*, upon his Procuring for me a Cenſure in Writing, made in *Paris* upon the *Firſt Volume* of my Hiſtory of the *Reformation*.

4. Corrections of the *Two Volumes* of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*.

5. Some *Remarks*, ſent me by another Hand.

6. Obſervations and Corrections of the *Two Volumes* of that *Hiſtory*, by Mr. *Strype*.

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APPENDIX, &c.

Number I.

Corrections of the First Volume *of the Hiſtory of the* Reformation ; *ſent me by Mr.* Granger, *in* Devonſhire.

PAg. 25. Lin. 27. John Braybrook, *Biſhop of* London,] For *Robert.*

P. 53. l. 48. *I cannot imagine what moved the Lord* Herbert, *who ſaw theſe Letters, to think that the Cardinal did not really intend the Divorce.*] Poſſibly, beſide the Paper of Inſtructions here mentioned, the Teſtimony of King *Henry*, p. 73. that the Cardinal had always oppoſed it ; and the Information given the King, *p.* 78. of his having juggled in this Buſineſs.

P. 86. l. 33. *So was alſo* Boner, (*whom they call Dr.* Edmonds.] *Boner* was not of *Cambridge*, but of *Broad-Gate*-Hall in *Oxford* :- And tho' called Dr. *Edmunds* (from his Font-Name) in the Life of *Wolſey*, by *Cavendiſh* ; and perhaps vulgarly, as *Stephen Gardiner* was Mr. *Stevyns*, in *Wolſey*'s Letter : Yet it ſeems unlikely, that he alone in the Grace ſhould be written by his Font-Name, when all the others were by their Sir-Name. And therefore we have Reaſon to think, that this Dr. *Edmunds*, was *John Edmunds*, at that time Maſter of *Peter-Houſe*, and of great Note in the Univerſity ; as we may gueſs, from the Frequency of his being Vice-chancellor, *viz.* in the Years 1521, 1526, 1527, and 1540.

P. 261. l. 30. *But in* England *it went otherwiſe ; and when the Order of the* Knights-Templars *was diſſolved, it was then judged in Favour of the Lord, by Eſcheat.*] *Quære.* Becauſe by the Statute *de Terris Templariorum*, neither the King, nor the Lords, were to have by Eſcheat the Lands that were the *Templars* ; but thoſe Lands were to remain to the Prior, and Brethren, of the Order of the Hoſpital of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem.*

P. 312. l. 37. *The Lord* Cromwell *alſo had his Writ; tho' I do not find by any Record, that he was reſtored in Blood.*] He had his Writ, not by Virtue of any Reſtoration in Blood, but of his Creation by Patent: Neither, the Day his Father was created Earl; as Mr. *Fulman* hath it, following Dr. *Fuller*; but Five Months after his Father's Death, *viz.* the 18th of *December*, in the 32d of *Henry* VIII. when he was created Baron of this Realm, by the Title only of Lord *Cromwell*, but not diſtinguiſh'd by any Place. *Vide Sir* W. Dugdale's *Hiſt. of the* Baronage.

P. 328. l. 37. *Dr.* Lee, *Dean of* York.] *Quære*, if not for Dr. *Leighton*.

P. 341. l. 9. *Then to be Biſhop Suffragan of* Ely.] For Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

P. 366. l. 12. *They* (viz. *the Schoolmen and Canoniſts*) *ſtudied to make Biſhops and Prieſts ſeem very near one another, ſo that the Difference was but ſmall.*] Tho' moſt of the Schoolmen aſſerted Biſhops and Prieſts to be of the ſame Order, for the Reaſon here ſpecified, their being equally appointed to the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*, which they thought to be the Higheſt, and moſt Perfect Function; yet they allowed the Biſhops a Superiority of Juriſdiction, which ſome of them were content to call a Superior Order; as the Canoniſts did alſo generally, notwithſtanding their Endeavours to depreſs the Epiſcopal Authority, for the Advancement of the Papal.

Corrections of the Second Volume.

PAg. 1. Lin. 10. *Loſt his Mother the Day after he was born.*] Your Self ſay Two Days after, in the *Appendix* of Tom. I. p. 295. His Journal ſays, a few Days after.

P. 1. in the Margin; *On the 17th, if the Letter of the Phyſicians be true in* Fuller's *Church-Hiſtory.*] It was Copied from its Original in the *Cotton* Library; and your ſelf give Credit to them, in the forecited Place of your *Appendix*.

P. 3. l. ult. *Lord* St. John, *Great Maſter.*] Supply, of the Houſhold.

P. 25. l. 28. Ridley *is ſaid to be Elect of* Rocheſter, *and deſigned for that See by King* Henry.] *Quær.* How? When in the Commiſſion granted for the Examination, whether the Marqueſs of *Northampton* could lawfully Marry, after the Divorcement of his Wife *Anne* for Adultery? bearing Date Three Months after the Death of King *Henry*, even *May* the 7th, 1 *Edward* VI. *Holbeck* was Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and not at that Time tranſlated to *Lincoln*.

P. 43. l. 28. *Excepting only the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury*'s Courts.*] The Archbiſhop might only uſe his owne Name, and Seal for Facultys, and Diſpenſations; being in all other Caſes as much reſtrain'd as other Biſhops.

P. 54. l. 45. *Nor is it reaſonable to imagine, that the Dutcheſs of* Somerſet *ſhould be ſo fooliſh, as to think ſhe ought to have the Precedence of the Queen Dowager.*] She is acknowledged to have been an Inſolent Woman, p. 194. and to have had a great Power over her Huſband, where it is aſſign'd as the Chief Cauſe of procuring an Act of Parliament for the Diſinheriting, and Excluding from his Honours, his Children by his former Wife.

P. 90. l. 12. *The Council of* Trullo *in the 5th Age.*] In the latter End of the 7th, or rather in the Beginning of the 8th.

P. 94. l. 43. *A General Rule was layd downe, that every Common Feſtival ſhould be præceded by a Faſt.*] The Feſtivals between *Eaſter*, and the *Aſcenſion-Day*, were not ſo, on the pretended Reaſon that the Bridegroom was with them; as alſo *Michaelmas*.

P. 164. l. 18. *About which, one* Carr *writ a Copious and Paſſionate Letter to Sir* John Cheek.] *Nicholas Carr*, *Regius*-Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue in *Cambridge*, and a great Reſtorer of Learning in that Univerſity.

P. 165. l. 2. *à fine. Dr.* Story *was made Biſhop of* Rocheſter.] For Dr. *Scory*.

P. 171. l. 34. *Harle.*] For *Harley*, afterward Biſhop of *Hereford*.

P. 176. l. 3. *Though I have ſeen it often ſayd in many Letters and Writings of this Time, that al that Iſſue by* Charles Brandon *was Illigitimated, ſinc he was certainly married to one* Mortimer, *before he married the Queen of* Franc: *Which* Mortimer *lived long after his Marriage to that Queen; ſo that al her Children were Baſtards. Some ſay he was divorced from his Marryage to* Mortimer, *but this is not clear to me.*] *Charles Brandon* Firſt married *Margaret*, one of the Daughters of *John Nevil*, Marqueſs *Mountague*, Widow of Sir *John Mortimer*. Secondly, *Anne*, Daughter of Sir *Anthony Browne*, by whom he had Iſſue, after Marriage, *Mary*, wedded to *Thomas Stanley*, Lord *Mont-Eagle*. Thirdly, *Mary*, Queen of *France*, as Sir *William Dugdale* hath it in the Text; though in the Scheme adjoyn'd by him, the Order is inverted. 1ſt *Anne*, 2d *Margaret*, but *repudiata*, 3d *Mary*.

P. 196. l. 37. *One* Traheron.] *Bartholomew Traheron*, afterward made Lecturer of Divinity at *Frankford*, on the new molding of the Congregation there, in Queen *Mary*'s Days; and Dean of *Chicheſter* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s.

P. 251. l. 40. Ratcliff, *Earl of* Suſſex, *was licenced under the Great Seal, to cover his Head in the Queen's Preſence, the only Peer on whom this Honour was ever conferred, as far as I know.*] Dr. *Fuller* aſſures us in his Church Hiſtory, Book 9. p. 167. that he had ſeen a Charter granted by King *Henry* the VIIIth, the 16th of *July*, in the 18th of his Reign, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, to *Francis Brown* (a Commoner); giving him leave to put on his Cap in the

Preſence of the King, and his Heirs; and not to put it off, but for his own Eaſe and Pleaſure.

P. 272. l. 1. *There was one* Harding, *that had been her Father's Chaplain.*] *Thomas Harding*, afterward Antagoniſt to Biſhop *Jewel.*

P. 276. l. 16. Barlow *had never married.*] Q. Whether he were not at that Time married? Sir *John Harring* in his Continuation of Biſhop *Godwin*, and who by his being of *Somerſetſhire*, was the better capacitated to know, ſays that he had ſome Sons; One whereof in his Time, was a Worthy Member of the Church of *Wells*, and Five Daughters.

Ibid. l. 21. Chicheſter, *a much meaner Biſhoprick.*] *Wells* had lately been much impoveriſhed by the Alienations in *Barlow*'s Time; the Regret whereof, might probably make him leſs deſirous of returning to it. Afterward its Profits were raiſed by the Lead Mines, about Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s Time: However, 'tis valued in the King's Books but 535 *l.* whereas *Chicheſter* is 677 *l.*

Ibid. Biſhop *Harley* is ſaid to have been deprived, becauſe married, by *Fox* and *Godwin*, though no notice be taken of it in the Order.

P. 305. l. 31. Alphonſus, *a* Franciſcan *Fryar, his Confeſſour.*] *Alphonſus à Caſtro*, Famous for his Treatiſe *de Hæreſibus.*

P. 313. l. 43. *Neer Three Yeares.*] Neer Two Yeares.

P. 318. l. 1. Shaxton, *Biſhop Suffragan of* Ely.] Again for Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Ely.*

P. 402. l. 36. *According to a Method often uſed in their Elections.*] There had been but One Election ſince the Prior and Monks were chang'd into a Dean and Prebendaries.

P. 403. l. 23. Par, *Biſhop of* Peterborough.] For *Scambler.*

Thomas Davies of St. *Aſaph*, and *Richard Cheiny* of *Glouceſter*, being ſome of the Firſt Set of Biſhops, ſhould have been remembred, though Conſecrated a while after.

Number

Number II.

A Letter written to me by Anthony Wood, *in Juſtification of his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *with Reflections on it; referred to Alphabetically.*

SIR,

YOUR Book of *The Reformation of the Church of* England, I have latelie peruſed, and finding my ſelf mentioned therin, not without ſome Diſcredit, I thought fit to Vindicate my ſelf ſo far in theſe Animadverſions following, that you may ſee your Miſtakes, and accordingly rectifie them, (if you think fit) in the next Part that is yet to publiſh.

P. 86. *But after he hath ſet downe the Inſtrument, he gives ſome Reaſons*, &c.

The Two First Reaſons, (if they may be ſo called) (a) *were put in by another Hand*; and the other were taken from theſe Three Books following, (b) *viz.* From Dr. *Nicholas Harpesfeild*'s *Treatiſe concerning Marriage*, &c. which is a fair Manuſcript in Folio; written either in the Time of Queen *Marie*, or in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, and 'tis by me quoted in my Book, in the Place excepted againſt. From *Will. Foreſt*'s *Life of Queen* Catherine, written in the the Raigne of Queen *Marie*, and dedicated to her. 'Tis a Manuſcript alſo, and written verie fairlie in Parchment. (c) From *an Apologie for the Government of the Univerſitie againſt King* Henry *the VIIIth.* Written by a Maſter of Arts *Septimo Elizabethæ.* 'Ts a Manuſcript alſo, and hath all the King's Letters therin, written to the Univerſitie about the Queſtion of Marriage and Divorce, with ſeveral Paſſages relating to Convocations concerning the ſaid Queſtions.

So that by this you ſee I do not frame thoſe Reaſons out of mine owne Head (as partiall Men might) but what other Authours dictate to me.

Ibid. [*Upon what Deſigne I cannot eaſily imagine.*]

No Deſigne at all God-wot, but meerlie for Truth's ſake, which verie few in theſe Dayes will deliver.

(a) I could not know this: He publiſhes them, and is juſtly to be charged with them.

(b) From ſuch Authorities what elſe was to be expected?

(c) This, as Dr. *Lloyd* informs me, is *Parſons*'s Book, an Author of no better Credit than the former; for he was a Maſter of Arts in *Baliol* College, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time. See *Wood* in *Bal.* Col.

Ibid.

Ibid. [*And as if it had been an ill Thing, he takes Paines to purge the Univerſities of it*, &c.]

It was an ill Thing I think, (I am ſure it was taken ſo to be) for a Prince by his Letters to frighten (d) People out of their Conſcience, and by Menaces force them to ſay what muſt pleaſe him. But ſeeing the Maſters would not be frightned, and therefore they were laid aſide, (the Matter being diſcuſſed by a few old timerous Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity, who would ſay any Thing to pleaſe the King, leaſt Danger ſhould follow) they ought to be commended, or at leaſt juſtified for keeping their Conſciences ſafe.

Ibid. [*And without any Proof gives Credit to a Lying Story ſet downe by Sands, of an Aſſemblie called by Night.*]

Sands is not my Authour, for he ſays no ſuch Thing in his Book *de Schiſmate*, of an Aſſembly (e) called by Night; my Author for this is the Apologie before mentioned, which adds, that *when a Regent of* Baliol *College, (whom they called King* Henry*) heard that the Commiſſarie, and his Company, were going to diſpatch this Night Work, denied the Seale with his Breeches about his Shoulders, for want of a Hood.* See in *Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.* Lib. 1. p. 256. A. (f) The Truth is, the Meeting was unſeaſonable, and their Actions clancular; as being proteſted againſt by, and done without the Conſent of the Regents. And as for *Sands*, though I cannot well defend him, yet many Things in his Book *de Schiſmate*, eſpecially thoſe relating to the Univerſitie of *Oxford*, I find from other Places to be true. (g)

Ibid. [*But it appears that he had never ſeen, or conſidered the other Inſtrument, to which the Univerſitie ſet their Seale.*]

The Grand Collection, or *Farrago*, which Mr. *Thomas Maſters* made, (by the Lord *Herbert*'s Appoinment) in order to the Writing of King *Henry* the VIIIth's Life, I have ſeen and peruſed, but could not with all my Diligence find that Inſtrument (as you call it, yet we, an Act, or Decree) of Convocation; neither in the Three Great Folio's, written by another Hand, containing Materials at large for the ſaid Life; neither in any of the Regiſters, Records, or Papers, belonging to the Univerſitie. So that for theſe Reaſons, and that becauſe the Lord *Herbert* ſays, *it was blurred, and not intended for the King*; and alſo not under Seal, (you ſay 'twas) neither paſſed

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(d) I do not find there was any frightning Threatnings; none appear in the King's Letters. If he had this from any good Authors, he had done well to have quoted them. It is not Honourable for the Univerſity, as it is not probable, to repreſent all the Doctors and Batchelours of Divinity, as Men apt to be frightned out of their Conſciences; and that only the Maſters of Arts were impregnable. It is rather to be ſuppoſed that the one Sort were carried away by Faction; and that the others were guided by Learning and Conſcience.

(e) He ſays it was called *Clam*; that could hardly be, but in the Night: So this is no material Difference. In the reſt you agree with *Sanders*.

(f) I ſee no Reaſon for this. The Inſtrument ſet forth by the Lord *Herbert* ſhews, that the Perſons deputed had good Authority to ſet the Univerſity Seal to their Determination: And they were not tied to Forms, but might have done it at any Time.

(g) Yes, ſuch Authors as you quote: You ſay you cannot well defend *Sanders*. It ſeems you would if you could. Theſe are ſoft Words concerning that Scandalous Writer.

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in the Houſe by the Majority of Votes; therefore did I omit it, as not Authentick. (h) I truly believe, or at leaſt have good Grounds to think, that it was only drawn up, and not propoſed; for if it had, it would have been regiſtred: There being nothing propoſed, either in Convocation or Congregation, but is regiſtred, whether denied, or not. And the Regiſter of that Time is moſt exactly kept; and nothing thence, as I can perceive, is torn out.

Ibid. [*There ſeems to be alſo another Miſtake, in the Relation he gives: For he ſays, thoſe of* Paris *had determined in this Matter.*]

I ſay (i) ſo from *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity: Who in his Letters thereunto, deſires the Members, *to make what Expedition they could, to give in their Anſwer to the King's Queſtion; foraſmuch as* Paris *and* Cambridge *had done it already.*——— For this I quote the Book of *Epiſtles, in Archiv. Lib. Bod. MS.* Epiſt. 197. Yet, I believe, the Archbiſhop ſaid this, to haſten the Univerſity of *Oxon* the more; tho' probably it was not ſo. However, I am not to take notice of that, but to follow Record as I find it. And that I do follow Record throughout all my Book, there is not one (I preſume) of the Senate of Antiquaries can deny it: And therefore, how there can be many Things in my Book, (of my framing) that are Enemies to the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as was ſuggeſted by you to Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, (who thereupon made a Complaint in open Parliament, laſt *April*, againſt the ſaid Book) I cannot ſee (k). Truth ought to take place; and muſt not be concealed, eſpecially when 'tis at a Diſtance. And if our Religion (l) hath had its Original, or Baſe, on Luſt, Blood, Ruin and Deſolation, (as all Religions, or Alterations in Governments, have had from one or more of them) why

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(h) All that you ſay here, is only Negative Authority; but ſince the Lord *Herbert* ſays he ſaw the Original, though it is not in any of theſe Collections, you muſt either believe it, or make him a Liar: And if it was an Original, it muſt either have been ſubſcribed by the Hands of the Perſons deputed; or muſt have had the Seal put to it. The Beginning of it ſhews it was not ſubſcribed; for it is in the Name of *John Cattisford*, their Commiſſary: So it muſt have been either in the Form of a Notary's Inſtrument, or muſt have had the Seal put to it, for he calls it an Original. Perhaps the Blurring of it might either be caſual, or when it was brought to Court, the King might have made ſome Alterations in it, that it might be renewed according to theſe Corrections. * *It might be Caſual; Lord* Herbert *ſays not that it was raſed out*, &c.

*These Words in *Italica*, are in the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Hand.

(i) In this you had a Warrant for what you wrote, but I had a better to correct it by.

(k) I do profeſs I do not remember that I ever mentioned your Book to him: And Sir *Harbottle* himſelf, when I asked him the Queſtion, ſaid, he never heard me ſpeak of it.

(l) This is writ very indecently: Neither like a Divine, nor a Chriſtian.

ſhould

ſhould it be hidden, ſeeing it is ſo obvious to all Curious Searchers into Record.

This is all from him

that ſtudies Truth,

Anthony à Wood.

July the 5th
1679.

Number III.

A Letter to Mr. Auſont, *which was tranſlated into* French, *upon his Procuring for me a Cenſure in Writing, made in* Paris *upon the* Firſt Volume *of my Hiſtory of the* Reformation.

SIR,

Paris, the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1685.

WHEN I came laſt to *Paris*, I was told there was a *Cenſure* of the Firſt Volume of my Hiſtory of the *Reformation*, going about in Writing. I was glad to hear of this, when I was upon the Place, ready either to juſtify my ſelf, or to acknowledge ſuch Miſtakes as ſhould be offered to me: For I am ready, upon Conviction, to retract any Thing that may have fallen from my Pen, as ſoon as I ſee Cauſe for it, with all the Freedom and Candor poſſible. I ſhould be much more out of Countenance, to perſiſt in an Error, when I am convinced of it, than to acknowledge, that in ſuch a Multitude of Matters of Fact, of which my Hiſtory makes mention, I might have been miſinformed in ſome Particulars, and have miſtaken others; which I was reſolved to rectify, when diſcover'd, in another Edition. This made me very deſirous to ſee, what it was that had been objected to me: And I am much obliged to you, for Procuring me a Sight of it; for which I return you my moſt humble Thanks.

When I had read it over, and over again, I confeſs, I was amazed to find, that he who cenſured me ſo ſeverely, had read my Book ſo ſlightly; and yet gives way to his Paſſions, with ſo little Judgment, and with leſs Sincerity, that among all the Things that he charges me with, there ſhould not be One Single Particular, that might

might give me Occcaſion to ſhew my Readineſs to retract what I had written.

What can be expected from a Writer, who, after the Liſt I had given, of the many groſs Errors of which *Sanders*'s Hiſtory was made up, ſays, *That I have proved, that he has failed in ſome Circumſtances, that may ſeem to aggravate the Matter more or leſs*? If any Man will be at the Pains to read what I have proved of the Falſhoods in that Author, and compare it with the mild Cenſure here given; he will ſee Cauſe to be aſhamed of it, and will look for little Sincerity, after ſo falſe a Step made in the Beginning. From this, he goes on to his Main Deſign; and runs out into an Invective againſt K. *Henry* the VIIIth, for his Incontinencies, and other Violences.

If I had undertaken to write a *Panegyrick*, or to make a Saint of King *Henry*, he might have triumphed over me as much as he pleaſed. But I, who have neither concealed, nor excuſed any of his Faults, am no way concerned in all this.

There are only Two Things that I advance, with Relation to that Prince.

The Firſt is, That whatſoever his Secret Motives might have been, in the Suit of the Divorce; He had the conſtant Tradition of the Church on his Side, and that in all the Ages and Parts of it; which was carefully ſearched into, and fully proved: So that no Author, elder than Cardinal *Cajetan*, could be found, to be ſet againſt ſuch a Current of Tradition. And in the Diſputes of that Age, with thoſe they called Hereticks, all that wrote of the Popiſh Side, made their Appeal always to Tradition, as the only Infallible Expounder of Scripture: And it was looked on as the Character of an Heretick, to Expound the Scripture by any other Key, or Method. So that K. *Henry* had this clearly with him.

The other Particular that I make *Remarks* on, is, That the Reformation is not at all to be Charged with King *Henry*'s Faults: For, that unſteady Favour and Protection, which they ſometimes found from him, can ſignify no more to blemiſh them, than the Vices of thoſe Princes that were the great Promoters of Chriſtianity, ſignify to caſt a Blemiſh on the Chriſtian Religion. Let the Crimes of King *Clovis*, as they are related by *Gregory* of *Tours*, be compared with the worſt Things that can be ſaid of King *Henry*; and then let any Man ſee, if he finds ſo much Falſhood, mixed with ſo much Cruelty, in ſo many repeated Acts, and in ſuch a Number of Years, in King *Henry* the VIIIth, as he will find in King *Clovis*. Nor do we ſee any Hints of *Clovis*'s Repentance, or of any Reſtitution made by him, of thoſe Dominions that he had ſeized on in ſo Criminal a manner, to the Right Heirs; without which, according to our Maxims, his Repentance could not be accepted of God. And this was the Firſt Chriſtian King of the *Franks*.

I do not comprehend what his Deſign could be, in Juſtifying Pope *Gregory* the VIIth's Proceedings, againſt the Emperor, *Henry* the IVth, with ſo much Heat. One that reads what he writes on this Subject, can hardly keep himſelf from thinking, that he had ſomething in his Eye, that he durſt not ſpeak out more plainly:

But that he would not be ſorry, if *Innocent* the XIth ſhould treat the *Great Monarch*, as *Gregory* the VIIth did the Emperor, and as *Paul* the IIId did King *Henry* the VIIIth. But whatſoever his own Thoughts may be, I deſire he would not be ſo familiar with my Thoughts, as to infer this from any Conceſſion of mine: For I allow no Authority to the Biſhops of *Rome* out of their own Dioceſe. The Additional Dignity that they came to have, flowed from the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Empire: And ſince *Rome* is no more the Seat of Empire, it has loſt all that Primacy, which was yielded to it merely by Reaſon of the Dignity of the City. So that as *Byzance*, from being a ſmall Biſhoprick, became a Patriarchal Seat, upon the Exaltation of that City; by the ſame Rule, upon the Depreſſion of *Rome*, the Biſhops of that See ought to have loſt all that Dignity, that was merely accidental. But ſuppoſe I ſhould yield, according to the Notion commonly received in the *Gallican* Church, that the Pope is the *Conſervator of the Canons*; that will ſignify nothing, to juſtify their Depoſing of Princes; except he can ſhew what thoſe Canons were, upon the Violation of which, Princes may be depoſed. If he flies to the Canons of the Fourth Council in the *Lateran*, thoſe being made about 150 Years after P. *Gregory*'s Proceedings againſt the Emperor, will not juſtify what was done ſo long before theſe were made. When he thinks fit to ſpeak out more plainly upon this Head, it will be more eaſy to anſwer him.

As for the Supremacy that King *Henry* the VIIIth aſſumed in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, he ſhould not have condemned that ſo raſhly as he does, as a Novelty, till he had firſt examined the Reaſons upon which it was founded; not only thoſe drawn from the Scriptures, but thoſe that were brought from the Laws and Practices, both of the *Roman* Emperors, and of the Kings of *England*. His Thoughts or his Pen run too quick, when he condemned the following thoſe Precedents, as a Novelty, without giving himſelf the Trouble of enquiring into the Practices of former Ages.

He charges me with flying to the Raſure of the Regiſters in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and to the Burning of others in the Fire of *London*, for proving ſeveral Things, for which I could bring no better Vouchers; and for Relying ſo often on a Paſſionate Writer. I ſuppoſe, *Fox* is the Perſon hereby pointed at.

When he applies the General Cenſure to any Particular in my Work, I will then ſhew that it amounts to nothing. I often ſtop, and ſhew that I can go no further, for want of Proof: And when I give Preſumptions from other Grounds, to ſhew what was done, I may well appeal to the Raſure, or Loſs of Records, for the want of further Proof. But this I never do upon Conjectures, or ſlight Grounds. And as for *Fox*, I make a great Difference between Relying upon what he writes barely upon Report, (which I never do) and Relying upon ſome Regiſters, of which he made Abſtracts. For having obſerved an exact Fidelity, in all that he took out of ſuch Regiſters as do yet remain; I have Reaſon to depend on ſuch Abſtracts as he gives of Regiſters that are now deſtroyed. He might be too Credulous, in writing ſuch Things as were brought him by Report; and in theſe I do not depend on him: But he was

known to be a Man of Probity, ſo I may well believe what he delivers from a Record, though that happens now to be loſt.

The Cenſure is next applied to *Cranmer*'s Character. He obſerves great Defects in my *Sincerity*, and (to let me ſee how civily he intends to uſe me, he ſays he will not add) *my want of Judgment*. I am ſure he has ſhewed a very ill Judgment in charging me ſo ſeverely in ſo tender a Point as *Sincerity*, and uſing a Reſerve in another Point, that does not touch me ſo much. I am accountable both to God and Man for my *Sincerity* : But I am bound to have no more *Judgment* than God has given me; and ſo long as I maintain my *Sincerity* entire, I have little to Anſwer for, though I may be defective in the other : But I leave it to you to judge whether the Defect was in his *Sincerity*, or his *Judgment*, when he does not bring any one Particular againſt *Cranmer*, but what he takes from me. So if I have confeſſed all his Faults, and yet give a Character of him that is Inconſiſtent with theſe, I may be juſtly charged for want of *Judgment* ; but my *Sincerity* is ſtill untainted. When he reckons up his Charges againſt *Cranmer*, he begins with this, that he was put out of his College for his Incontinence. He was then a Layman, under no Vows, only he held a Place, of which he was incapable after he was married ; now what Sort of Crime can he reckon this Marriage, I leave it to himſelf to make it out. His next Charge is, that though I ſay he was a *Lutheran*, yet he ſigned the Six Articles, which he ſays, proves that he valued his Benefice more than his Conſcience.

He wrote this with too much precipitation, otherwiſe he would have ſeen that *Cranmer* never ſigned thoſe Articles. He diſputed much againſt them before they paſſed into a Law : Nor could he be prevailed on, though the King preſſed him to it, to abſtain from coming to the Parliament while that Act paſſed. He came and oppoſed it to the laſt ; and even after the Law was made, he wrote a Book for the King's Uſe againſt theſe Articles. There was no Clauſe in the Act that required that they ſhould be ſigned. Men were only bound to Silence and Submiſſion. If he was at all Faulty, with relation to that Act, it was only in this, that he did not think himſelf bound to declare openly againſt it when it was publiſhed. From this, he goes next to charge him for conſenting to the Diſſolution of King *Henry*'s Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleve*, upon Grounds plainly contrary to thoſe upon which his Firſt Marriage with *Catherine* of *Spain*, was diſſolved. Since one Pretence in the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve* was, that it was not Conſummated, though in the other it was declared that a Marriage was compleat, though not Conſummated. Whatever is to be ſaid of this Matter, the Whole Convocation was engaged in it. *Gardiner* promoted it the moſt of any. So the Biſhops, who were ſo Zealous for Popery in Queen *Mary*'s Time, were as guilty as *Cranmer*. I do not deny that he ſhewed too much Weakneſs in this Compliance. He had not Courage enough to ſwim againſt the Stream : And he might think that the Diſſolving a Marriage, the Parties being contented, was not to be much withſtood. But my Cenſurer is afraid to touch on the Chief Ground on which that Marriage was diſſolved ; which was, that the King gave not a pure inward Conſent to it, for this touches a tender Point of the In-

tention of the Miniſter in the Sacrament; on which I did not Reflect when I wrote my Hiſtory. By the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Parties are the Miniſters; ſo if the Intention was wanting, there was no Sacrament in this Marriage, This having been the Common Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, ſome Remnant of that might have too great an Effect on *Cranmer*. But if the conſenting to an unjuſt Sentence, in a Time of much Heat, and of a General Conſternation, is ſo Criminal a Thing, what will he make of *Liberius*, *Filix*, *Oſſius*, and many more, whoſe Names are in the *Roman* Calendar. The carrying this too far, will go a great way to the juſtifying the *Luciferians*. Whatever may be in this, I had opened the Matter of *Anne* of *Cleve* ſo impartially, that I deſerve no Cenſure on that Account.

After he had attacked the Matter of my Hiſtory in theſe Particulars, he falls next upon my way of Writing. In this, I confeſs, I am not ſo much concerned, for if the Things are truly related by me, I can very eaſily bear all the Reflections that he can lay on my way of Writing. But that he may Cenſure me with a better Grace, he beſtows ſome good Words on me. "He is not diſpleaſed with my "Preface, and the Beginning of my Work: But all theſe Hopes "were ſoon blaſted, I fall into a detail of little Stories, with which "he was quite diſguſted. Yet if he had conſidered this better, he would have been milder in his Cenſure. My Deſign was to ſhew what Seeds and Diſpoſitions were ſtill in the Minds of many in this Nation, that prepared them for a Reformation, in the Beginning of King *Henry*'s Reign, before ever *Luther* had preached in *Germany*, and ſeveral Years before that King's Divorce came to be treated of in *England*. I therefore judged it was neceſſary for me to let the Reader know what I found in our Regiſters of thoſe Matters: How that many were tried, and ſome condemned upon thoſe Opinions, that were afterwards reckoned among the Chief Grounds of our ſeparating from the Church of *Rome*. It ſeemed a neceſſary Introduction to my Work, to open this as I found it upon Record. My Cenſurer blames me for not opening more Copiouſly what the Opinions of the *Lollards* and the *Wickliffiſts* were: He may ſee in theſe Articles that I mention, what the Clergy were then charging them with, and what was confeſſed by thoſe, who were brought into their Courts. I wrote in *Engliſh* for my own Countrymen. There are many Books that give a very particular Account of *Wickliff*, and his Followers: This being ſo well known, it was not neceſſary for me to run this Matter up to its Original; all that was incumbent on me, was to ſhew the preſent State of that Party and their Opinions, and Sufferings in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry*: So that a fair Judge will not think that a few Pages ſpent in opening this, was too great an Impoſition on his Patience: This having ſuch a Relation to my main Deſign in Writing. It is he, and not I, that has tranſgreſſed *Polybius*'s Rule: He conſiders theſe Particulars as little Stories, without obſerving the End for which I ſet them down: Though I have made that appear ſo plainly, that I have more Reaſon to complain of his Sincerity, than of his Judgment.

His

His next Exception is, that I give Abſtracts of the Reaſons on which the Proceedings in the Reformation were grounded. He thinks that in this, I plead as an Advocate, and do not write as a Hiſtorian. I do believe there are few Things in my Hiſtory with which he is more diſpleaſed than this. I give no Reaſons of my own making, nor do I put Speeches in the Mouths of our Reformers, though if I had done this, he knows that I could have ſaid that I followed the Precedents ſet me by the beſt Writers of Hiſtory, both among the *Greeks* and the *Romans*. But ſince I was engaged to write of a Reformation of Errors in Doctrine, and of Abuſes in Worſhip and Government, I muſt have been very defective, if I had not ſet out the Reaſons upon which thoſe of that Time went, as well as I related the Series of what was done by them. Both Father *Paul*, and Cardinal *Palavicini*, in the Hiſtories that they wrote of the Council of *Trent*, have related the Arguments uſed of all Sides very copiouſly. In Political Matters, the chief Uſe and Beauty of Hiſtory is, the laying open the ſecret Reaſons of State, upon which all Parties have proceeded: And certainly thoſe who write concerning Matters of Religion, ought to open all that comes in their way, of the Grounds on which any Changes were made.

He thinks all the King's Reaſonings for the Divorce were fully anſwered by Queen *Catherine's* Reaſons againſt it. But he does not conſider that he is in a Communion, in which Tradition is ſet up, as that which muſt decide all Controverſies. King *Henry*'s Arguments run all upon Tradition, whereas the Queen pretended to no Tradition, but only brought Arguments of another Sort, which was the way of thoſe called Hereticks: But in that Matter the King inſiſted upon Tradition, the great Topick of *Papiſts*. He Cenſures me for bringing a *Jew* on the Stage, after I had ſet out the Opinions of the Univerſities: But it ſeemed very reaſonable to ſhew the Notions that the *Jews* had of their own Laws.

He returns again to Reflections on the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve*: It ſeems he had few Things to reflect on, when in ſo ſhort a Paper he returns twice to the ſame Matter. From her he paſſes to *Anne Bullen*; he fancies my Whole Deſign in Writing, was to eſtabliſh her Deſcent; but that I do not acquit her Mother of the Imputations *Sanders* had laid on her; nor her ſelf of the Amours in the Court of *France*, and K. *Henry*'s ill Commerce with her. If the Crown of *England* had remained in a Line derived from that Queen, it might be ſuppoſed that ſome would have wrote on ſuch a Deſign: But that not being the Caſe, there is little Reaſon to think that any Man would have given himſelf the Trouble, only on Deſign to juſtify her Title to the Crown. I have made it fully out that a great Part of *Sanders*'s Charge on her, was an ill invented Calumny, to bring her Right to the Crown in Queſtion: And by proving ſome Part of his Relation to be falſe, I have deſtroyed the Credit of the Whole. I cannot be obliged to prove the Negative in every Particular, the Proof lies upon the Affirmative, and the Author of a train of Defamation is ſufficiently diſproved, when it is apparent that ſome Parts of his Relation muſt certainly be falſe. If any of theſe Slanders had been in any ſort believed in that Time, there is no Reaſon to think that the Pope, or

the

the Emperor would have publiſhed them : For the Court of *Rome* kept none of the Meaſures of common Decency with the King. Nor were theſe Things objected to *Anne Bullen* after that her Unhappy Fate gave ſome Colour to believe every Thing to her Prejudice. Her Brother and She did both at their Death deny all Criminal Commerce together : Nor was any Thing proved againſt them, only the Teſtimony of a Dead Woman was alledged to deſtroy them.

His laſt Charge relates to *More* and *Fiſher* ; but how this comes to ſupport his Cenſure of my Manner of Writing is not ſo clear. I ſeem in theſe Matters to write like one that intended to raiſe their Character, rather than to depreſſe it : Nor do I juſtify King *Henry*'s Violencies, but ſet them out as there is Occaſion for it. *More* knew a Law was made, requiring the Subjects to ſwear to the King as Supreme Head, under the Pain of perpetual Impriſonment ; upon which he ought to have gone out of *England*, ſince he reſolved not to take the Oath. *Fiſher* knew that the Nun of *Canterbury* had in very indecent Words foretold the King's Death, and had not revealed it, as he ought to have done.

He ſays my Hiſtory reflects much on the Memory of King *Henry*. I did not undertake to write a Panegyrick on him, but only to write the Hiſtory of that Time : In doing this, as I have diſcovered the Injuſtice of many Scandals that have been caſt on him, ſo I have not ſpared to lay open many ill Practices, when I was obliged to do it, by that impartial Sincerity to which I obliged my ſelf when I undertook that Work : Though he charges me as byaſſed by Partiality, a Cenſure I deſerved not. But I do more eaſily ſubmit to his Charging me with my Ignorance of Law, and of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity. Such general Cenſures are little to be regarded : When he is at Leiſure to reckon up the Particulars in which I have erred, I ſhall be very glad to be inſtructed by him. For though I have looked a little into Law, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, yet I value my ſelf upon nothing but my Sincerity. It is very eaſy to lay a detracting Character in ſome general Words upon any Perſon. The Artifice is ſo commonly practiſed, that it will not paſs upon any, but thoſe, who by ſome Prejudices are prepared to take down every Thing that is boldly aſſerted. It ſeems that how great a Mind ſoever he had to find Fault, he could not find much Matter for his Spleen to work on, when in ſo ſhort a Paper he is forced to return in Three ſeveral Places to the Article of the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve* : And he ſhews ſuch an Inclination to Cenſure, that I have no Reaſon to think he would have ſpared me, if he had found greater Matters to have objected to me. So all he ſays that ſeems to intimate that, muſt paſs for Words of Courſe, which ought to make no Impreſſion.

Number IV.

Corrections of the Two Volumes of the History of the Reformation.

Vol. I. Edit. 2.

P. 4. *The Emperor broke his Word,—— the Cardinal diſſembled his Reſentments*, &c.] I have ſeen a Collection of this Cardinal's Letters; and amongſt 'em, the ſame Letter (I ſuppoſe) that is here quoted: Wherein he preſſes the Emperor's, and the King his Maſter's Intereſt, with great Zeal; and ſollicits the new-elected Pope, to join with them againſt the *French*; and that in ſuch a manner, as ſeems to leave no Room for Diſſimulation. To the ſame Purpoſe, in the following Letter. *Collect. MS.* p. 27, 43.

P. 19. *The King ſent—the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, &c. *to Sit in that Council.*] The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *&c.* was intended to be ſent this Year, and again *An.* 1513,14: But his Journey was ſtopp'd; as appears both by his own Account of this Matter, and by a *MS. Latin* Life I have of this Biſhop, and otherwiſe.

P. 26. W. Sautre—*burnt by Writ* de Hæretico comb.—*upon what Grounds of Law, I cannot tell.*] Nor will I pretend to ſay. But from *Fitzherbert* it ſeems to appear, that this Writ iſſued, before this Act of Parliament paſs'd; [*Fox* places *Sautre*'s Death, *Anno* 1400.] and that the Cuſtom for the Writ had been formerly ſo. *De Naturâ Brevium*, p. 269.

Ib. *Relating to the Cuſtoms beyond Sea.*] From the ſame *Fitzherbert*, it appears pretty plain, this was the Cuſtomary Puniſhment in *England*: Who quotes *Breton*, Cap. 17. (Cap. 9. it ſhould be) *Heretikes ſert auxi comburs & arces, & appiert per ceo Liver, que ceo eſt le Comen Ley. Quod vide in* Breton, C. 17. Who liv'd many Years before.

The King—writes againſt Luther.] No doubt this Book was wrote by the King, as other Books were under his Name; that is, by his Biſhops, or other Learned Men. Sir *Thomas More* (who muſt have known the Authors) gives this Account of it, in his *MS.* Life by *Roper*; *That after it was finiſh'd by his Grace's Appointment, and Conſent of the Makers of the ſame, I was only a Sorter out, and Placer of the Principal Matters therein contain'd.* So it ſeems others were Makers, and Sir *Thomas More* only a Sorter. By the Style, it was gueſs'd by ſome to be wrote by *Eraſmus*; and he (in Mirth, I ſuppoſe) owns, the King might have hit upon his Style, ſeveral Letters having paſs'd between them.

P. 22.

P. 22. *The Houſes being thus ſuppreſs'd by the Law,—belong'd to the King.*] This ſeems not to agree with what is ſaid P. 261. of this Volume.

P. 34, 5. The Queen, under her Picture, is ſaid to be, *Nata* 1486.] The Book *de Viſibili Ro. Manarchiâ*, an Authentick Piece, ſays thus: *Hæc decimum octavum, ille decimum quintum Ætatis Annum, cum hæ Nuptiæ celebrarentur, expleverat.* P. 135. *Sandford*, p. 445.

P. 37. *Made* Longland, *Biſhop of* L.—*poſſeſs the King's Mind in Confeſſion.*] In a *MS.* Life of Sir *Thomas More*, wrote not many Years after *Longland's* Death, this Account is given. *I have heard Dr.* Draycot, *that was his* [Longland's] *Chaplain and Chancellor, ſay, That he once told the Biſhop, what Rumor ran; and deſired to know of him the very Truth. Who anſwer'd, That in very deed, he did not break the Matter after that ſort, as is ſaid; but the King brake the Matter to him firſt; and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his Conſent—— Of which his Doings, he did ſore forethink himſelf, and repented afterward*, &c. MS. Coll. Eman. Cant.

P. 42. *There is great Reaſon to think*, Raſtal *never writ ſuch a Book, as the Life of Sir* Thomas More.] I do not think the Book was of great Authority; but he wrote ſuch a Book undoubtedly. I have ſeen, *Certen breef Notes appertaining to Biſhope* Fyſhere; *Collected out of Sir* Tho. More's *Lyfe, written by Mr. Juſtice* Reſtall; which may be produced, wrote near that Time.

P. 80. *Then was his Palace of* York-Houſe—*ſeis'd on for the King*, &c.] The Houſe of his See could not be forfeited; or ſeiz'd. It was convey'd over by him to the King; [the Conveyance confirm'd by the Dean and Chapter of *York*] So his Life by *Cavendiſh*, Ch. 18. and others.

P. 81. *Lieutenant of the* Tower.] Sir *W. Kingſton* was Conſtable of the *Tower*. So *Cavendiſh*, Chap. 20.

P. 83. *Another Bill, which becauſe of its ſingular Nature——and was not printed.*] This Bill was not ſingular: For *An.* 35 *H.* VIII. there paſs'd a Bill of the like, or an Higher Nature, which is printed in the Book of *Statutes*, *An.* 1544. being an Act for the Remiſſion of the Loan, *An.* 35. *Hen.* VIII. c. 12.

P. 85, 6. Your Lordſhip is very hard upon the *Oxford* Hiſtorian. He had other Vouchers beſides *Sanders*; one of which I have ſeen in *MS.* but do not commend his Prudence, in the Repreſentation of that Matter.

P. 86. Your Lordſhip having been very Nice, in placing the Determination of *Oxford* before that of the *Sorbon*; I preſume, your Lordſhip meant the ſame Exactneſs, in placing *Oxford* before *Cambridge*: And yet it paſs'd here, before it did at *Oxford*; and was deliver'd to the King at *Windſor*, before *Palm-Sunday*, by Dr. *Buckmaſter*, Vicechancellor, *&c. An.* 1529, 30. I have a Letter from Dr. *Buckmaſter*, to Dr. *Edmonds*, Maſter of *Peter-Houſe*, (the ſame whom your Lordſhip miſtakes for *Edmund Boner*) dated from *Cambridge in Craſtino Dominic. Palmarum*, after his Return from *Windſo*, giving ſome Account of that Matter, not very much to our Ad-

vantage. But I will not imitate the *Oxford* Hiſtorian: Tho' I may do him this Right, to ſay, That in the Concluſion of his Letter, ſpeaking of the Proceedings at *Oxford*, (which, it ſeems, were tumultuary) he adds, *I hear ſay alſo, that Mr.* Provoſt (It ſeems, *Fox* was ſent down thither likewiſe) *was there in great Jeopardy.* That is the Word; which, I ſuppoſe, implies Danger.

P. 87. *Sixteen Batchellors.*] *Skip, Hadway, Deye, Bayne*, &c. were only *Maſters of Arts*, as appears by the Regiſter: So I ſuppoſe, by *Magiſtri in Theologiâ*, may be meant, Maſters of Arts, that were *Divines*, as well as *Batchelors.*

P. 89. *No Money nor Bribes given for Subſcriptions.*] The Act of Parliament, *An.* 1 *Mar.* Chap. 1. charges Corruption with Money—on the Foreign Univerſities,——and ſiniſter Working, ſecret Threatnings, *&c.* on our own. There are ſeveral private Authorities to the ſame Purpoſe; but I am not concerned to make them good.

P. 91. Crook *died, before he could receive a Reward.*] He lived many Years after, to the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and had the Reward due to his Ingratitude to his Patron, who had provided for him. He is well known at *Cambridge*, as well as at *Oxford.*

P. 102. Laurence—*excommunicated King* Edbald——] *Laurence* did not excommunicate *Edbald*, nor could he; *Edbald* being yet a Heathen; and upon his Converſion, he put away his Wife. *Bed. Hiſt.* Lib. 2. Cap. 5, 6. *Malmſb.* Lib. 1. But I ſuppoſe, your Lordſhip may follow your Authority; and then all is well.

P. 103. *I could never ſee either MSS. or Printed Books,—except* Cajetan's, *and* Victoria's.] There was a Book printed at *Lunenburgh*, *Anno* 1532, dedicated to the Emperor's Ambaſſador in *England*, *Euſtathius Chapnyſius*, &c. It is againſt the Divorce; and charges very indirect Practices on the other Side, by Moneys, and Bribes, *&c.* *Cochleus* likewiſe wrote againſt the Divorce, *ad Paulum Tertium*; but whether his Book was printed before the Year 1535, I do not know. It was then printed in *Quarto.*

P. 104. *Married his own Siſter*, &c.] Not his own Siſter, but his Wife's own Siſter; or the Siſter of one, whom he had carnally known. *Antonin. Flor.* Par. 3. Tit. 1. Cap. 11.

P. 106, 129. Enough has been obſerv'd upon theſe Two Pages already; otherwiſe I have the Proceedings [a Copy] of this Convocation; or Synod, *An.* 1533, (which Mr. *Wharton* ſeems to place in 1531) from a Publick Inſtrument, drawn up and atteſted by a Publick Notary: A further Account whereof, your Lordſhip may have, if it be of any Uſe to your Deſign.

P. 129. *This Proteſtation—he repeated, when he took the Oath to the Pope*;] That is, publickly, and at his Conſecration. I know this has been ſaid; but I wiſh it could be prov'd. I have Two Letters [*MSS. Latin*] of Cardinal *Pole*, to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*; wherein he charges him, with having done it only in a private manner, and brands his Proceeding therein with ſuch Expreſſions, as I am unwilling to tranſcribe. I have likewiſe ſeen a Copy of this Proteſtation, atteſted by Publick Notaries; wherein it is ſaid to have been made in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel; but nothing of its being repeat-

·ed at his Conſecration. If your Lordſhip has met with anyThing to deſtroy theſe Teſtimonies, I ſhall be very glad.

P. 137. *Letter—to* Reginald (*ſoon after Cardinal*) Pole.] He was then Cardinal; for they exhort him to return to his Duty to the King, and to ſurrender up his Red Hat. *Letter printed* cum Priv.

P. 151. *A Crime of ſo high a Nature, was ſo ſlightly paſſed over.*] It was not paſſed over: For *Stow* ſays, [P. 561.] theſe Fryars, and all the reſt of that Order, were ſhortly after baniſh'd;——and that after that, none durſt openly oppoſe themſelves againſt the King's Affections.

P. 155. *Prioreſs and Convent of the* Dominican *Nuns at* Deptford, *or* Bedford.] *Appen.* I ſuppoſe, it ſhould be the Prioreſs and Convent at *Dartford*, of the Order of St. *Auſtin*. *Lambard*, p. 448. *Dugdale Mon.* Vol. 2. p. 357.

Ib. *Meeting of the Privy-Council at* Lambeth, *&c.*] Not Privy-Council, (as I ſuppoſe): For it is there ſaid, He came before the King's Commiſſioners. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, I ſuppoſe, was no Privy-Counſellor; tho' he were a Commiſſioner.

P. 158. John Hilſey *not Conſecrated Biſhop of* Rocheſter *before* 1537.] I am not ſure this has not been taken notice of; but I am very ſure, from ſeveral Authorities, that he was Biſhop *An.* 1535.

P. 166. *One* William Tracy *of* Worceſterſhire,—*his Will brought to the Biſhop of* London's *Court.*] *Tracy* was of *Toddington* in *Gloceſterſhire*. If the Regiſter ſays, it was brought into the Biſhop of *London*'s Court, there is no contradicting ſuch Authority. But *Tyndall*'s Expoſition of *Tracy*'s Will, ſays it was brought before the Archbiſhop: And in *Fox* [*Commentar. Lat.* p. 125.] the Archbiſhop is ſaid to have committed the Execution of this Buſineſs to Dr. *Parker*, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Worceſter*; in which Dioceſe, *Gloceſterſhire* then was. Nor do I ſee, how it could be regularly brought into the Biſhop of *London*'s Court.

P. 187. Edward *the Confeſſor founded* Coventry, &c.] *Coventry* was not founded by *Edward* the Confeſſor, but by Count *Leofric*. *Monaſt.* Vol. 1. p. 303. *Hiſt. of* Warw. p. 100.

P. 189. Netherlands, *where the greateſt Trade of theſe Parts was driven*, &c.] Your Lordſhip has been ſince better acquainted with the Trade of the *Indies*; which was then (I ſuppoſe) chiefly divided betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, and the *Netherlands* had a very ſmall Share. Sir *W. Temple* (P. 75.) gives this Account: *Before the Revolt, the Subjects of the* Low-Countries——*never allowed the Trade of the* Indies, *but in the* Spaniſh *Fleets, and under* Spaniſh *Covert*, &c.

P. 213. Cromwell, *the King's Vicar-General,—was not yet Vicegerent.*] In a Publick Inſtrument, in *Fuller*'s Hiſtory of *Cambridge*, p. 109, (which we have upon our Regiſters, and otherwiſe *MS.*) dated *Octob.* 22. 1535, *Cromwell* is ſtyled *Vicegerent* that Year: And in the Writ of Summons, 1539, (in *Dugdale*) he is ſtyled *Vicarius Generalis*. So that theſe Two Titles ſeem to have been us'd promiſcuouſly.

P. 214.

P. 214. Alex. Aleſs, *a* Scotchman—— *him* Cromwell *brought to the Convocation*, &c.] An Account of this Conference is publiſh'd by this *Alex. Aleſs*; by him in *Latin*, tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Edm. Alen*; and he is there ſtyled, *Alex Alane, Scot.* He was ſent for into *England* by the Lord *Cromwell*, and the Archbiſhop—— Sent to *Cambridge*— driven thence— withdrew to *London*, where he ſtudy'd, and practis'd Phyſick certain Years— met by chance with the Lord *Cromwell*— who took him with him to *Weſtminſter*— where he found all the Biſhops gathered together— unto whom all the Biſhops and Prelates did riſe up and did Obedience as to their Vicar General— and he ſat him down in the Higheſt Place— then follows an Account of the Debate, and how the Biſhops were divided--- but, I think, he places this Meeting (I have not the Book by me) in the Year 1537. The Book is without Date, ſo it does not appear when it was printed.

P. 221. *Book de Unione Eccleſiaſtia.*] The Title is, *De Unitate Eccleſiaſticâ.* I have not ſeen the Firſt Edition, being very ſcarce, and having been kept up in a few Hands; but it was Re-printed in *Germany*, *Anno* 1555, ſaid in the Preface to have been printed Fifteen Years before; that is, about the Year 1540: But I think there are ſome Things ſaid in the Body of the Book, that ſuppoſe it to be printed ſooner. It was without Date.

P. 224. Betleſden *in* Bedfordſhire.] It is in *Buckinghamſhire.* Ib. *None of our Writers have taken notice of this*— *Dugdale* in his *Monaſt.* Vol. 3. P. 21. has taken notice of two ſuch New Foundations, *viz. Biſham* in *Berks*; and *Stixwould*, *Linc.*

P. 252. Cranmer *at that Time of* Luther's *Opinion.*] *Cranmer* at his Tryal being aſked what Doctrine he taught concerning this Sacrament, when he condemned *Lambert* the Sacramentary, expreſsly ſays, *I maintained then the Papiſts Doctrine.* *Fox* Vol. 3. P. 656. Nor could he well otherwiſe have argued againſt *Lambert*, as he then did. To name no more Authorities.

P. 256. *All the Parl. Abbots had their Writs.*] According to *Dugdale*, the Abbots of St. *Edmundſbury* and *Taveſtoke*, were not ſummon'd to this Parliament, *Apr.* 28, 1539.

P. 266, 7. *The oppoſite Party*— Bonner, *&c.*] This does not ſeem to agree with what is ſaid after, p. 299. *Hitherto he* (Bonner) *had acted another Part*— *now began to ſhow his Nature*, &c.

P. 296. *But his Friends complained to the King*— *he being a Privy Councellor.*] *Gardiner* in his *Declaration of ſuch true Articles*, &c. Printed *An.* 1546, 8vo. ſays, he complain'd himſelf to the King; and expreſsly ſays, *when* Barnes *was ſent to the* Tower, *I was not of the Privy Council*— He ſeems not to have been much employ'd at this Time, having been left out of the Number of thoſe that compiled the King's Book, or not acting.

P. 303. Cranmer *ſet out an Order.*] This Order I have ſeen printed 1541, amongſt Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Papers, but it was with the Conſent of the other Archbiſhop, and moſt of the Biſhops.

P. 347. *The Coronation of the Prince of* Wales.] I think *Creation* is the uſual Term at this Solemnity.

P. 349 *To diſcover Things— hitherto unknown.*] This has been taken notice of by *Leſley*, a noted Author, and your Lordſhip's Countryman; and the Teſtimonies of my Lord *Paget*, Sir *Edward Montague*, and this *Clark* there appealed to— after follows— *Quæ Teſtimonia cum juramento perhibita, poſtquam diligenter & circumſpectè perpenſa atq; examinata fuiſſent, Maria Regina de Sententia Conſiliationum ſuorum, ad Honorem Dei & Regni, ad veritatis & Juſtitiæ Patrocinium, & Legitimæ in Regnum Succeſſionis, ad multa nefanda mala devitanda, quæ illa corruptione ex illo figmento, conſecutura erant, juſſit exemplar Memoriale ſuppoſititii Teſtamenti, quod extabat in Cancellariâ conſcindi, expungi, aboleri tanquam indignum quod inter vera & in corrupta Nobiliſſimi Regni exemplaria locum obtineret — Jo. Leſlæus, de titulo & jure Sereniſſimi Principis Mariæ Scotiæ Reginæ, quo Regni Angliæ Succeſſionem ſibi juſte vindicat. Rhemis* 1580, P. 43, 44. I think it was publiſh'd in *Engliſh* ſooner.

P. 356. *That* Fiſher *and he penned the Book.*] It is true Sir *Tho. More* was only a Sorter, and *Fiſher* could be no more than one of the Makers, though ſome have aſſerted it to be his Work alone. But as to Sir *Tho. More*'s Teſtimony, I think it may with much more Reaſon be taken from *Roper* his Son-in-Law, who marry'd his beloved Daughter, and knew his inward Thoughts, than from a Letter to a Miniſter of State, where *loquendum cum Vulgo.* Your Lordſhip is a very able Judge of Stile, and of the Elegancy wherewith this Book is wrote: Your Lordſhip has given us a Specimen of the King's Stile, in the Marginal Notes of the laſt Page of this Volume, P. 368. I dare appeal to your Lordſhip whether you think the Style to be the ſame. The laſt Words are ſo Elegant, that I cannot forbear reciting them. *Cum qua nec Pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius Prælatus aut Pontifex, habet quicquid agere, præterquam in ſuas Dioceſes.*

However, I am very willing the King ſhould enjoy the Honour of his Book, provided I am allow'd to enjoy my Opinion.

Upon this Occaſion, I have only to add, that whereas this Life of Sir *Tho. More* by *Roper* is ſomewhere cited, P. 279, as printed, (if I am not miſtaken) I think I may be poſitive it was never printed. I have it in Manuſcript. Sir *Tho. More*'s Life was twice printed in 4to and in 8vo, and by different Hands, but neither of them by *Roper*, though both of them have borrow'd from him pretty freely.

P. 362. Gardiner— *and Three other Prieſts — executed.*] *Gardiner* was executed, the other Three were pardon'd, according to an Account I have ſeen, MS. Their Names are there ſaid to be Maſter *More*, Maſter *Heybodè*, and Maſter *Roper*.

Collection

Collection of RECORDS.

P. 186. *Dr. Clyſs.*]We had no ſuch Doctor at *Cambridge*: I ſuppoſe it may be a Miſtake of the Preſs, for Dr. *Cliff*; of which Name there were Two, and both of them *Civilians*.

P. 178. *Injunctions by* Cromwell.] Theſe Injunctions exhibited *Anno* 1538. were Printed by *Barthelet* cum Priv. containing ſome ſmall Variations, which might have been noted in the Margin, (as ſome other little things might) but they are not conſiderable.

P. 201. *MSS. Dr.* Stillfleet.] I can do your Lordſhip that Right to ſay, that theſe MSS. are Publiſhed with Faithfulneſs enough; only they might have been quoted as my Lord *Salisbury*'s, to whom they belong; and are probably Two of theſe Six or Seven Volumes, ſaid P. 171. of this Volume to have been in the Hands of my Lord *Burghley*. There are ſome few Omiſſions, or Verbal Miſtakes, which might have been noted in the Margin; I ſhall only mention ſome few that alter the Senſe. P. 215. *Juſtification by the Word*, Inſtitution by the Word, MS. lb. *receive them*, retain them, MS. And the ſame Page, for *Conjunction* ſhould be read Commixtion. P. 216. *Significantia*, Sanctificantia, MS. P. 223. *Apoſtolicis*, Apoſtolis, MS. P. 227. *Multiſque aliis*, nulliſque aliis, MS. P. 229. *Prophetam*, Prophetiam, MS. P. 232. *Lacius*, Laicus, MS. P. 238. *Eleventh*, Fifteenth, MS. P. 240. *nonnullis*, novellis, MS. And after *Sentence*, ſhould be read *of Excommunication*. P. 243. *Authors*, Doctors, MS. Such Miſtakes might eaſily happen, either through the Neglect of the Tranſcriber, or of the Preſs.

I ſhall not enter into the Criticiſm of *T. Cantuarion* to *Leighton*'s Paper. The meaning is more plain in *Robertſon*'s; for he not having ſubſcribed his Name at the end of his Paper, the Arch-biſhop might add his own to atteſt it; and *Robertſon*'s Name afterwards appearing at the beginning of his Paper, the Biſhop might daſh his own Name, as it now ſtands, if done by the ſame Hand.

P. 257. *A Collection of Paſſages out of the Canon-Law*, &c.] Here your Lordſhip muſt have truſted an unskilful Amanuenſis: The Copy is ſo full of Miſtakes, I will note a few.

P. 257. *De ſumma excom.* De Sententia, MS. *Nominat*, noverit, MS. P. 258. *A vecta memoria*, A recta memoir, MS. *Efficiund*, officium, MS. *De Summa*, De Sententia, MS. P. 259. Electi *proprietate*, Poteſtate, MS. *Si modo*, Sinodum, MS. *Non vos*, non nos MS. *De pecunia*, De pœnitentia, MS. *Poprietate*, Poteſtate, MS. P. 260. *Proprietate* [bis] Poteſtate, MS. *Fœlicum*, Fœlicis, MS. P. 261. *Ex Clericus*, Quod Clericus, MS. *Si vero*, Quod vero, MS. *Si quibus*, Si quis, MS. *De Summa*, De Sententia, MS. *Nom*, noverit, MS. *De pecuniis*, Pœnitentiis, MS. *Si*, Etſi, MS. *Ad uſus*, Adverſus, MS. *Nor is it not*, nor it is not, MS. P. 262. *Et quæ ſequitur*, quæ ſequuntur, MS. *Si quiſquis*, Si quiſquam, MS. *Quicunque*, Quæcunque, MS. P. 263. In *Clementini*, Clementinis, MS.

MS. *Per excelſa*, pre excelſa, MS. *De præmiis*, De pænitentiis, MS. *De ſumma*, De ſententia, MS. P. 264. *Ut verum*, ut jejuni, MS.

Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. Edit. 2.

PAge 1. *Loſt his Mother the Day after he was Born.*] The King's Journal, printed by your Lordſhip, ſays, *within few Days after the Birth of her Son, died. Geo. Lilly*, who liv'd at the ſame Time, and near the Place, ſays, *Duodecimo poſt die moritur— Chron.* And ſo the Continuation of *Fabian*, *Octob.* 23. Theſe ſeem to be the beſt Authorities.

P. 17. *The next Day the Seal was put into the Lord St.* John's *Hands.*] 29 *Junii ſigillum magnum Will. Pawlet Militi Domino S. Jo. de Baſing liberatum fuit. Pat.* 1. *Edw.* 6. *P.* 4. *Dugdal. Orig. Jurid.*

P. 39. *The Lord* Rich *made Lord Chancellor on the* 24*th of Octob.*] *Rich. Rich Miles Dominus Rich conſtitutus Cancellarius Angliæ* 30. *Nov. Pat.* 1. *Edw.* 6. *P.* 3. *M.* 14. *Dugdal ibid.*

P. 58. *There is another Paper given in— but moſt of the Fathers there cited, are of the later Ages*, &c.] The Fathers and Canons cited in that Paper are, *Hermes*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtome* : The Councils of *Arles*, *Elvira*, and *Milevi*. If any modern Authorities are cited, I have not noted them.

P. 62. *The Biſhops of* London, Worceſter, Chicheſter, *and* Hereford, *gave in their Anſwers once in one Paper.*] The Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Hereford*'s Anſwers related to another ſet of Queſtions.

Ib. Cranmer's *Hand is over every one of them.*] *Cranmer*'s Hand is not over *Richard Cox*, nor *W. Menevenſ.* nor *John Taylor*'s ; who have ſubſcribed their own Names.

Ib. *Dr.* Cox *hath ſet his Hand and Seal to his Anſwer.*] I can aſſure your Lordſhip, there is no Myſtery in this. *Cox* had ſent in his Paper folded, and cloſed with Wax : The Foldings yet remain, according to which Foldings the Paper had been ſeal'd, which is now torn, where it had been ſealed, and ſome of the Paper left upon the Wax.

P. 88. Bucer *and* Fagius *invited over to* England, *and ſent to* Cambridge, *where* Fagius *died ſoon after.*] This your Lordſhip ſeems to place in the Year 1548 ; whereas they did not leave *Germany* till *April* 1549, and *Fagius* died in *November* following. I have his Will, proved *Jan.* 12. 1549.

P. 92. *Thus had this Matter been argued in Books—written by* Parker, &c.] *Parker*'s Book was not wrote till the Reign of Queen *Mary*, *ad leniendum ſuum in illa Mariană Perſecutione mœrorem*— as ſaid in his Life ; nor publiſh'd till the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, and could have no Relation to this Reign.

P. 100. *What his Behaviour was on the Scaffold, I do not find.*] There is a pretty Remarkable Account of his Death and Behaviour, in Biſhop *Latymer*'s Fourth Sermon, *Edit.* 1. *p.* 56. (left out of the following Editions) where, amongſt other Things, he ſays, *He* [the Admiral] *dyed very dangerouſly, yrkſomelye, horryblye.* And ſurely ſo he did, if the Letters referr'd to by him on the Scaffold were genuine, which *Latymer* ſays he ſaw.

P. 120. *They were required to procure a Reſignation of ſome Colleges, and to unite them with others,* &c.] There were no other Colleges to be ſuppreſs'd, beſides *Clare-Hall*, in order to found a New College of *Civilians*, either by Uniting it to *Trinity-Hall*, or by Augmenting the Number of *Trinity-Hall* to Twenty Fellows; as appears by King *Edward*'s Statutes, (drawn up before the Viſitors came down) compar'd with his Injunctions, (all upon the *Black Book*) drawn up after.

Indeed *Trinity-Hall* was to be ſurrender'd, in order to the Union, or New Foundation; wherein *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then Maſter, did good Service: Who refus'd to Surrender; and that, I ſuppoſe, partly upon Politick Reaſons. For had he parted with his Old Houſe, he would never have been made Maſter of the New Law-College, tho' he were Doctor both of the Canon and Civil Law.

P. 121. *Mr.* Cheek——*was either put from the Chair, or willingly left it to avoid the Indignation of ſo great a Man—as* Gardiner *was,* &c.] *Cheek* was not put from the Chair; nor did he part with it, till after he was ſent for by the King to inſtruct the Prince; as appears from the Account of the Life of his Succeſſor, *Nicholas Carr*, p. 59, and otherwiſe.

P. 129. *The Confuſions this Year, occaſion'd that Change to be made in the Office of dayly Prayers, where the Anſwere to the Petition,* [Give Peace in our Time, O Lord] *was now made,* [Becauſe there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God]. This, my Lord, I do not well underſtand: For this Petition and Anſwer ſtand in the Firſt Liturgy of *Edward* the Sixth, Fol. 4.

P. 154. *The Earl of* Warwick—*writ earneſtly in his* [Hooper's] *Behalf, to the Archbiſhop, to diſpenſe—with the Oath of Canonical Obedience at his Conſecration,* &c.] The Oath of Canonical Obedience, (as printed in the Form of Conſecration, *An.* 1549,) is ſo unexceptionable, that there ſeems to be no Ground for Scruple; being only a Promiſe of all due Reverence and Obedience to the Archbiſhop, *&c.* It ſeems to have been the Oath of Supremacy, which at that time contain'd Expreſſions more liable to Exception, being a kind of *&c.*-Oath, requiring Obedience *to Acts and Statutes, made or to be made*; and concluding with, *So helpe me God, All Sainctes,* &c.

Fuller, who was once of Opinion, that it was the Oath of Canonical Obedience that *Hooper* ſcrupled, yet alter'd his Opinion [*Worthies in* Somerſetſhire, *p.* 22.] upon theſe, or ſuch like Reaſons. If *Parſons* his Authority were of any Weight, he expreſsly ſays, it was the Oath of Supremacy. *De tribus Converſ.* Par. 3. Chap. 6. Sect. 68.

Ibid.

Ibid. John Alaſco, *with a Congregation of* Germans, *that fled from their Country—upon the* Interim, &c.] They were moſt of them *Netherlanders*, or *French*, (only a few *Germans*) and conſequently not concern'd with the *Interim*; and the Language they officiated in, was the *Low-German* and *French*, &c. *Utenhov. Narrat. de Inſtitut. & Diſſipat. Belgarum*, &c. P. 12, 28, &c. Thoſe that went off with *Alaſco*, were *Low-Germans*, *French*, *Engliſh*, or *Scots*. Ib. p. 22. This ſeems confirm'd, by what is ſaid *P.* 250 of this Volume, of their being of the *Helvetian Confeſſion*, and of their Reception in *Denmark*. However, I am not poſitive, further than *Utenhovius*'s Account will bear me out, which I have not by me.

P. 162. *Dr.* Smith—*was brought to* London, *upon Complaints*—Cranmer *got his Sureties to be diſcharged; upon which he writ him a Letter.—Soon after he writ another Letter to* Cranmer, &c.] Theſe Letters I have ſeen: I can aſſure your Lordſhip, they are wrote to *Parker*, not to *Cranmer*: And if your Lordſhip has any doubt of it, I can make it very evident.

P. 163. *He* (Dr. *Smith*) *had made a Recantation—of ſome Opinions—but what theſe were—the Journal does not inform us.*] The Particulars were, 1. Concerning Submiſſion to Governors in Church and State. 2. Concerning Unwritten Traditions. 3. Concerning the Sacrifice of the Maſs, *&c.* As may be ſeen in his Retractation, printed at *London*, *An.* 1547 *cum Priv.* entituled, *A Godly and Faithful Retractation, made and publiſhed at* Paul's-*Croſs in* London, Anno 1547, 15 May; *by Maſter* Richard Smith, *D. D. and Reader of the King's Majeſties Lecture in* Oxford; *revoking therein certain Errors and Faults, by him committed in ſome of his Books.* It was repeated at *Oxford*, *July* the 24th, the ſame Year.

Ib. M. Bucer *died—on the 28th of* February.] It is not very material, whether he died this Day, or the Day after: But he died the 1ſt of *March*, if *Parker* and *Haddon*'s Account may be taken, who were preſent, and bore a Part at his Funeral, and were Executors of his Will.

Nicholas Carr likewiſe preſent, ſays, *Calendis Martiis*, in his Letter to *Cheke*. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, are the beſt Authorities.

P. 165. Griffith *and* Leyſon, *Two Civilians.*] *Griffith Leyſon* was only one Civilian: The other Civilian was, *John Oliver*, L. L. D.

P. 196. —— *ſaid in the* Preface *of the Book, that* Cranmer *did the whole Work almoſt himſelf.*] All that I find in that *Preface*, is, that theſe Thirty two were divided into Four Claſſes; and that what was concluded in one Claſs, was to be communicated to the reſt; and that *Summæ Negotij præfuit* Tho. Cranmerus, *Archiep' Cant'*; as it was fit he ſhould preſide.

Ib. *Dr.* Haddon, *that was Univerſity-Orator at* Cambridge.] *Haddon* never was Univerſity-Orator at *Cambridge*; as appears from a very Exact Catalogue upon the Orator's Book, and otherwiſe.

P. 204. Wanchop, *a* Scotchman—*who tho' he was blind*—] He was not blind, only ſhort-ſighted: *Il quale Huomo di breviſſima vi-*

ſta

ſta era commendato di queſta virtu, di correr alla poſta meglio d' huomo del mondo. Hiſt. del Conc. Trid. l. 2. p. 144.

P. 240. *The Queen—received them all very favourably, except—Dr.* Ridley.——*She gladly laid hold on any Colour, to be more ſevere to him,—for bringing* Boner *to* London *again.*] There needed no Colours; he had given too juſt Offence. In a *MS.* C. C. C. *Miſcel. P.* this Account is given.

Sunday, *July 16th*, *Dr.* Ridley *Biſhop of* London, *preach'd at* Paul's-*Croſs*: *Where he declared in his Sermon—the Lady* Mary *and* Elizabeth *to be Illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten,* &c. *according to God's Law*;——*and ſo found, both by the Clergy and Acts of Parliament, in* Henry *the* VIIIth's *Time*; *which the People murmured at.*

P. 244. *Himſelf* [Cranmer] *perform'd all the Offices of the Burial,* &c.] It is highly improbable, that he who was now under Diſpleaſure, about this Time confin'd to his Houſe, and ſoon after to the *Tower*, ſhould be allow'd to Perform theſe Offices in ſuch manner. *Godwin* [An. 1553.] *Annal.* ſays,— *Concionem habente Dalo Ciceſtr. Epiſcopo, qui etiam ſacrum peregit vernacula uſus Anglicana, & Euchariſtiam præſentibus exhibuit, &c.* To the ſame Purpoſe *Holingſhed*, Vol. 2. p. 1089. And I never could meet with any good Authority for the contrary, except your Lordſhip's.

P. 248. ——*Againſt all that would not change their Religion:*] Speaking of Judge *Hales*. Judge *Hales* did Change his Religion: So *Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 957. *Judge* Hales *never fell into that Inconvenience, before he had conſented to* Papiſtry. This, probably, was one great Occaſion of his Melancholy. So *Fox*, more expreſsly in the Firſt Edition of his Book, p. 1116. *He was caſt forthwith into a great Repentance of the Deed, and into a Terror of Conſcience*——And *Bradford* [*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 384.] propoſes him as an Example, of one *that was fearfully left of God to our Admonition.*

P. 251. *He* [Horn] *had refuſed to accept of his Biſhoprick—*] As far as I underſtand his Meaning, this was meant of the Adminiſtration of Epiſcopal Power: For *Horn* having ſaid, The Biſhop *was not aſham'd to lay to my Charge,—that I had exerciſed his Office in his Biſhoprick*; anſwers, *—I never meddled with his Office: I was in daunger of much diſpleaſure,—bycauſe I wold not take upon me his Office*, &c.

P. 252. *One* Beal, *Clerk of the Council.*] His Name in *Fox* is *Hales*, Vol. 3. p. 976.

P. 272. *She* [the Lady *Jane*] *ſent her* Greek *Teſtament—to her Siſter, with a Letter in the ſame Language.*] The Letter, I ſuppoſe, muſt have been wrote in *Engliſh*, as it ſtands in *Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 35. and as printed amongſt the Letters of the *Martyrs*, p. 662.

Ibid. That Lady, under her Picture, is ſaid to have been *Nata* 1537.] According to *Aſcham*, (who may be ſuppos'd, to have given in her Age at loweſt) She was aged Fifteen, in the Year 1550, when he found her Reading *Plato*'s *Phædon* in *Greek*; which was very unuſual at that Age, but would have been Extraordinary indeed at Thirteen.

P. 275. Goodrick, *of* Ely, *died in* April *this Year.*] There is an Inſtitution upon his Regiſter, by his Authority, *May* 9th 1554: And in a Catalogue of their Biſhops, upon their *Black Book*, it is ſaid, *Decimo Maij, Anno Dom.* 1554,—*mortem obiit apud Somerſham*, &c. This, I think, has been taken notice of: I only mention it, becauſe it is from unqueſtionable Authority.

P. 277. *Dr.* Martin—*ſtudied the Law at* Bourges; *where* Francis Baldvin *had publickly noted him for his Lewdneſs, as being not only over-run himſelf with the* French *P-x*;—*which* Baldvin *certified in a Letter.*] This Letter I have now by me, printed in *Bale*'s Declaration of *Boner*'s Articles, *Fol.* 47, 48. But it was not *Martin*, but his Hoſt, that was over-run with the *French* P-x: *Habitabat in Acad. Biturigum, apud quendam nomine Boium, Sacrificulum turpiſſimum,—toto corpore leproſum, & infami morbo Gallico infectum*: Tho' *Martin*'s Character there is bad enough.

P. 279. *The* Spaniards *gave—Occaſion, by Publiſhing* Philip's *Pedigree,—from* John of Gaunt:——*This made* Gardiner *look—to the Liberties of the Crown*, &c.] If *John Bale* be good Authority, the *Engliſh* were forward enough, *in Setting forth Genealogies from* John à Gaunt;——Gardiner, White, *and* Harpsfield *maintaining the ſame.* Ibid. Fol. 9.

P. 284. *The Letters of the Priſoners—gathered—and all printed by* Fox,—*and put into the Library of* Emanuel-*College, by Sir* Walter Mildmay, &c.] Moſt of theſe Letters are printed by *Fox*; but your Lordſhip knows, the Letters of the Martyrs were publiſh'd in a diſtinct Volume, with a Preface by *Coverdale*, (probably the Publiſher) and printed by *John Day*, *An.* 1564; which I could have wiſh'd, had been taken Notice of by your Lordſhip in this Place.

P. 292. I have noted under Cardinal *Pole*'s Picture, from *Ciaconius*, and *Petramellarius*, that he was at laſt Cardinal-Preſbyter, (tho' firſt only Deacon) which will hardly conſiſt with what is ſaid *Vol.* I. *p.* 221. that *he did not riſe above the Degree of a Deacon*; tho' I ſuppoſe, Cardinals are of equal Dignity.

P. 302. Here I could have wiſh'd, your Lordſhip had taken notice of *Hooper*'s Loyalty; which was very ſignal, as appears from his Printed Apology. *When She was at the worſt, I rode my ſelf from Place to Place, (as it is well known) to win and ſtay the People for her Party. And whereas another was proclaimed; I preferred Her, notwithſtanding the Proclamations.——I ſent Horſes out of both Shires,* (Gloceſter *and* Worceſter) *to ſerve her in her great Danger*; *as Sir* John Talbot, *Kt. and* William Ligon, *Eſq*; *can teſtify*, &c. And more to this Purpoſe.

P. 317. William Wolley——*burnt at* Ely;— *where* Shaxton,— *now Suffragan of* Ely, *condemned them.*] *Shaxton* could not condemn them, being there only as an Aſſiſtant: They were condemned by *John Fuller*, L. L. D. *Vicarium in Spiritualibus Domini Thomæ Epiſcopi Elien.— & ejuſdem Commiſſarium—legitimè conſtitutum,— ad negotia infra Scripta expediend.— in Capellâ B. Mariæ Elien.— aſſiſtentibus ei tunc ibid. Rev. in Chriſto Patre Nicholao— modo Suffra-*

gano Epiſcopo. — *Rob. Steward Decano Elien. Jo. Chriſtopherſon S. T. B. Decano Norvic. &c. Regiſtr. Thyrlby*, Fol. 81, 82, where the Proceſs may be ſeen.

P. 320. Gardiner's *Picture.*] If your Lordſhip has ſeen this Picture with the Seals, *&c.* it muſt be *Gardiner's*; though I have ſeen Two Pictures at *Trinity* College, and *Trinity* Hall, ſaid to be *Gardiner's*, very unlike this. I have often ſuſpected it to belong to *Horn*, who was a ſevere rough ſort of a Man, and gives the Bugle Horns for his Arms (but without a Chevron); which though they are ſaid to belong to the *Gardiners*, yet *Gardiner* when he was Chancellor of *Cambridge*, gives different (Paternal) Arms, as may be ſeen in the Appendix to Archbiſhop *Parker's Antiq. Brit.*

Poinet, his Succeſſor, deſcribes him thus— *He had a hanging Look, frowning Brows, Eyes an inch within the Head, a Noſe hooked like a* Buſſard, *wide Noſtrils like a* Horſe,— *a* Sparrow *Mouth*, &c. And truly by this Deſcription, it may be *Gardiner's*.

P. 337. John Hallier, *a Prieſt, was burnt at* Canterbury.] *John Hullier*, a Prieſt, was burnt at *Cambridge*, as appears from *Thirlby's* Regiſter. He is there ſaid to have been Vicar of *Badburham*; of which Vicaridge he was firſt depriv'd, and afterwards burnt, for maintaining Erroneous and Heretical Opinions. *Fox*, (*P.* 696) likewiſe ſays he was burnt at *Cambridge*, as alſo the Letters of the Martyrs, P. 517.

P. 339. Knox *had written indecently of the Emperor*, &c.] This my Lord, is rather too ſoft an Expreſſion, *Knox* was accus'd of Treaſon againſt the Emperor, his Son, and the Queen of *England*, as may be ſeen in *the Troubles of* Frankford, where the Words are reported at large. p. 44.

P. 340. — *Brought him*, (Pool) *under the Suſpicion of having procur'd his* (Cranmer's) *Death.* From your Lordſhip's Opinion of the Cardinal's Probity and Vertue, p. 370, I think I can clear him from this Suſpicion from his own Letter, MS. where he thus accoſts *Cranmer. Ea eſt mea ſalutis tuæ cura ac ſtudium, ut ſi te ab horribili illâ, quæ tibi niſi reſipiſcas, impendet, non ſolum Corporis, ſed Animæ etiam mortis Sententiâ, ullo modo liberare poſſem, id profectò omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hac vitâ contingere poſſint (Deum teſtor) libentiſſime anteponerem. MS. p.* 54.

P. 341. *I have not met with her Foundation of it* (Weſtminſter) *which perhaps was razed*— The King and Queen's Licence, or Patent. Dat. *Sept.* 7. *An.* 3. and 4. *P. M.* may be met with in *Rymer*, (*Apoſtol. Benedict.* P. 233.) and as there ſaid, *habetur* 12. *Parte Patentum.* The reſt, I ſuppoſe, was done by the Pope's Authority. The Cardinal's Licence (towards the Suppreſſing of the College) may be met with in the *Monaſtic.* Vol. II. p. 847.

P. 353. Peyto *had begun his Journey into* England— *Stopt his Journey*, &c.] From the Anſwer to *Engliſh* Juſtice, (ſuppos'd to be wrote by Sir *Will. Cecil*, or by his Order) it appears that *Peyto* was now in *England*, p. 20, 23, *&c.* Edit. *Eat.* p. 48; as likewiſe from the Anſwer, p. 147, 149. *Ciaconius* ſays the ſame Thing *An. Dom.* 1557. and *Pallavicini* Hiſt. *Conc. Trid.* Lib. 14. Cap. 2. 5. (and that he was then an Old Decrepit Man) beſides other Authorities that

might be nam'd, if it were material. It was the Bulls that were ſtopt at *Calice*, with the Nuncio, or Bearer, which may have occaſion'd the Miſtake of *Godwin*, and others.

P. 364. *He that writ the Preface to Biſhop* Ridley's *Book*, De Cænâ Domini, *ſuppoſed to be* Grindal.] The Author of the Preface to *Ridley*'s Book, was *William Wittingham*, according to *Bale* (p. 684, 731.) who knew the Man very well, as well as his Writings.

P. 369. *Reſerving nothing to himſelf, but* Pool's *Breviary, and Diary.*] *Ex quibus Polus Deum precari ſolitus erat, Breviarium vocamus & diurnale. Becatell.* p. 80.

P. 374. *On the* 19*th at* Highgate *all the Biſhops met her*, &c.] The Queen was at *Hatfield*, *Nov.* 20. and yet there, *Nov.* 22. as appears from a Regiſter, or Council Book, which I have ſeen. *Nov.* 24. She was at the *Charter-Houſe*, and not ſooner, as far as appears from that Book. *Nov.* 25. She was yet at the *Charter-Houſe*; it does not appear from thence that ſhe was at the *Tower* 'till *Decemb.* 1.

P. 395. *The laſt* (Coverdale) *being Old, had no mind to return to his Biſhoprick.*] I ſuppoſe *Coverdale* might have other Reaſons, for in a Book Intitl'd, *Part of a Regiſter*, I find him rank'd with thoſe that then, or ſoon after, were ſtyled *Puritans*. p. 12, 23, 25, *&c.* and having been of the *Engliſh* Congregation at *Geneva*, might probably there receive a Tincture, that he could not be brought co conſent to Impoſitions. (*Troubles of* Frankfort, p. 188, 215.) This further appear'd by his Practice at Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Conſecration, where, *Togâ lancâ talari utebatur*; and if he would not uſe the Epiſcopal Habits on ſuch an Occaſion, I am fully perſwaded he never would. However, it was very well in your Lordſhip to treat him with Tenderneſs, he having been a peaceable good Man, and a very uſeful Inſtrument in the Reformation.

P. 396. Boner *was ſuffered to go about in ſafety.*] Biſhop *Andrews*, who gives a very particular Account of the Treatment of the ſeveral Biſhops, has this Account of *Boner*— *Bonerus autem Londinenſis, qui regnante Mariâ cum lenienæ præeſſet, in odium veneret omni Populo (ut nec tutum eſſet ei prodire in publicum, ne ſaxis obrueretur) ille quidem in carcere conſenuit*— Tort. Torti, P. 146, 147.

P. 396. Watſon, *a moroſe ſullen Man— given to Scholaſtical Divinity*, &c.] *Watſon*, who was Fellow, and Maſter, of St. *John*'s College, was noted for polite Learning; I ſuppoſe, it was Dr. *John Watſon*, that was given to Scholaſtical Divinity, ſtyled *Scotiſt* by *Eraſmus*.

Col-

Collection of RECORDS.

PAge 125, Numb. 20. *Simpliciter & Uxor Viro.*] Similiter & Uxor Viro, MS. *Poſſunt aliis nubere.* Poteſt alii nubere, MS. *Æquo jure juxta*— Æquo jure quo illæ juxta, &c. MS.

P. 134. *The Sacrament of Thanks.*] The Sacrament of the Altar, MS. *Dr. Tyler* — D. Tayler, MS. *De Populo*— De Poculo, MS. P. 137. *Scil.* (bis) Chriſti (bis) MS. And betwixt the 3d and 4th Anſwer of the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, MS. has theſe Words, *The Prayers of the Prieſt in the Maſs, having before him the Precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, by the Teſtimony of St.* Auſtin, *St.* Chryſoſtome, *and other Antient Fathers, are of great Efficacy, and much to be eſteemed.*

P. 139. *Mark* 19.] Mark 14, MS. *Communicating* — Communing, MS. P. 140. *Frequent*— Fervent, MS. P. 141. *Caveant*---- Caveat, MS. Ib. *Come daily*---- Commune daily, MS. P. 145. *Convenient.* Expedient, MS. P. 147. After *Paul Ep. Eriſtol.* Dr. *Cox*, becauſe all the Benefits of the Maſs, do alſo appertain unto the People, it were very convenient to uſe ſuch Speech therein, which the People might underſtand, MS. Ib. Queſt. 10. After *Lincoln*'s Anſwer. Dr. *Cox*, I ſuppoſe that the Reſervation of the Sacrament began about the Time of *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and *Auguſtine.* When it began I cannot tell, and for what Purpoſe it ſhould hang there, I cannot tell, MS.

P. 148. *Some Queſtions*, &c.] Before the Queſtions thus, *London*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford.* On the Back of the Paper thus, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Hereford.* Firſt Anſwer, for *far and ſundry.* Far aſunder, MS.

P. 157. Numb. 30. *Continuing.* Conteyning, MS. C. C. C. P. 158. *To marry a Wife.* To marry One Wife, *&c.*

P. 249. *A Manifeſto--- by* Cranmer, *&c.* This was printed, *An.* 1554 by *V. Pollanus*, under this Title, *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patris ac Domini D. Archiepiſcopi Cant. Epiſtola Apologetica*; which ſeems a more proper Expreſſion for a Subject.

P. 386. *I do not find One Head of a College---was turned out*, &c.] *Day*, Provoſt of *King*'s, was not turned out (as has been ſaid by Mr. *Wharton*) for he reſigned, though perhaps not altogether voluntarily, though his Reſignation is ſaid to be voluntary. But *Rowland Swinburn*, Maſter of *Clare*-Hall, was certainly turned out by the King's Viſitors, as appears from a Journal of the Viſitation, MS. C. C. C. a Copy whereof I have, nor can there be any doubt, but *Gardiner* was turned out at *Trinity*-Hall, where his Succeſſors, *Haddon* and *Mowſe*, are ſtyled Maſters *de facto.*

P. 396. Coverdale *not married.*] *Coverdale* was married; he and *Machabeus* married Two Siſters. *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 182. *Hollingſhed*, Vol II. p. 1309. ſpeaks of *Coverdale*'s Wife twice in one

Page

Page. Eight of the Proteſtant Biſhops in this Reign were married. *Parkhurſt*, Epigram *Juv.* p. 56, 165, 6.

Apol. p. 241. 2d *Edit.* 1533.

In the Introduction Sir *Tho. More* is quoted, as calling Convocations Confederacies. It is not he that calls them ſo, but the Perſon whom he Anſwers; for the Words that go before ſhew this very clearly. *But, I ſuppoſe, he calleth thoſe Aſſemblies at the Convocations by the Name of Confederacies. For, but if he do ſo. I wot nere what he meaneth by that Word. And on the t'other ſide if he do ſo, for ought that I ſee, he giveth a good Thinge, and an Holſome, an Odyouſe Heighnouſe Name. For if they did aſſemble after,* &c.

Number V.

Some Remarks ſent me by an unknown Perſon.

Keilway's Reports were publiſhed 1602, by *Jo. Crook*, who was afterwards a Judge. He gives a Character of *Keilway*, as a Lawyer of good Reputation; and that he was Surveyor of the Courts of Wards in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. It appears that the King's ordering the Attorney General to confeſs Dr. *Horſey*'s Plea, without bringing the Matter to a Trial, was plainly a Contrivance to pleaſe the Clergy, and to ſtifle that Matter without bringing it to a Trial, and ſo muſt have ſatisfied them better than if he had pardoned him. Little Regard is to be given to *Raſtall*, who ſhewed his Partiality in Matters in which the Pope's Authority was concerned; for in his Edition of the Statutes at Large, he omitted one Act of Parliament made in the 2d Year of *Richard* the Second, Cap 6. which is thus abridged by *Poulton*. *Urban* was duly choſen Pope, and ſo ought to be accepted and obeyed: Upon which the Lord *Coke* in his *Inſtitutes*, p. 274. infers, that Antiently Acts of Parliament were made concerning the Higheſt Spiritual Matters; but it ſeems *Raſtall* had no mind to let that be known. He was a Judge in Queen *Mary*'s Time, but went beyond Sea, and lived in *Flanders* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and there he wrote, and printed his Book of Entries.

There is a very ſingular Inſtance in the Year Book, 43. *Ed.* 3. 33. 6. by which it appears, that the Biſhop of *Litchfield* was ſometimes called the Biſhop of *Cheſter*; for a *Quare Impedit* was brought by the King

againſt him called Biſhop of *Cheſter* : The Judgment given at the End of it, is, That he ſhould go to the *Great Devil.* This is a ſingular Inſtance of an Extraordinary Judgment ; there being no Precedent like it in all our Records.

In *Erook*'s Abridgment, *Tit. Præmunire*, Sect. 21. it is ſaid, That *Barlow* had, in the Reign of *Edward* the VIth, deprived the Dean of *Wells*, (which was a Donative) and had thereby incurred a *Præmunire* ; and that he was forced to uſe Means to obtain his Pardon : So if he had not his Biſhoprick confirmed, by a New Grant of it, he muſt have loſt it, in a Judgment againſt him in a *Præmunire.* And if he wrote any ſuch Book, it was in order to the obtaining his Pardon. *Brook* was Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, in the 1ſt of Queen *Mary* : But yet it is no ways probable, that *Barlow* wrote any ſuch Book, as is mention'd P. 270. of the Second Volume of the Hiſtory of the *Reformation* : For he went out of *England*, and came back in the 1ſt of Queen *Elizabeth.* He aſſiſted in the Conſecration of Archbiſhop *Parker*, and was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter* ; which probably would not have been done, if he had written any ſuch Book, unleſs he had made a Publick Recantation of it ; which I do not find that he did. So there is Reaſon to believe, that was a Book put out in his Name by ſome Papiſt, on deſign to caſt a Reproach on the *Reformation.* This is further confirmed, by what I have put in the Hiſtory : For by a Letter of *Sampſon*'s it appears, that *Barlow* did feebly promiſe to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome* : But it ſeems, that was only an Effect of Weakneſs, ſince he quickly got beyond Sea ; into which the Privy-Council made an Enquiry : That ſhews, that he repented of that which was extorted from him.

'There are in this Paper ſome Quotations out of *Harmer*'s *Speci-*
'*men*, on which General Remarks are made, but Particulars are not
'added. The Writer of this has not thought fit to name himſelf to
'me ; ſo I can give no other Deſcription of him, but that he ſeems to be
'a Perſon who has ſtudied the Law, and peruſed our Hiſtorians care-
'fully.

Number VI.

Obſervations and Corrections of the Two Volumes of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, *made by Mr.* Strype.

PAge 50. Lin. 20. *Stophileas* was a Biſhop ; *Simoneta* was Dean of the *Rota.*

P. 54.

P. 54. l. 10. S. *Greg. Caſſali* was not then at *Rome*, but at *Orviet*, where the Pope was at that Time. *Stophileus* was not yet come: And when he came, he did not promote, but hinder'd the King's Buſineſs all he could. See *Gardiner*'s Letters.

P. 55. l. 10. This was the Third Commiſſion ſent from the Pope. The Firſt was ſent from *Rome* by *Gambera*, and the Second from *Orvieto*, brought over by *Fox*, but both were diſliked; ſo this was now obtained.

P. 86. l. 32. *Boner* was an *Oxford* Man: But this was Dr. *Edmonds*, Maſter of *Peter-Houſe*.

P. 112. l. 19. from the Bottom. *They cried out.* It was only *One*: *Quidam reſpondebat.* Jour. Convoc.

Ibid. l. 3. from the Bottom. For 52 r. 62, in the Lower-Houſe 36 preſent; Proxies 48: In all 84.

P. 126. l. 7. *Stow* is in the right: For in a Letter of *Cranmer*'s to *Hawkins*, then the King's Ambaſſador with the Emperor, dated in *June* from *Croydon*, he wrote, *Q.* Anne *was married much about St.* Paul's *Day laſt*; *as the Condition thereof doth well appear, by reaſon She is now ſomewhat big with Child.*

Ibid. l. 11. *Cranmer* was not preſent at the Marriage: For in the ſame Letter he writes, *Notwithſtanding it hath been reported throughout a great Part of the Realm, that I married her*; *which was plainly falſe: For I my ſelf knew not thereof a Fortnight after it was done. And many other Things he reported of me, which be mere Lies and Tales.*

P. 128. l. 7. from the Bottom. For 13, r. 30.

P. 129. l. 13. from Bott. The Number of thoſe who Voted being only 23, muſt be underſtood only of the *Divines*: For the Second Queſtion was put only to the *Jurists*, who (in thoſe Times) exceeded the *Divines* in Number, and they did all Vote in the Affirmative: So that the Numbers did far exceed 23.

P. 131. l. 2. *Cranmer*, in a Letter, gives this Account of the Final Sentence of Divorce, in theſe Words: "As touching the final "Determination and Concluding of the Matter of Divorce, between "my Lady *Katherine* and the King's Grace: After the Convocation "in that behalf had determined and agreed, according to the for-"mer Sentence of the Univerſities; it was thought convenient, by "the King and his Learned Council, that I ſhould repair to *Dun-*"*ſtable*,——and there to call her before me, to hear final Sen-"tence in this ſaid Matter. Notwithſtanding She would not at all "obey thereunto. On the 8th of *May*, according to the ſaid Ap-"pointment, I came to *Dunſtable*; my Lord of *Lincoln* being aſſi-"ſtant to me: And my Lord of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Bell*, Dr. *Claybroke*, "Dr. *Tregonnel*, Dr. *Sterkey*, Dr. *Olyver*, Dr. *Britton*, Mr. *Bedel*, "with divers others Learned in the Law, being Counſellors for "the King. And ſo there, at our coming, kept a Court, for the "Appearance of the ſaid Lady *Katherine*: Where we examined "certain Witneſſes; who teſtified that She was lawfully cited,—and "called to appear, as the Proceſs of the Law thereunto belongeth: "Which continued Fifteen Days, after our firſt coming thither. "The Morrow after *Aſcenſion-Day*, I gave Sentence therein; How

" that it was indiſpenſible for the Pope, to Licenſe any ſuch Mar-
" riage". All this is taken out of *Cranmer*'s Letter to *Hawkins*.

P. 134. l. 3. Q. *Elizabeth* was born the 13th or 14th Day of *September* : For ſo *Cranmer* wrote to *Hawkins* ; and ſays, That he himſelf was Godfather at her Chriſtening, and the Old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and the Marchioneſs of *Dorſet*, were Godmothers.

P. 166. l. 11. *Tracy*'s Buſineſs was never in the Biſhop of *London*'s Court : It was brought into the Convocation, by the *Prolocutor*, on the 24th of *February* 1530 ; and after 80 Days, the Archbiſhop gave Sentence againſt the Will, and condemned it. In another Seſſion, the Biſhop of *London* read the Sentence in the Archbiſhop's Name. It was alſo decreed, that *Tracy* died a Heretick, and his Body was ordered to be dug up, and caſt a great way from Eccleſiaſtical Sepulture. The *Prolocutor* had indeed moved, that his Body ſhould be burnt ; but the Sentence went not ſo far : Yet the Execution of it being committed to *Parker*, Chancellor of *Worceſter*, he went further than the Sentence warranted him, and burnt the Body.

P. 192. l. 20. For *Two Hundred Nobles*, r. *Twenty Nobles*. L. 25. for *Dear*, r. *Good*.

P. 198. l. 18. After *writ*, add, *by Sir* William Kingſton, *to Secretary* Cromwell.

P. 220. l. 8. After *Cott. Libr.* in the Margin, add *Otho* C. 10.

P. 203. l. 19. For *Privy-Council*, r. *his Learned Council in the Law Spiritual.*

P. 204. l. 15. and 14. from the Bott. For *Cooke*, r. *Loke* ; and for *Wetſpall*, r. *Wythſpall.*

Ibid. l. 13. from Bott. For *of thoſe*, r. *hothe* ; that is, *of other.*

P. 226. l. 25. The 7th Article is wholly omitted, for Providing a Bible in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, and laying it in the Quire.

P. 245. l. 5. Not a Convocation, but a Commiſſion from the King, to Biſhops and other Learned Divines. L. 7. add, Both the Archbiſhops, and 17 Biſhops.

P. 247. l. 14. *Summer* ſaith, *that* Becket's *Bones were burnt to Aſhes.*

P. 327. l. 18. For *Cardine*, r. *Cawardin.*

Collection of RECORDS.

PAge 95. l. 4. It is not *Cranmer*'s own Hand, but writ by another ; but after every Article, follows the Proof of it. This ſeems to be *Cranmer*'s Original Book, preſented to the King.

P. 127. l. 4. from the Bottom. For *many*, r. *Men.*

P. 148. l. 25. *Reonen*, perhaps *Roanen* : *King*, Abbot of *Oſney*, had the Title *Epiſcopus Roananſis* : He was afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford.*

P. 162. Here is a whole Article left out, marked before, now inſerted in this Volume.

P. 163. l. 13. from the Bottom. This Letter is writ in *Moriſon*'s Hand, who was *Cromwell*'s Secretary.

P. 180. l. 6. After *and* r. *wall.* L. 7. Remove the *Comma* from *duly*, and ſet it after *otherwiſe.*

P. 183. l. 21. For *Miniſtry*, r. *Miniſter.* L. 2. from the Bottom, after *in*, r. *his.*

P. 184. l. 2. For 6, r. 7. L. 19. *here*, r. *bear.* L. 32. add *H. R.*

P. 200. l. 16. This Letter was drawn by *Gardiner*; but it is not certain that it was ſent.

P. 203. The Agreement at the End of theſe Queſtions is in *Cranmer*'s Hand. *Cott.* Libr. *Cleopatra*, E. 5.

P. 257. l. 5. There are 26 more Books prohibited at this Time, as appears by a *MS.* of the Biſhop of *Ely*'s; which follow:

1. *The* A B C *againſt the Clergy.*
2. *The Book made by Fryar* Roys, *againſt the Seven Sacraments.*
3. *The Wicked Mammon.*
4. *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.*
5. *The Liberty of a Chriſtian Man.*
6. Ortulus Animæ, *in* Engliſh.
7. *The Supper of the Lord*; *by* G. Joye.
8. Frith's *Diſputation againſt Purgatory.*
9. Tyndal's *Anſwer to Sir* T. More's *Defence of Purgatory.*
10. *The Prologue to* Geneſis, *tranſlated by* Tindal.
11, 12, 13, 14. *The Prologues to the other Four Books of* Moſes.
15. *The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man.*
16. *The Book made by Sir* John Oldcaſtle.
17. *The Summ of Scripture.*
18. *The Preface before the* Pſalter, *in* Engliſh.
19. *The Dialogue between the Gentleman and the Ploughman.*
20. *The Book of* Jonas, *in* Engliſh.
21. *The Dialogue of* Goodale.
22. Defenſorium Paris; *out of* Latin *into* Engliſh.
23. *The Summ of Chriſtianity.*
24. *The Mirror of them that be Sick and in Pain.*
25. *Treatiſe of the Supper of Lord*; *by* Calwyn. [I ſuppoſe it is *Calvin.*]
26. *Every one of* Calwyn's *Works.*

P. 257. l. 12. Add, *written by* Tyndal. L. 16. for 4*th* r. 7*th.* L. 19. for *and* r. *ad.* L. 23. *and* r. *ad.*

P. 315. l. 18. Add *de Corariis*, an Abbey in *Eaſt-Smithfield.* L. 25. add, *& Procurator Cleri Coven. & Litchf.* L. 26. dele *Litchfield.* 2 Col. l. 1. r. *Prior ſive.* L. 6. r. *Buckfeſtriæ.* L. 15. add *de Helvenham.* L. 17. add *Brueza.* After l. 25. add *Nicolas Medcalfe.*

P. 316.

P. 316. l. 6. For *Har*, r. *Bar.* L. 12. r. *Archo.* L. 18. For *Samil*, r. *Savile.*

P. 316, and 319. Two Papers said to be *Cranmer*'s, but they are not written by him, nor by his Secretary: So it does not appear that they are his.

Ib. l. 18. For *discrepet*, r. *discredit.*

P. 324. *Col.* 3. l. 14. It is not *Redman*: It is difficult to be read. It seems to be *Edmondes.*

P. 364. l. 6. For *the*, r. *our.* L. 16. For *Directors probable*, r. *direct and probable.*

P. 368. l. 8. Of the Marg. set Comma's after *acceptione*, and *unitate*, and *dele Aunexa.*

Ib. l. 20. *Sic tamen ut eorum jussio atque.* L. *ult.* for *alius*, r. *aliquis.*

Corrections of the Second Volume.

PAge 1. l. 10. fr. bott. Queen *Jane* died the 24th of *October*, in a Journal written by *Cecil*, that was in 12 Days after King *Edward*'s Birth: So it is in the *Herald*'s Office. Last Line, The Duke of *Suffolk* was Godfather at his Confirmation, not at his Baptism.

P. 13. l. 11. fr. bott. For *Sheen*, r. *Syon.*

P. 15. l. 9. fr. bott. For *Richard*, r. *Robert.*

P. 26. l. 19. This Rule was not observed; in some Circuits there were Four Visitors; in others Six; in some no Civilians; in some Two Divines; in some One Gentleman; and in some Three. See *Cranmer*'s Mem. p. 146.

P. 27. l. 10. These Titles are not as they are in the Original Book: They are only abridged.

P. 28. l. 1. Many Articles and Injunctions: The Injunctions are only abstracted, not the Articles.

P. 29. l. 17. These Articles are not in Bishop *Sparrow*'s Collection, but were printed *Anno* 1547.

P. 39. l. 6. fr. bott. *Cloth of State*, not mentioned.

P. 40. l. 1. The Lord *Rich* made the Speech mentioned, though not inserted in the Lord's Journal. L. 2. for *December*, r. *November.* L. 5. 23, r. 24.

P. 43. l. 29. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* might use his own Name in all Faculties and Dispensations.

P. 50. l. 10. For *Tyler*, r. *Taylour.*

P. 71. l. 1. This Catechism was first made in *Latin* by another, but translated by *Cranmer*'s Order, and it was reviewed by him.

P. 81. l. 23. This Proclamation was printed by *Grafton*, among King *Edward*'s Proclamations.

P. 94. l. 19. *Rugg*, Bishop of *Norwich*, was not Employed in Compiling the Book, the other Three were.

P. 97. l. *ult.* For 12000, r. 10000.

P. 113. l. 15. fr. bott. After *Articles*, add, *before this they drew up their Demands in Seven Articles.*

P. 117. l. 23. That the Service might be ſung, or ſaid, in the Choir.

P. 120. l. 12. fr. bott. The Two Colleges of *Clare*-Hall, and *Trinity*-Hall, could not be brought to ſurrender, in order to the Uniting them: Some Viſitors were for doing it by the King's Abſolute Power; to this *Ridley* would not agree, and for this he was complained of.

P. 150. l. 19. fr. bott. The Duke of *Somerſet* was not then fallen; it was between his Two Falls: The Proceedings in Council are ſigned by him. L. 18. *Fox* ſays it, It is ſo in King *Edward*'s Journal.

P. 154. l. *Penult.* The Paſsport was ſigned in *March* 1554, to go with 4 Servants, and 3 Horſes.

P. 159. l. 20. For *Beginning*, ſay the 24th. L. 32. Theſe Reaſons were drawn up by *Ridley*.

P. 162. l. 19. fr. bott. This was not before *Cranmer*, but long after, before Archbiſhop *Parker*.

P. 165. l. 3. *Soon after*, r. *Sometime before*, it was on the 14th of *Feb.*

P. 166. l. 5. The greater Part of the Biſhops were Enemies to the Reformation.

P. 171. l. 18. fr. bott. The Name of the Sixth was *Knox*.

P. 176. l. 4. fr. bott. And both lie buried in the Chancel of *Bugden* Church, they dying at the Biſhop's Houſe.

P. 182. l. 24. fr. bott. He was Sick before; for a Commiſſion was granted to ſome to do the Buſineſs of the *Chancery*.

P. 196. l. 24. fr. bott. For *Firſt*, r. *Eleventh*. L. 7. fr. bott. *Cranmer*'s Part is thus expreſſed, *Summæ Negotii præfuit*. L. 5. *Haddon* was the King's Profeſſor of *Civil-Law*, and not the Univerſity Orator.

P. 219. l. 25. Inſtead of *Pagnel*, undoubtedly by *Alexander Nowel*. L. 7. fr. bott. *John*, r. *Richard*.

P. 233. l. 5. fr. bott. *Cranmer* came at this Time oft to Council.

P. 234. l. 7. On the 8th of *July* alſo, they ſent for the Mayor and certain Aldermen, and told them of the King's Death, and of the Succeſſion; but bade them keep it ſecret. L. 18. give Pardon, r. ſhe wrote, *ſhe was ready to remit and pardon; and that ſhe could take their Doings in good Part.*

P. 235. l. 28. For *Robert*, r. *Richard*.

P. 237. l. 10. fr. bott. For *Suffolk*, r. *Suſſex*.

P. 243. l. 3. Yet in the 2d Seſſion of this Parliament, a private Act paſſed, to make void the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Attainder. L. 25. for *Humphrey*, r. *Henry*.

P. 246. l. 11. It was not her Firſt Proclamation: For on the 19th of *July* ſhe had by a Proclamation taken on her the Imperial Crown of the Realm.

P. 247. l. *ult.* *Circuits*, r. *the Quarter-Seſſions*.

P. 248.

P. 248. l. 3. *Marſhalſea*, r. *the King's Bench.* L. 5. The Reaſon of the Wounding himſelf was the Trouble of Mind that he felt for his Compliance, upon Biſhop *Days*'s Communication with him the Day before.

P. 251. l. 7. fr. bott. *The Tenth*, r. *the Fifth.*

P. 252. l. 1. *The Day of her Coronation*, r. *a Month before*, for it was on the 1ſt of *September.* L. 24. *the Tenth*, r. *the Fifth.* This Miſtake is taken from *Fabian* and *Fox.*

P. 253. l. 1. Yet *Tregonnel*, a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, ſate in the Houſe in the 2d Seſſions of this Parliament. L. 15. After *Priſon*, r. *for Treaſon, Petty-Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of Treaſon: Such were alſo excepted who ſtood attainted, or impriſoned the laſt Day of* September.

P. 257. l. 16. For *3d of* November, r. *the Thirteenth.*

P. 259. l. 13. fr. bott. Card. *Pole* was ſtopped in his Journey by *Mendoza*, ſent Poſt to him from the Emperor, deſiring him not to proceed in his Journey, upon which he went back to *Diling*, a Town belonging to the Card. of *Auſbourg.*

P. 262. l. 16. fr. bott. After *Eſther*, add *Judith*, Mary *the Siſter of* Martha, *and the Virgin* Mary.

P. 286. falſe printed for 270. L. 2. fr. bott. *Poinet* wrote a Book to juſtify reſiſting the Queen, which I have ſeen.

P. 272. l. 5. fr. bott. For 21, r. 23.

P. 273. l. 26. *Cheek* was ſent to the *Tower* with the Duke of *Suffolk*, and had Licence to travel. L. 30. *They did not render themſelves, but were ſeized in their Journey; bound and thrown into a Cart, and ſent Priſoners to* England. L. 6. fr. bott. Seven Perſons were diſcovered to be Complices: The Words ſpoken from the Wall were againſt the Queen, the Prince of *Spain*, the Maſs, and Confeſſion.

P. 276. l. 16. He was married, and had 7 Sons, and 5 Daughters. L. 23. *Harvey*, r. *Harley.*

P. 279. l. 2. fr. bott. The Bill was to *avoid*, and not to *revive* the Statute of the Six Articles.

P. 291. l. 8. fr. bott. Thrice in One Day. It was read twice on the 19th, and the 3d Time on the 20th.

P. 275. l. 10. fr. bott. *Hopton*, by the Regiſt. of *Cant.* was conſecrated the 28th of *October*; *Anthony Harmer*, p. 134. ſays it was the 25th of *October.*

P. 314. l. 24. For *Leaſe*, r. *Leaſe.*

P. 315. l. 29. 25th of *June*, r. on the 12th of *July.* L. 33. *Stoning*, r. *Stening.* L. 26. *Sheterden.*

P. 317. l. 17. fr. bott. For *Weybridge*, r. *Uxbridge.* L. 11. fr. bott. *Wharwood*, r. *Harwood.* L. 10. fr. bott. After *marked*, r. *And in this Month of* Auguſt, Richard Hook *ſuffered at* Chicheſter. L. 3. fr. bott. For *Wolley*, r. *Wolſey.*

P. 318. l. 2. *Shaxton* did not condemn them: *Fuller* the Biſhop's Chancellor condemned them: *Steyward* Dean of *Ely*, and *Chriſtopherſon* Dean of *Norwich*, with others, were in the Commiſſion, but the Chancellor was the Chief.

P. 320. l. 6. fr. bott. For *Edward the VIth*, r. *Edward the IVth.*

P. 321.

P. 321. l. 8. fr. bott. *Heath* was appointed Chancellor on New-Years-Day.

P. 323. l. 15. The 13th of *December*. The Parliament was diſſolved on the 9th of *December*. L. 24. *Juſtices of Peace*. The Bill was that no Servants to Gentlemen, and wearing their Cloths, (except the King and Queen's) ſhould be Juſtices. It was read the 2d Time on the 12th of *November*.

P. 324. l. 28. After 50000 *l.* and with it to have made a Rebellion. L. 29. For *Petham*, r. *Perkham*. L. 30. *White* was not executed, he diſcovered the Conſpiracy. Ibid. For *Felony*, r. *High-Treaſon, and were executed accordingly; there were Eight who ſuffered; the Three beſides thoſe named were* Roſſes, Bedyland, Dethick.

P. 325. l. 13. fr. bott. Cardinal *Pole* had Two Brothers, *Arthur* and *Jeffrey*, both arraigned in the Year 1562, for a Conſpiracy againſt Queen *Elizabeth*. *David* was not his Brother, nor a Baſtard; for there is no Bull of Diſpenſation in his Favour, among thoſe ſent over at that Time.

P. 346. l. 15. The Reaſon given in the Cardinal's Letter for raiſing her Body, is, *Quoniam juxta Corpus Sanctiſſimæ Fridernidæ jurabat Corpus Catherinæ Uxoris P. Martyris.*

P. 353. l. 12. The Queen and *Philip* both wrote to the Pope in Favour of Cardinal *Pole*; the Letter is dated, *May* 21. ſhewing how ſerviceable he had been in reſtoring Religion in *England*. The Parliament ſeconded this by another Letter. L. 15. *Hereſy*; they were 22 in Number, their Submiſſion is in *Fox*, p. 17, 92.

P. 360. l. 29. The Complaint was againſt all the *French* Denifons, as well as others, but the Act was more favourable. L. 4. fr. bott. and p. 361. l. 4. *Coxley*, r. *Copley*.

P. 363. l. 7. fr. bott. For the 19th *May*, r. 26th. L. 6. fr. bott. For 3 *Men*, r. 2 *Men and* 1 *Woman*. There were indeed Three Men burnt on the 19th of *May* at *Norwich*, not at *Colcheſter*.

P. 364. l. 7. Martial Law: The Words of the Proclamation are *according to the Order of the Martial Law*. L. 17. fr. bott. Lord *Burleigh* in the *Execution of Juſtice*, ſays there died by Impriſonment, Torments, Famine, and the Fire, near 400: On this we may depend.

P. 370. l. 20. She underſtood, and wrote well, both in *Spaniſh* and *French*.

P. 374. l. 14. Queen *Elizabeth* ſtayed ſome Days at *Hatfield*; ſhe came to the *Charter-Houſe*, 24. *November*. On the 28th, ſhe went to the *Tower*, and came to *Weſtminſter* on the 23d of *December*.

P. 375. l. 8. fr. bott. The Earl of *Pembroke* favoured the Reformation.

P. 376. l. 1. For *Parr*, r. *Parry*.

P. 378. l. 17. fr. bott. For 5 *December*, r. 13. L. 11. fr. bott. *'till the Parliament; the Council ſet him at Liberty on the* 19*th* Jan. and the Parliament met on the 25th.

P. 387. l. 7. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* came not to the Parliament, for his Preſence was needed in the *North*, for guarding the Marches againſt the *Scots*, and the *French*, ready to invade *England*.

L. 19. The Biſhop of *Ely* was abſent, being in an Embaſſy at *Cambray*; but was come over on the 17th of *April*, and joined with the other Diſſenting Biſhops.

P. 389. l. 12. *Cole*'s Speech ſeems to be a Reply to *Horn*, and ſo ſhould be ſet after it.

P. 393. l. 4. Abbot *Feckenham* made that Speech, and not *Hethe*.

P. 396. l. 7. The Oath was tender'd to them in *July*. L. 11. *Chriſtopherſon* died before the Parliament met.

P. 397. l. 9. For *Thomas*, r. *Richard*. L. 22. This Matter belongs to the Year 1560, or 1561.

P. 400. l. 10. from the Bottom. This was not a High Commiſſion, warranted by Act of Parliament; but a Commiſſion for a Royal Viſitation, by Virtue of the Queen's Supremacy.

P. 402. l. 19. from the Bottom. The 8th of *July*: *Maſon* has it the 18th of *July*.

P. 403. l. 23. For *Par*, r. *Scambler*. L. 28. *May* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, was Elected Archbiſhop; but died before he was Conſecrated.

P. 406. l. 21. from the Bott. *A. P. C.* ſtands for *Andrew Pierſon Cantuar*. L. 18. from bott. *A. P. E.* ſtands for *Andrew Pern Elienſis*. L. 12. from bott. *C. G.* ſtands for *Chriſtopher Goodman*.

P. 407. l. 9. The New Tranſlation of the *Bible* was not printed before the Year 1572.

Collection of RECORDS.

PAge 6. l. 17. For *Thomas*, r. *William*.

P. 11. l. 19. For *Char.* r. *Chartres*.

P. 16. l. 4. from the Bottom. For *Yates*, r. *Gates*.

P. 21. l. 7. For 1200000, r. 120000. L. 24. for *Richumber*, r. *Ricebank*.

P. 23. l. 18. from bott. *Archer*, r. *Aucher*.

P. 24. l. 25. *Craſted*, r. *Croftis*. L. 11. from the Bottom, *Yates* r. *Gates*.

P. 25. l. *ult.* Dr. *John Olyver* was the other Lawyer.

P. 37. l. 27. For *Seditiouſly*, r. *Seditious*; and for *attagned*, r. *attached*. L. 28. for *James*, r. *Thomas*. L. 29. *attagned*, *attached*. L. 16. from the Bottom, for *R.* r. *Rabble*.

P. 42. l. 24. from Bott. on, *Confeſſed*, r. *on Confeſſion*. L. 4. from Bott. The Name was *Knox*.

P. 45. l. 18. *Roberts*, r. *Robert*.

P. 51. l. *ult.* For *Leciſter*, r. *Liſter*.

P. 52. l. 15. *The* Pirry, *the Mintmaſter*; r. *that* Pirry *the Mintmaſter*. L. 16. for *Brabanion*, r. *Brabazon*. L. 10. from Bottom, *Auguſt Pyſo*, r. *Auguſt Py, ſo*.

P. 61. l. 16. *Archer*, r. *Aucher*.

P. 63.

P. 63. l. 27. *Sturley*, r. *Strelly.*

P. 103. l. *penult.* For *Barker*, r. *Bakere.*

P. 105. l. 8. For *Water-cloth*, r. *Auter-cloth.* L. 24. for *good*, r. *God.* L. 37. *à quo Sancta*, r. *qui Sanctorum.* L. 8. from the Bottom, before *Realme*, r. *Noble.*

P. 115. l. 3. from Bott. For *Jane*, r. *Jent.*

P. 117. l. 24. For *Soveraigne*, r. *Conſcience.*

P. 148. l. 1. Theſe Queries were put by *Cranmer* to thoſe Biſhops; but this Paper is all in *Boner*'s Hand, with whom theſe Three Biſhops agreed. L. 11. for *ſundry*, r. *aſunder.* In the Margin, ſet *London* firſt.

P. 149. l. *ult.* After theſe Anſwers, follows a Reply by *Cranmer*, in other Queries; as, " If you cannot tell what and where the Acts " of *John* can profit *Thomas*, being ſo far diſtant from him, that he " can never hear of him; Why do you then affirm that to be true, " which you cannot tell how, nor wherein it can be true?

" Whether our Praiers for al the Souls departed, do profit the A- " poſtles, Prophets and Martyrs?

" Whether they know all the Actions of every Man here in Earth? " And if not; how do they rejoice of thoſe good Actions, which " they know not?

" Whether our Evil Deeds do them hurt, as our Good Deeds pro- " fit them?

" Whether the Preſentation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, do " ſtand in all the Words and Actions that the Prieſt uſeth in the " Maſs, which now we do uſe?

" Whereby is it known, that in the Primitive Church were Prieſts, " that preached not?

" Why may not we as well alter the Maſs into the *Engliſh* Tongue, " or alter the Ceremonies of the ſame, as we alter the Communion " to be under both Kynds, that in other Churches is Uniformly " Miniſtred to the People under one Kind; ſeeing that the Uni- " formity of al Churches, requireth no more the Uniformity in one, " than in the other?

P. 183. l. 5. from Bott. For *Security*, r. *Surety.*

P. 184. l. 4. Dele *ſuch.* L. 21. for *daily*, r. *diligently.*

P. 205. l. 20. After *another*, r. *holding up the Foreſingers.* L. 24. for *ſaying*, r. *ſacring.*

P. 206. at Bottom, follow *Proverbs* the 5th: *The Ear that hearkeneth to the Reformation of Life, ſhall dwell among the wiſe: He that refuſeth to be Reformed, deſpiſeth his own Soul: but he that ſubmitteth himſelf to Correction, is wiſe.*

3. Reg. 18. *Elias, How long halt ye between two Opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if* Baal *be he, go after him.*

P. 208. This Letter was not written to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, but to Archbiſhop *Parker.*

P. 232. Set on the Margin here, *Ex Chartophylacro Regio.*

P. 234. l. 2. from the Bottom. For *met*, r. *meant.*

P. 239. This ſeems not to be the Proclamation, declaring *Jane Grey* to be Queen; but rather her Letters-Patents, declarative of her Right of Succeſſion.

P. 243. in the Margin. For *C.* 20. r. *C.* 10. The ſame Error is in *P.* 245, and 246.

P. 252. l. *ult.* For *Ungodlineſs*, r. *Ungodly Rate.*

P. 253. l. 2. *Slander*, r. *no little Slander.* L. 11. After *Dioceſe*, r. *and Juriſdictions.* L. 20. *to them*, for *to thende.* L. 30. *Hand*, r. *Signet.* L. 5. from the Bottom. After *Perſon*, r. *with other Perſons.*

P. 254. l. 13. from Bott. After *Officers*, r. *as they.*

P. 255. l. 5. from Bott. For *Unthiftineſs*, r. *Unchriſtineſs.* L. 4. from Bott. Dele *each.*

P. 269. The 17th Article is in the *MS.* ſcratched out, and croſſed.

P. 282. l. 8. Add *Councellour.*

P. 283. l. 6. After *Couſins*, add *other.* L. 20. For 26, r. 25. *L.* 12. from the Bottom. For *their* r. *the.* L. 9. from the Bott. For *and* r. *or.*

P. 284. l. 16. After *amongſt*, r. *nigh.* L. 4. from the Bottom, after *Seſſions*, r. *at the leaſt once.*

P. 314. l. 16. from the Bottom. Put a *Comma* between *Dudley* and *Aſhton.* L. 4. from Bott. *Pronouncing*, r. *Procuring.*

P. 315. l. 14. *Perſeverance*, r. *Preſervation.*

P. 328. l. 16. from Bott. For *Heed*, r. *Head.*

P. 329. l. 20. *Came*, twice, for *can.*

P. 330. l. 12. For *fear*, r. *too far.* L. 14. *Oppreſſe*, r. *repreſſe.*

P. 331. l. 4. After *more*, r. *Chaplains*: After *Memory*, r. *ſaid*: After *the*, r. *ſeldomer*: Dele *or.* L. 7. from the Bottom, *Renew*, r. *review*: Dele *certain.* L. 6. from the Bott. *When*, r. *where.*

P. 337. l. 22. At the End of this Paper; there is added in the *MS.* Teſtimonies confirming it, out of *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Dionyſius*, *Cyprian* and *Auſtin*, and the *Conſtitution* of *Juſtinian*; and they are to be ſeen printed in *Fox*'s firſt Edition. The Names at the End are not Subſcriptions: They are added in *Parker*'s Hand; who forgot to write *Sands* among them, for he was one of them.

P. 348. l. 7. For *G*, r. *E*; for his Name was *Edward.* Set in the Margin, to *Number 6. Ex MSS.* C. C. C. *Miſcellanea* B.

P. 350. l. 11. Set here in the Margin, *Paper-Office.*

P. 396. l. 20. *Worcheſter*, r. *Wincheſter*. Lin. *ult.* *Worceſter* was not entirely ſuppreſs'd : For he was entitled Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and enjoyed a great Part of the Revenues of *Gloceſter* and *Worceſter*, and kept great Hoſpitality with them.

P. 398. l. 8. from the Bottom. Queen *Mary* did ſet forth in *Auguſt* 1553, a Proclamation, *for Aſſigning the Value of the Coin.*

A TA-

A

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